

APPROVAL SHEET

Title of Dissertation:

When Real Diverges from Ideal: How Person-Environment Fit Impacts Latina/o
Immigrants' Acculturation and Psychosocial Wellbeing Across Four States

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ABSTRACT

Title of Document: WHEN REAL DIVERGES FROM IDEAL:
HOW PERSON-ENVIRONMENT FIT
IMPACTS LATINA/O IMMIGRANTS'
ACCULTURATION AND PSYCHOSOCIAL
WELLBEING ACROSS FOUR STATES

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Research indicates that immigrant wellbeing depends upon interactions between immigrants' characteristics and goals, and receiving communities' openness and acceptance (e.g., Phinney, Horenezyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). Still, most of the immigrant acculturation and wellbeing literature remains acontextual, thus limiting understanding of why some immigrants thrive while others struggle. To address these gaps, this study applied the Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM; Navas et al., 2005) to characterize Latina/o immigrants' ideal and real acculturation across life domains in distinct regions of the United States. It then answered two questions unexplained by the model: (1) *Why* would ideal acculturation differ from real acculturation? and (2) *What impact* does the divergence of real acculturation from ideal acculturation have on wellbeing?

To address these questions, the current study adopted a concurrent explanatory mixed-method approach (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2007). Four hundred eighty Latina/o immigrants were recruited from two state pairs (i.e., Arizona and New

Mexico, Maryland and Virginia), chosen for their demographic characteristics and immigration-related public policies, to participate in survey measures. A subset of participants ($n = 73$) participated in 12 focus groups. Quantitative data were primarily analyzed through ANOVA and path analyses and qualitative data were analyzed through constructivist grounded theory, informed by the constructs under study.

Results indicated that participants wished to and did adopt more of their receiving communities' cultures in peripheral (e.g., work, economics, political systems, social welfare) and intermediate (e.g., social relationships, friendships) life domains than they did in central (e.g., family relationships, religious customs, ways of thinking, principles, values) life domains. Conversely, they wished to and did maintain their cultures in central life domains more than they did in other life domains. They had more difficulties changing and maintaining cultural customs in preferred ways in peripheral domains. Participants in Arizona, and to some degree, Virginia, were less able to make desired cultural changes than participants in Maryland and New Mexico.

The proposed socio-ecological model of acculturation fit the data well, explaining why real acculturation may differ from ideal acculturation. A set of personal and contextual factors (i.e., ideal cultural change; quality of contact with, and acculturative preferences and prejudicial attitudes of the receiving community; perceived threat, and immigration-related public policies) predicted Latina/o immigrants' cultural changes, directly and/or indirectly through their sense of community with the receiving community and/or intergroup anxiety. A similar set of factors influenced Latina/o immigrants' cultural maintenance, directly and/or

indirectly through their sense of community with the local Latina/o immigrant community. Qualitative data also indicated that personal characteristics, community resources, and information impacted the ways in which Latina/o immigrants changed and maintained their cultures.

Finally, the better Latina/o immigrants were able to change and maintain their cultures in desired ways, the better their self-reported wellbeing, in part due to less acculturative stress with the receiving community. In sum, this study provides insight into reasons for the diverse array of Latina/o immigrant acculturation and wellbeing in the United States in light of their disparate contexts, preferences, and experiences.

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FIT IMPACTS LATINA/O IMMIGRANTS' ACCULTURATION AND
PSYCHOSOCIAL WELLBEING ACROSS FOUR STATES

By

Sara L. Buckingham

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
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Foreword

Thank you for taking the time and making the effort to find and open this document. This document is the result of years spent trying to understand how and why we acculturate in the ways that we do and how that process impacts our wellbeing. While this document may mark the close of one of my life's chapters – my doctorate – it is only one document. And like all documents, it is grounded in the context of today's world, the scientific literature that has been produced up until this time, and the understandings and perspectives of everyone involved in this project. And so, as the field grows, as our scientific understandings progress, and as our contexts change, I anticipate that some of the results and their implications may become more nuanced, more refined, and/or may shift. I look forward to a career in developing these understandings and their transferability across people and contexts.

Despite these anticipated developments, I would like you to keep in mind that the findings presented in these documents come from the life experiences of human beings across the United States, as these human beings viewed and shared them in 2015 and 2016. I have done my best to capture and reflect their words and convey their meanings in the ways in which they intended. I encourage you to read and hear their words. If any strike you, I hope you will ask yourself 'why' – Does it clash with your worldview? Does it not fit within a neat, linear narrative? Does it differ from your experience or research you have done? If you'd like to discuss the results of this study, the conclusions drawn, and the implications of the conclusions, please do not hesitate to reach out to me. I would welcome the opportunity to dialogue.

I will communicate many understandings to you in this document based on the extant literature and the results of this project, which are filtered through my own lens, which has been shaped by all involved in this work and my life experiences. While I will further explain these understandings to you shortly, I would like you to know a few of my perspectives before you jump into the document:

- (1) When I write about culture, I include cultural elements such as personal identifications, values, and practices. There are family, setting, community, state, national, ethnic, religious (this list is potentially infinite) ... cultures.
- (2) When I write about culture across life domains – central, intermediate, peripheral – I am referring to a sphere of someone’s life, *not* the degree of importance of the particular aspect of culture. As you will soon read, certain cultural elements in peripheral domains were just as important to participants as those in central domains.
- (3) When I write about acculturation, I am discussing to both cultural change and cultural maintenance. It is *not* my assumption that making more cultural changes and/or maintaining more of one’s original culture is inherently better.
- (4) Acculturation is a process, not an outcome. What is communicated throughout this document is a snapshot of where someone is in a moment in their lives, not a place in which they will necessarily stay.
- (5) Everyone acculturates. Immigrants acculturate. Receiving community members acculturate. We constantly influence one another and are active

participants in our own acculturation processes. I simply chose to limit the scope of this project to the acculturation processes of immigrants. I hope to expand the focus in the future.

- (6) While everyone acculturates, power and context play a role in acculturation processes. In recognizing that everyone acculturates, I believe (based on the extant literature and the results of this study) we must also consider *who* is allowed – formally and informally – to enact *what* cultural elements in *which* life spaces.
- (7) It appears to me that there is no one ‘best’ way to acculturate. It seems to me that we should be asking how we can help people acculturate (both changing and maintaining cultures) in the ways *they desire* – how we can make communities more open and inclusive of their members who have diverse cultural preferences.

Finally, let me share the current context at the time of this study, should you happen to be reading this document decades later: This specific project was developed, conducted, and written from Winter 2014 to Fall 2016. During the project, Barack Obama was in his second term as U.S. President. There was a tremendous influx of asylum-seeking people from Central America (many of whom were children and referred to as ‘unaccompanied minors’). Terrorism was of great concern to many people in the U.S. and around the world, with the Islamic State committing many atrocities and stoking their campaigns through social media. Many crises led to an influx of refugees, and there was much attention on individuals escaping Syria and entering Europe, and to a lesser extent, North America; receiving community

members' opinions of refugees ranged from extremely welcoming to gravely concerned about infiltration by undercover terrorists. The Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program was in place, but executive actions by President Obama to expand the program were blocked by a split Supreme Court decision. Many people in the U.S. were concerned about their job security and wages. The 2016 election primaries were in full swing, with many candidates running on insular, anti-immigrant platforms that stoked xenophobia. For example, on June 16, 2015, Donald Trump opened his campaign for the presidency by stating,

“When Mexico sends its people, they’re not sending their best. They’re not sending you. They’re not sending you. They’re sending people that have lots of problems, and they’re bringing those problems with us. They’re bringing drugs. They’re bringing crime. They’re rapists. And some, I assume, are good people.”

Despite losing the national popular vote, Donald Trump ultimately won the vote in enough states to win the electoral college; at the time of this writing, it appears he will be the 45th U.S. President. At the same time, there was a great deal of organizing and action in support of immigrants as new, welcomed members of communities across the nation. It was a complex time, as it always is, to examine Latina/o immigrants' acculturation in the new communities they have made their homes.

I hope you will keep an open mind, but not have an empty head – to paraphrase Dey (1999) – as you read this document. I am grateful for the opportunity to share my approach and findings with you.

– Sara

Dedication

This document is dedicated to the hundreds of thousands of people who immigrate to communities across the United States every year with the near universal intention of improving their lives. Thank you for becoming new, valued members of our communities. In particular, this document is dedicated to the hundreds of immigrants from Latin America making their lives in Arizona, Maryland, New Mexico, and Virginia who participated in this project. Thank you for the time you took and the effort you made to share your desires and your experiences with me and the *Nuestras Experiencias* project team. It is my hope that the information you shared will help communities across our nation to better support our newest community members, and I will continue to work towards that goal.

Acknowledgements

There are numerous individuals and organizations who made this research possible:

First, I'd like to thank the Society for Community Research & Action (Division 27 of the American Psychological Association) for funding the majority of this research through a Public Policy Grant. The Graduate School at the University of Maryland Baltimore County provided significant funding for this project through its Dissertation Fellowship Program, along with the Department of Psychology's Research Grant and the Graduate Student Association's Research Grant. Funding awarded by the Global Alliance for Behavioral Health and Social Justice's (formerly the American Orthopsychiatric Association) Vera S. Paster Award also made this research possible.

This research was developed and conducted with the support and critique of my dissertation committee members. First and foremost, I thank the chair of my dissertation committee, Dr. Anne Brodsky, for her contribution to my growth as a community-based researcher and the development of my research program and methods over the course of my graduate career. I am grateful for a mentor who never ceases to provide comprehensive, constructive feedback, and is supportive of her students' research areas and methods – even when they may diverge from her own. I thank Dr. Bambi Chapin for bringing the anthropological perspective to the psychology committee and her expertise in qualitative methods. I thank Dr. Charissa Cheah for conveying a developmental perspective on acculturation and for her important contributions to the study's design. I thank Dr. Ken Maton for his vital mentorship in community research partnerships and his attention to the measurement

of constructs at varying ecological levels. Finally, I thank Dr. Steve Pitts for his quantitative consultations and his willingness to examine results with me. This document is the result of the expertise they offered to this research, and I am grateful for each of their contributions.

Thirteen university- and community-based research team members contributed significantly to the data collection, data analyses, and delineation of the results and their implications to community partners. These smart, dedicated, compassionate, and passionate individuals (in alphabetical order by first name) are: Ahdyah Garrison, Angela Angulo, Breanna Lee, Chris Long, Consuelo Carrillo, Elsa Reyes, Henry G. Jimenez, Kelsey Hughes, Krizia Vargas-Garcia, M. Cecilia Suarez-Pedraza, Maria Guadalupe Merino-Gomez, N. Vanessa Morel, and Omari Jeremiah. I have been incredibly lucky to get to know them and work with them over the course of this project, and the research we did together was strengthened by their expertise and partnerships with their communities. This project would not have been possible without each of them.

Numerous community partners across Arizona, Maryland, New Mexico, and Virginia were key in the development and implementation of this research. Please see [Appendix B](#) for a description of each of these community partners and their contributions to this research. I am humbled by the willingness of so many partners to share their knowledge, time, and space with us over the course of the project.

Finally, I'd like to thank my husband, James Buckingham, for his unwavering support and love over the course of this project and my entire graduate career.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Neither the individual nor the environment completely accounts for stress alone; rather, stress arises from individuals' lack of fit with their environments. This is the premise of person-environment fit, a socioecological theory of wellbeing that has shifted the research and practice of psychology. Today, the discipline of psychology generally rejects the notion that individuals can be understood outside of their contexts. Many psychologists no longer think it best to study psychological models in isolation, but rather seek to take a biopsychosocial and even sociohistorical and cultural perspective in order to understand human behavior and the outcomes associated with it. Psychologists also no longer study the effectiveness of interventions in isolation; instead they seek to understand what works for whom under what circumstances. Many social scientists, including psychologists, no longer consider it ideal to do research in separate silos, and instead think there is merit in collaborating and embarking in interdisciplinary studies so that diverse perspectives and expertise exist on a single team.

In this way, psychology has developed tremendously over the past 70 years since it first incorporated the person-environment fit model. However, certain topics within the field seem not to have yet embraced this understanding. One such research area is immigration, where the focus in psychology has been on immigrants' personal characteristics, adaptation, and subsequent wellbeing with little regard to the role of contexts, and even less focus on the relation of personal characteristics with contexts. In order to better understand immigrant wellbeing, I argue that psychology must understand the role of person-environment fit in immigrants' adaptation.

Size and Scope of Immigration

As of 2015, it was estimated that over 244 million people, or 3.3% of the world's population, were living outside of their country of origin (United Nations Population Fund, 2015). While Europe is reported to currently host the largest number of immigrants (over 64 million), Oceania and North America are home to the highest proportion of immigrants in relation to the total population (approximately 15% and 13%, respectively; United Nations, 2013). Immigration to the United States has been part of the country's history long before it was a nation; however, attempts by the U.S. Census to measure foreign-born residents did not occur until the 3rd U.S. Census in 1820, when the government counted naturalized U.S. citizens with U.S.-born citizens, differentiating only those who were foreign-born and not naturalized. The year 1850 marked the first time the U.S. Census measured place of birth. By 2010, the U.S. Census measured nativity status, generational status, places of birth, parental places of birth, as well as several social markers of acculturation, such as primary language (Daniels & Graham, 2001).

Remarkably, one out of every five people living in the United States today is a 1st or 2nd generation immigrant (Mather, 2009). The country is home to over 50 million 1st generation immigrants, and half of this foreign-born population is of Latin American origin (Acosta & de la Cruz, 2011; Cook-Martin & FitzGerald, 2010; United States Census Bureau, 2010). Of these Latina/o immigrants, unauthorized immigrants are estimated to constitute approximately one fifth (Passel & Cohn, 2009). While according to the U.S. Census, the number of foreign-born individuals living in the U.S. has generally increased over time – from approximately only 2.2

million in 1850 to just under 40 million authorized immigrants in 2010 – the overall percentage of foreign born individuals in comparison to the total population has fluctuated across this time – from 13.3% (6.7 million) in 1880 and 11.6% (14.3 million) in 1930 down to 4.7% (9.6 million) in 1970 and trending back up to 7.9% in 1990 and 12.9% in 2010 (Gibson & Lennon, 1999; Grieco et al., 2012). Notably, the U.S. Census captures only those lawfully present in the country, excluding an estimated 10 million unauthorized immigrants currently living in the shadows (Passel & Cohn, 2009). Immigrants’ most common places of origin have also changed over time. While in 1900, 84.9% of immigrants originated from Europe and only 1.3% and 1.2% originated from Latin America/the Caribbean and Asia, respectively, by 2010 only 12.1% originated from Europe and 53.1% and 28.2% originated from Latin America/the Caribbean and Asia, respectively (Gibson & Lennon, 1999; Grieco et al., 2012).

The Context of Immigration

Immigrants leave their countries of origin for numerous reasons – including political, safety, economic, and social motivations – and enter new communities with the near universal intention of improving their current situations. Throughout the literature these reasons have been reported as the ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors of immigration; that is, a variety of circumstances (e.g., unemployment, poverty, war, danger, isolation) push people to leave their countries of origin while other circumstances (e.g., employment opportunities, social mobility opportunities, political security, safety, social networks) pull them to enter new countries (Lee, 1966; Petersen, 1958). However, the realities many immigrants face do not always coincide

with their original expectations of the new country, likely, in part, due to many instrumental, social, and societal stressors and difficulties immigrants face (Caplan, 2007).

Immigration has been linked to a multitude of indicators of poor psychosocial wellbeing, such as increased depression and substance abuse rates, and poorer socioeconomic, and physical and mental health outcomes (Caplan, 2007; Zigelbaum, & Carlson, 2010). These negative outcomes not only affect the immigrants themselves, but also impact the communities and countries into which they flow; these negative outcomes are often cited as reasons why countries do not want to accept new immigrants (e.g., Buckler, Swatt, & Salinas, 2009; Lee & Ottati, 2002; Wilkes & Corrigan-Brown, 2011; Yakushko, 2009).

Many of these negative outcomes have been tied to contextual challenges experienced by immigrants in their new communities. Caplan (2007) created a model of these challenges and barriers, dividing them into three categories: (a) *instrumental/environmental stressors* – factors that impinge on basic needs, such as financial insecurity, language barriers, lack of health care access and education, unsafe neighborhoods, and unemployment; (b) *social/interpersonal stressors* – changes that may occur in one's relationships as a result of immigration, such as the loss of social networks and social status, interpersonal conflicts, and changes in personal roles; and (c) *societal/political stressors* – pervasive stressors throughout society created and maintained by oppressive structures, such as discrimination and stigma, legal status, and historical trends. Despite such challenges, most immigrants manage to navigate their lives and experience many aspects of psychosocial

wellbeing in their new communities; however, some individuals do experience negative psychosocial outcomes following immigration (Suárez-Orozco, Birman, Casas, Nakamura, Tummala-Narra, & Zárate, 2012).

Issues with Current State of the Literature

Much research has focused on the negative outcomes associated with immigration. Many researchers have chosen to view these outcomes as the result of poor individual-level adaptation, something that is coming from immigrants' failures to adapt appropriately to their new communities rather than from social problems. In other words, negative outcomes are seen as an individual failing that represents a deviation from the norm and an exception to the rule; if they adapt successfully, immigrants should experience wellbeing. As such, programs have sought to change immigrants and remediate their outcomes rather than change the social and environmental stressors and wider social forces that may have led to these problems (i.e., participating in what Ryan (1971) terms 'blaming the victim'). In doing so, the field has grossly overlooked the inherent relationship between psychosocial outcomes and the contexts in which immigrants reside. By ignoring the contextual factors that may influence both negative and positive outcomes, the field continues to take a "deficit approach," leading many prominent researchers to declare a crisis in the study of immigration outcomes (e.g., Sirin & Balsano, 2007; Stuart, Ward, Jose, & Naryann, 2010). Recent calls have been made for researchers to adopt a broader perspective that take into account contextual variables and positive outcomes (Stuart et al., 2010).

This deficit approach is compounded with other significant issues within the study of immigration in the field of psychology. These issues have gained significant attention over the past two decades in literature reviews, editorials, and critiques published in the field's preeminent journals, but have yet to be fully addressed in current theories and empirical literature. The criticisms can be organized into three overarching categories:

First, immigration research does not exist within a vacuum, yet most psychological research entails viewing immigrants' processes and outcomes as individual experiences, rather than situating these experiences within national and local sociocultural contexts (Yakushko & Consoli, 2014). In doing so, researchers fail to recognize the impacts of contexts on immigrants' experiences and outcomes (Suárez-Orozco & Carhill, 2008). Consequently, many psychologists have contended that immigration research needs to more fully account for the political discourse, reactions, and contexts of the communities that receive immigrants, as they are bound to impact the experiences of immigrants and what social scientists choose to research.

Second, immigrants and their experiences are diverse, and yet Suárez-Orozco and Carhill (2008) note that most research on immigrants tends to overly coalesce and de-individualize their experiences, either idealizing or pathologizing entire immigrant groups. They have contended that immigration research should study the complex, varied, and individual experiences of immigrants through qualitative and mixed methods research to better represent their broad range of experiences and outcomes.

Third, the measurement of concepts related to immigration is imperfect, as researchers typically lump immigrants and their experiences into typologies, ignoring

the dimensional nature of these concepts and thus not fully capturing experiences. Consequently, prominent researchers in the field suggest the use of mixed methods to answer research questions, because while large-scale quantitative surveys can enhance the possibility of generalizability to particular immigrant populations, qualitative methods are important to interpret the data (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2012).

In sum, immigrants, like all human beings, operate within multiple, interacting contexts; thus, immigration research needs to study immigrants and their experiences within these ecological systems.

To best address these issues and understand immigrant experiences and outcomes in context, this study is framed by the socioecological theory of person-environment fit. Person-environment fit suggests that stress arises not from the person or environment separately, but rather by their lack of fit or congruence with one another. This emphasis on both the person and environment in determining outcomes is characteristic of the interactive perspective in psychology that proposes that behavior, attitudes, and well-being are determined jointly by the person and environment rather than by their individual impacts (Edwards, Caplan, & Harrison, 1998; Lewin, 1951; Magnusson & Endler, 1977; Murray, 1951; Pervin, 1989). Based on the current state of the literature and burgeoning theories and empirical evidence in the field of immigrant wellbeing, such perspective may be imperative to understand the variety of outcomes associated with immigration and to help reconcile the discrepant evidence found throughout the literature.

A Note on Language

Prior to considering how person-environment fit impacts Latina/o immigrants' psychosocial wellbeing, and what factors facilitate this person-environment fit, below I have defined terms that are nebulous and/or defined differently across the literature.

Defining culture. Culture is a broad term that encompasses many components, and has been defined in varying ways throughout the literature. Over twenty years ago, Lonner (1994) found more than 200 definitions of culture in the extant literature. For the purposes of this research, culture is broadly defined using Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik's (2010) widely accepted definition in psychology. That is, three components comprise culture: practices, values, and identifications. *Practices* include such behaviors as language use, media preferences, customs, traditions, and activities. *Values* refer to one's belief systems and prized concepts, such as conservatism, intellectual autonomy, affective autonomy, hierarchy, egalitarianism, mastery, and harmony (see Schwartz, 1999, and Smith & Schwartz, 1997, for varying cultural value typologies). *Identifications* are one's attachments to cultural groups and/or communities, such as identification with one's ethnic community, immigrant community, and/or community of residence. Culture is associated with national contexts (e.g., 'American culture' from the United States, 'Mexican culture' from Mexico), local contexts (e.g., 'Mid-Atlantic culture' from the region, 'neighborhood culture' from the living area), and relational contexts (e.g., 'Latina/o culture' from identifying as ethnically Latina/o, 'family culture' from one's immediate or extent family). Thus, at any given time, a person experiences a mix of cultures from the varying contexts in which the person is embedded.

Defining immigrant and generation. The term ‘immigrant’ is also defined in various ways across the literature. Broadly, an immigrant is a person born outside the country in which the person permanently resides (United States Census Bureau, 2010). Immigration status can be divided into generations to classify the length of the immigrants’ lives (or their families’ lives) in the country of residence. In this study, first (1st) generation immigrants refer to those persons who have immigrated to the country of residence after birth, either on their own volition or because of their caregivers. Second (2nd) generation immigrants refer to children of first generation immigrants who have been born in the country of residence (Walters & Trevelyan, 2011). When immigrant is used without further generational specification, it refers to 1st generation immigrants. U.S.-born children of immigrants will always be denoted by their generational status (2nd).

Defining Latina/o. Immigrants can be categorized into broad groups based upon their countries of origin. Accordingly, the term ‘Latina/o immigrants’ refers to immigrants from Mexico, the Spanish-speaking countries of both Central America and South America, and the Caribbean Islands of Cuba and the Dominican Republic (United States Census Bureau, 2010). Although the literature often does not make explicit distinctions, the term ‘Hispanic’ refers to individuals with Spanish ancestors (thus focusing on European roots and related colonial and linguistic traditions), whereas the term ‘Latina/o’ refers to individuals with ancestors indigenous to Mexico, Central America, South America, and the Caribbean Islands (Padilla, 1995). Additionally, some immigrants, particularly Mexican immigrants who have lived in the southwestern part of the United States since childhood and U.S.-born children of

Mexican immigrants, use the cultural term ‘Chicana/o’ to refer to their ancestry. Because many immigrants who identify as Chicana/o, Hispanic, or Latina/o are of mixed ancestry and the literature generally mixes the terms, it is difficult to distinguish between those with Spanish ancestry, those with Mexican ancestry, and those indigenous to Central & South America, and the Caribbean Islands. Consequently, the term ‘Latina/o immigrants’ is used throughout this paper to refer to all immigrants from Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, or Venezuela.

Defining country of origin, country of residence, and receiving community. The action of immigration necessarily conjures up thoughts about the country from which an immigrant has emigrated and the country in which the immigrant currently resides. A number of terms for these countries have been used throughout the literature. Specifically, ‘host’ and ‘home’ country terms have formerly been widely used to distinguish the countries, as a way of easily referring to the country in which the immigrant currently resides, and the country from which the immigrant or immigrant’s family emigrated, respectively. Notably, however, the terms ‘host’ and ‘home’ do not accurately represent true immigration, as immigration refers to a *permanent* change in residence. Thus, these terms perpetuate the idea that immigrants are visitors, suggesting that while immigrants might be permanently making lives for themselves in a new country, they are never truly ‘home’. For this reason, this study uses ‘country of origin’ to refer to the country from which an immigrant emigrated and ‘country of residence’ to refer to the country in which an

immigrant resides. To identify the community in which the immigrant currently resides from the perspective of others who live in it, I use the term ‘receiving community’. Such term refers to the physical area and the people within it who have gained another community member as a result of immigration (Castles, 2002).

Defining unauthorized. Moreover, throughout the literature there are numerous terms that refer to one’s legal immigration status in the receiving country. Common terms include illegal, undocumented, and unauthorized, and are used interchangeably. Each term is politically charged, with heated debate over its “political correctness” (Merolla, Ramakrishnan, & Haynes, 2013). Generally, the argument has been made that only actions, and not people, can be illegal, and thus most academic literature refrains from using the dehumanizing terms ‘illegal immigrant’ or its similar legal counterpart ‘illegal alien’. The term ‘undocumented immigrant’ is considered more “politically correct”, but is also more nebulous and unclear because many immigrants do have ‘documents’ – they are simply expired and/or do not authorize immigration (e.g., an expired tourist visa). Consequently, the term ‘unauthorized immigrant’ is used throughout this document to refer to a person who has immigrated to this country without the authorization of the federal government. While this term is not as common within the academic literature and public discourse currently, it is gaining traction; prominent immigration researchers have also argued for this term to replace ‘undocumented’ in our national discourse about immigration (Merolla et al., 2013).

Diverse Levels of Wellbeing

In order to assess the extent to which an immigrant is doing well in the country of residence, the field of psychology has often looked to markers of wellbeing (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2012). Wellbeing is associated with better mental health, physical health, and meaningful relationships; fewer physical and mental health problems; better work productivity and fewer days missed of work; and even longer lives and a lower risk of suicide, depending upon what the term encompasses (Keyes, 2005, 2007; Keyes et al., 2012; Keyes, Dhingra, & Simoes, 2010; Keyes & Grzywacz, 2005; Keyes & Simoes, 2012). Wellbeing is a broad term that encompasses satisfaction with life as a whole, as well as satisfaction with specific life domains, such as health, economic status, and interpersonal wellbeing (Prilleltensky & Prilleltensky, 2006). In the field of immigration research, the term ‘wellbeing’ can indicate a broad array of cognitive (e.g., life satisfaction), affective (e.g., happiness), and interpersonal variables (e.g., social relationships), or simply lack of particular pathologies (most commonly depression and anxiety). Most immigrant wellbeing research appears to fit under Diener’s (1984) components of what he terms ‘subjective well-being’, though most of those researchers refer to it as ‘psychosocial wellbeing’: high levels of life satisfaction, high levels of satisfaction with particular life domains, high levels of positive affect, and low levels of negative affect.

Recent work by Prilleltensky and colleagues (2015) has synthesized the many models of wellbeing throughout the psychological literature and categorized them into six domains: community (i.e., satisfaction with one’s community), economic (i.e., satisfaction with one’s financial situation), occupational (i.e., satisfaction with

one's vocation, be it paid employment, volunteering, homemaking, or avocation), physical (i.e., satisfaction with one's health and wellness), psychological (i.e., satisfaction with one's emotional life), and interpersonal (i.e., satisfaction with one's important personal relationships).

Wellbeing can be measured either objectively or subjectively, and researchers (e.g., Cummins, Mellor, Stokes, & Lau, 2010; Diener, 2009; Prilleltensky, 2012) have indicated that both modes of measurement provide useful data; however, there are few large studies of immigrants' subjective wellbeing, and thus data about immigrant wellbeing in the United States is limited to objective markers, primarily measured by the U.S. Census (United States Census Bureau, 2010). As remarked earlier, respondents to the U.S. Census are typically immigrants who possess legal documentation authorizing their residence in the United States; thus, the statistics provided may not offer an accurate picture of wellbeing for all immigrants across the United States.

There are little data on immigrants' subjective community wellbeing in the United States. While one might argue that there are few objective markers of *community wellbeing*, some studies have found that owning a home is correlated with increased community participation, increased frequency of interaction with community members, and increased psychological sense of community, even after controlling for socioeconomic characteristics (Rohe & Stewart, 1996; Buckner, 1988; Brodsky, O'Campo, & Aronson, 1999). In this way, immigrants' housing status could be considered both a community wellbeing marker – as a level of integration within a community – and an economic marker – as a level of financial stability. First

generation immigrants are less likely to own a home than their U.S.-born counterparts (40.3% as opposed to 65.1%; United States Census Bureau, 2010).

In terms of *economic wellbeing*, immigrants, on the whole, earn less money than their U.S.-born counterparts. Incomes vary widely based on educational level and citizenship status, however. The median annual income for an immigrant who does not have a high school diploma is \$21,349 (as compared to \$20,241 in the overall population). This number increases to \$47,083 when an immigrant holds a bachelor's degree (as compared to \$56,665), and further rises to \$74,688 when an immigrant holds an advanced degree (which ranges from an average of \$73,738 for a Master's degree to an average of \$127,803 for a Doctoral degree in the general population). While some immigrants have high earnings (e.g., 11.3% earn more than \$75,000 annually), many immigrants are poor. Over one tenth (11.7%) of immigrants earn less than \$15,000 annually, and another 41.8% make less than \$30,000 annually. Thus, over half of the immigrant population makes less than \$30,000, compared to just one quarter of U.S.-born citizens. Consequently, the likelihood of living in poverty is much higher for immigrants. In 2013 18.0% of immigrant families fell below the poverty level, compared to 13.9% of their native-born counterparts. Moreover, nearly 1 in 4 of those immigrants who do not have citizenship currently lives in poverty (United States Census Bureau, 2013).

Regarding *occupational wellbeing*, despite a relatively low annual income, a great number of immigrants (88.4%) are employed. Most (70.5%) immigrants are employed full-time. These employment rates are relatively comparable to that of U.S.-born people (89.7% employed, 70.9% full-time). The three largest employment

sectors for immigrants overall are service occupations (29.6%), management and professional occupations (21.1%), and production, material moving and transportation occupations (18.0%). In contrast, the largest employment sectors for U.S.-born citizens are management and professional occupations (39.5%), sales occupations (25.6%), and service occupations (16.2%; United States Census Bureau, 2010). To my knowledge, at the time of this writing there have been no large-scale studies that compare subjective occupational wellbeing between immigrants and U.S.-born people.

In terms of *physical wellbeing*, immigrants are more likely to subjectively report a fair or poor health status, especially if they are a member of a racial or ethnic minority group in the United States (Lum & Vanderaa, 2010). In the 2003 California Health Interview Survey, 33.0% of immigrants reported that they were in fair or poor health, compared to 16.0% of U.S.-born citizens (Javier, Huffman, Mendoza, & Wise, 2010). However, varying rates of health problems are difficult to assess, as many immigrant families do not have health care benefits and thus do not seek health care on a regular basis (Javier et al., 2010). The Affordable Care Act of 2010 may continue to influence this over the coming years, as all individuals who are ‘lawfully present’ in the U.S. (see National Immigration Law Center, 2012 for definitions) are now eligible for the same coverage options available to U.S. citizens. However, those not lawfully present (i.e., unauthorized immigrants) continue to be excluded from coverage. Immigrant health – including maternal and child health, reproductive health, obesity, and mortality – is one outcome that paradoxically appears to deteriorate across generations (Ceballos & Palloni, 2010; Fuller et al., 2009; Perreira

& Ornelas, 2011; Urquia, O'Campo, & Heaman, 2012). Thus, even though 1st generation immigrants are more likely to perceive themselves as in poorer health conditions, their objective physical health seems to be better than their U.S.-born counterparts.

Regarding *psychological wellbeing*, some immigrants also experience mental health issues. Many of these difficulties are related to the immigration experience, according to a recent report by the American Psychological Association's Presidential Task Force on Immigration (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2012). Immigrants experience a wide range of mental health and behavioral problems, such as depression, anxiety, posttraumatic stress disorder, substance abuse, and aggression towards others (Kirmayer et al., 2011; Smowkoski & Bacallo, 2006). Some reports have indicated a higher prevalence of severe mental illness and suicidal ideation among immigrant populations in the United States, whereas others have not found a statistically significant difference (Desjarlais et al., 1995; Duldulao et al., 2009; Hovey & King, 1996). Many barriers prevent immigrants from seeking mental health care; consequently, it is difficult to estimate prevalence of psychopathology in immigrant populations (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2012). Nonetheless, the APA Presidential Task Force on Immigration contends that while certain mental health issues appear to be more prevalent in immigrant populations, overall there is not strong, consistent evidence to suggest that immigrants experience more mental illness or psychological distress than non-immigrants (Alegría, Canino, Stinson, & Grant, 2006; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2012).

Finally, there is not widespread measurement of *interpersonal wellbeing*, and thus fewer conclusions can be made about immigrants' interpersonal wellbeing in the United States. In regards to marital status immigrants are more likely to be married and less likely to be divorced than U.S.-born citizens (58.6% as compared to 45.9%, and 7.9% as opposed to 11.6%, respectively), but are more likely to be separated (3.1% as opposed to 2.0%; United States Census Bureau, 2010). However, given the multitude of reasons for marriage, this does not fully indicate satisfaction within romantic relationships nor does it speak to other types of interpersonal relationships (e.g., with other family members, friends, neighbors, co-workers); such prevalence data is limited.

It is apparent that many immigrants have high levels of overall wellbeing; however, a great number experience lower levels of wellbeing across particular domains as compared to their U.S.-born counterparts. To explain varying degrees of wellbeing among immigrants despite numerous contextual challenges, an array of models has been proposed. Most of these models relate to immigrants' adaptation to the cultures of their communities of residence, a process known as acculturation.

Models of Acculturation

The concept of acculturation was first scientifically studied in the fields of psychology, sociology, and anthropology in the early 1900s, with social psychologists, Thomas and Znaniecki, proposing the first full psychological theory of acculturation in 1918. As a concept, however, it has been argued that acculturation dates back to 2370 B.C., when the rulers of Mesopotamia established law to protect traditional cultural practices from acculturative changes (Rudmin, 2003).

Nevertheless, it was not until 1936 that a widely agreed-upon definition of acculturation was proposed by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits. They asserted that “acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups” (Redfield et al., 1936, p. 149). Today, the field of psychology largely agrees upon Schwartz and colleagues’ (2010) operational definition, as a process that takes place when two cultural groups come into contact with one another, and entails an assessment and *potential* adaptation of practices, values, and identifications. Such *practices* include language use, social contacts, and media preferences, whereas *values* are those core beliefs that encompass family roles and obligations, interdependence, and autonomy. *Identifications* reflect an individual’s sense of belonging to various groups. Chirkov (2009) artfully describes the phenomenon:

“Acculturation ... is a process that is executed by an agentic individual ... after meeting and entering a cultural community that is different from the cultural community where he or she was initially socialized. Acculturation involves a deliberate, reflective, and, for the most part, comparative cognitive activity of understanding the frame of references and meanings with regard to the world, others, and self that exist in one’s ‘home’ cultural community and which one has discovered in a new cultural community. This process emerges within the context of interactions, both physical and symbolic, with the members of the ‘home’ and new cultural communities. Acculturation is an open-ended, continuous process that includes progresses, relapses, and turns, which make it practically impossible to predict and control” (p. 94).

Although acculturation can take place in any context – especially with globalization and the growing diversity of many countries – acculturation is most typically studied in regard to people who move between countries (i.e., immigrants) rather than within them (Schwartz et al., 2010).

Acculturation theories have changed greatly over the past few decades. While the original acculturation definitions discussed above conceptualized acculturation as a bidirectional process, early researchers studied acculturation as a unidirectional and unidimensional process. Unidimensional models of acculturation posed the retention of culture of origin values and acquisition of culture of residence values on two ends of a continuum (Gordon, 1964). An immigrant was theorized to move from complete retention of the culture of origin to complete acquisition of the culture of residence over his/her life in the country of residence. Notably, the members of the community in which the immigrant settled were not expected to make such cultural changes with the influx of immigrants – the unidirectional piece of these acculturation models. This construct was termed ‘assimilation’ and coincided with the U.S. general populace’s beliefs at the time, that immigrants should adopt all of the values of U.S.-born citizens. Indeed, the naturalization process still reflects this line of thinking (Cook-Martin & FitzGerald, 2010). With the birth of cultural psychology in the 1980s, bidimensional models of acculturation rose to the forefront, seeing acquisition and retention as two dimensions of acculturation that can combine with, rather than replace, one another. These models also added practices and identifications to the traditional cultural values focus (Schwartz et al., 2010).

The bidimensional acculturation models. Bidimensional models of acculturation purport that immigrants can adopt practices, values, and identifications from more than one culture, leading to a variety of potential outcomes. Berry’s (1980) model continues to have an extensive influence on the field with four defined outcomes of acculturation: assimilation, separation, marginalization, and

biculturalism. An assimilated immigrant adopts the practices, values, and identifications of the country of residence whereas a separated immigrant maintains the country of origin’s practices, values, and identifications. On the other hand, a marginalized immigrant renounces the practices, values, and identifications of both cultures, and a bicultural immigrant combines the practices, values, and identifications of both (see [Table 1](#)).

Table 1

Berry’s (1980) Bidimensional Model of Immigrant Acculturation

		Personal value of culture of origin maintenance	
		<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>
Personal value of culture of residence adoption	<i>High</i>	Biculturalism (i.e., Integration)	Assimilation
	<i>Low</i>	Separation	Marginalization

Throughout the past couple of decades, the field of immigrant wellbeing has focused on each of these acculturation outcomes, tying them to a myriad of outcomes (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Romero, Carvajal, Volle, & Orduna, 2007). The literature has traditionally focused on negative outcomes associated with acculturation, including anxiety, depression, somatic complaints, identity confusion, and feelings of marginality (Williams & Berry, 1991). However, much empirical research has demonstrated that acculturation is also predictive of immigrants’ subjective psychological wellbeing (e.g., Amit, 2010; Massey & Akresh, 2006). Typically, the outcomes associated with acculturation have fallen on a continuum in which biculturalism has correlated with the greatest amount of positive outcomes, followed by assimilation and separation. Marginalization generally has predicted the

least positive outcomes, and the highest degree and amount of negative outcomes (Breslau, 2007; Hovey, 2000).

There are many potential reasons for why biculturalism has been shown to have the most positive links to wellbeing. Historically, the relation was explained as due to high maintenance of the culture of origin and high acculturation to the receiving community allowing for benefits from both cultures (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2012; Yoon et al., 2013). Cultural maintenance has been positive associated with self-esteem (e.g., Kiang, Witkow, & Champagne, 2013) and negatively associated with depression (e.g., Kiang, Witkow, & Champagne, 2013; French & Chavez, 2010; Rogers-Sirin & Gupta, 2012; Torres & Ong, 2010; Umana-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). Acquisition of the receiving culture has also been positively related to self-esteem (e.g., Kiang, Witkow, & Champagne, 2013). However, this explanation of the relation of acculturation and wellbeing is too simplistic, as two recent meta-analyses – one by Nguyen & Benet-Martinez (2012) and another by Yoon and colleagues (2013) – pointed out. These meta-analyses demonstrated that the association between acculturation and wellbeing was moderated by the researchers' operationalization of acculturation (e.g., dimensions measured, scales used), sample characteristics (e.g., voluntariness of immigration, race, gender, age), and contextual influences (e.g., where and when the study was conducted), suggesting that many more factors need to be taken into consideration when looking at such relation.

The influence of contextual factors on the relation between acculturation and wellbeing has gained more attention in the field over the past two decades. One of the key researchers in this area in the United States is Dina Birman. Birman (1994) has

suggested that there are many types of biculturalism (e.g., instrumental, psychological, integrated) and that each style and its related psychological outcomes depend, at least in part, on the context in which immigrants reside. Birman and her colleagues (2005) have concluded that from a contextual perspective, there is no one ‘best’ acculturative style to facilitate psychosocial wellbeing; instead, the benefits of acculturative styles depend upon the types of cultural skills needed for successful adaptation within each ecological system. Thus, they and other researchers have supposed that acculturation to both cultures can provide access to a range of different resources and skills that are useful across multiple settings. They have purported that it is this access to many resources/skills that explains psychosocial wellbeing rather than particular strategies themselves (Birman & Taylor-Ritzler, 2007; Oppedal, Røysamb, & Sam, 2004; Shen & Takeuchi, 2001).

Relatedly, both the unidimensional and bidimensional models of acculturation are also one-sided, as they do not bring to light the power of the receiving community in influencing immigrants’ acculturation. They implicitly require immigrants to adapt to receiving communities and pay no attention to the receiving communities’ adaptation to immigrants (Yakushko & Consoli, 2014). Bowskill, Lyons, and Coyle (2007) point out that the primary power structure that is involved in how the acculturation process can take place – the majority members of the receiving community – is obscured from acculturation research. This criticism is hardly a new one. In fact, as early as 1955, Mason criticized studies of acculturation for not applying “the same critical standards of observation to the donor side of contact situations as they do to the receiving side” (p. 1264). However, up until the recent

decade or so, few strides had been made to expand these theories to account for these complex sets of interactions. Starting at the beginning of the 21st century, however, multiple groups of researchers have sought to address this shortcoming in acculturation theories, emphasizing the importance of the receiving society in the acculturation processes adopted by immigrants (van Oudenhoven, Ward, & Masgoret, 2006).

In addition to Birman, another foundational researcher in this area is Jean Phinney, who has collaborated with researchers across the globe to address this issue. In their review of current acculturation theories, Phinney and colleagues (2001) attribute mixed findings in the relation of acculturation and wellbeing to the interaction between an immigrant's attitudes, goals, and characteristics, and the society's responses. They proposed that biculturalism is only related to positive outcomes because the majority of immigrants *want* to be bicultural. If immigrants do not want to be bicultural, being forced to become bicultural would not be beneficial to their wellbeing. They found this to be true in their large study of immigrants to the United States, Israel, Finland, and the Netherlands; the majority expressed a wish to integrate the practices, values, and identifications of both the countries of origin and countries of residence, and thus those who actually were able to achieve this biculturalism showed the most positive outcomes. However, additional empirical evidence to support this proposition is still lacking (Ward, Fox, Wilson, Stuart, & Kus, 2010). Moreover, these researchers have noted that the community must be open to immigrants in order for the immigrants to form bicultural (or 'integrated') identities. Other researchers, such as Berry in his newer works, agree: Immigrants are

less likely to adopt aspects of the culture of residence when they experience rejection from the receiving community (Berry, 2006). Thus, the open and accepting context might be playing the stronger role in the positive economic, health, social, and psychological outcomes that some bicultural immigrants experience (Phinney et al., 2001; Ward et al., 2010). The following models each highlight different ways in which researchers have attempted to account for the role of the receiving community in the acculturation process.

The mutual acculturation model. While it was not a well-recognized part of his career, Berry (1974, 1980) did give a degree of attention to the role that the receiving community – specifically their public policies and attitudes – played in either hindering or helping immigrants to reach their goals of (a) maintaining parts of their culture and (b) having intercultural contact with members of the receiving community. He labeled this the Mutual Acculturation Model (MAM). Based upon the receiving community’s policies and attitudes towards these two issues, Berry classified societies as *multicultural* (i.e., societies that wish immigrants to be bicultural and integrate), *melting pot* (societies that wish immigrants to assimilate), *segregative* (societies that wish immigrants to separate), or *exclusionary* (societies that wish immigrants to be marginalized; see [Table 2](#)).

Table 2

Berry’s (1980) Mutual Acculturation Model

		Receiving community’s attitude towards immigrants’ cultural maintenance	
		<i>Positive</i>	<i>Negative</i>
Receiving community’s attitude towards contact with immigrants	<i>Positive</i>	Multiculturalism	Melting pot
	<i>Negative</i>	Segregation	Exclusion

Although the MAM never received a great deal of press and the majority of the field continued to focus on the acculturation of immigrants without considering the attitudes and policies of the receiving communities, his model set the groundwork for newer interactional models of acculturation.

The interactive acculturation model. The first theory to follow Berry's Mutual Acculturation Model (MAM) was the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM), first developed by Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, and Senecal in 1997. The IAM extended the bidimensional model by contending that both immigrants and receiving communities hold acculturation orientations. Interpersonal and intergroup relations, and subsequent wellbeing, were proposed to be the product of the interaction between those orientations.

In the IAM, immigrants can adopt one of five acculturation orientations that reflect their desires to maintain the culture of origin and/or adopt the culture of residence. These acculturation orientations are: *integration* (i.e., I should maintain parts of my culture of origin and adopt parts of the culture of residence, potentially transforming it), *assimilation* (i.e., I should completely revoke my culture of origin and completely adopt the culture of residence), *segregation* (i.e., I should maintain my culture of origin, but should not adopt or transform the culture of residence), *anomie* (i.e., my preferences do not align with either culture; I should neither maintain my culture of origin nor adopt features of the culture of residence), and *individualism* (i.e., my individual characteristics matter more than my cultural orientation; see [Table 3](#)).

Table 3

Bourhis et al. 's (1997) Interactive Model of Immigrant Acculturation Orientations

		Immigrants' value of personal culture of origin maintenance	
		<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>
Immigrants' value of personal culture of residence adoption	<i>High</i>	Integration	Assimilation
	<i>Low</i>	Separation	Anomie Individualism

Similarly, a member of the receiving community can adopt one of five acculturation orientations that reflect that member's desire for immigrants to maintain their culture of origin or adopt the culture of residence. These acculturation orientations are: *integration* (i.e., immigrants should maintain parts of their culture of origin and adopt parts of the culture of residence, potentially transforming it), *assimilation* (i.e., immigrants should completely revoke their culture of origin and completely adopt the culture of residence), *segregation* (i.e., immigrants should maintain their culture of origin, but should not adopt or transform the culture of residence), *exclusion* (i.e., immigrants should neither maintain their culture of origin nor adopt features of the culture of residence), and *individualism* (i.e., immigrants' individual characteristics matter more than their cultural orientations; see [Table 4](#)).

Table 4

Bourhis et al.'s (1997) Interactive Model of Receiving Community Acculturation Orientations

		Receiving community's value of immigrants' culture of origin maintenance	
		<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>
Receiving community's value of immigrants' culture of residence adoption	<i>High</i>	Integration	Assimilation
	<i>Low</i>	Separation	Exclusion Individualism

The interaction of such orientations can lead to consensual, problematic, or conflictual relational outcomes, based upon their degree of difference and the power dynamics within the receiving community. According to the IAM, receiving community members who prefer segregation, and especially those who prefer exclusion, are most likely to have tense relationships with immigrants, and are more likely to miscommunicate with, attribute negative stereotypes to, discriminate against, and support policies that denigrate and expel immigrants. Immigrants who endorse separation are likely to have tense relationships with receiving community members, especially with those who prefer exclusion, as they are most likely to resist and, in some cases, retaliate against their policies (see [Table 5](#)). In a study of receiving community undergraduates, Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, and Schmidt (2009) found that those who endorsed assimilation, segregation, and exclusion were more likely to experience problematic and conflictual relationships with immigrants.

Table 5

Bourhis et al.'s (1997) Interactive Acculturation Model Relational Outcomes

		Immigrant acculturation orientation				
		<i>Integration</i>	<i>Assimilation</i>	<i>Separation</i>	<i>Anomie</i>	<i>Individualism</i>
Receiving community acculturation orientation	<i>Integration</i>	Consensual	Problematic	Conflictual	Problematic	Problematic
	<i>Assimilation</i>	Problematic	Consensual	Conflictual	Problematic	Problematic
	<i>Segregation</i>	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual
	<i>Exclusion</i>	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual
	<i>Individualism</i>	Problematic	Problematic	Problematic	Problematic	Consensual

The concordance model of acculturation. The Concordance Model of Acculturation (CMA; Piontkowski, Rohmann, & Florack, 2002) then integrated many of the concepts from the MAM and the IAM. Its primary foci are the attitudes and practices of both the members of the immigrant community and receiving community. Aligned with the MAM, this model focuses more on contact than the IAM and thus includes two acculturation dimensions: *cultural maintenance* (i.e., the immigrant’s wish to maintain the culture of origin and the receiving society’s wish for the immigrant to maintain his/her culture of origin) and *social contact and participation* (i.e., the immigrant’s wish to interact with the receiving community and the receiving community’s wish for the immigrant to interact with the receiving community). These translate into four categories of acculturation attitudes for the immigrant community (or non-dominant group, as Piontkowski and colleagues refer to them) – integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization (akin to Berry’s (1980) Bidimensional Model of Acculturation terms; see [Table 1](#)) – and four categories of acculturation attitudes for the host community (or ‘dominant group’) –

integration, assimilation, segregation, and exclusion (akin to four of Bourhis's (1997) Interactive Model of Receiving Community Acculturation Orientations; see [Table 4](#))

The CMA then identifies four levels of concordance based upon the ways in the two dimensions are mismatched by group. Disagreement between immigrants and the receiving community regarding whether immigrants should maintain their culture of origin is considered a *culture problematic* discordance whereas disagreement over whether immigrants should have contact with the receiving society is considered a *contact problematic* discordance. Concordance on both dimensions is considered *consensual* whereas discordance on both dimensions is considered *conflictual* (see [Table 6](#)).

Table 6

Piontkowski et al.'s (2002) Concordance Model of Acculturation

		Immigrant 'non-dominant group' acculturation orientation			
		<i>Integration</i>	<i>Assimilation</i>	<i>Separation</i>	<i>Marginalization</i>
Receiving community 'dominant group' acculturation orientation	<i>Integration</i>	Consensual	Culture Problematic	Contact Problematic	Conflictual
	<i>Assimilation</i>	Culture Problematic	Consensual	Conflictual	Contact Problematic
	<i>Segregation</i>	Contact Problematic	Conflictual	Consensual	Culture Problematic
	<i>Exclusion</i>	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual

The CMA has further suggested the level of symbolic threat associated with each level of concordance/discordance, and proposes that the relation of threat with attitudes is reciprocal in nature – that threat can precede and impact intergroup attitudes as well as be the outcome of problematic and conflictual interactions (Piontkowski, Rohmann, & Florack, 2002; Rohmann, Piontkowski, & van Randenborgh, 2008).

The relative acculturation extended model. While these models have furthered the study of acculturation, recent research has revealed that acculturation attitudes and orientations are not consistent at all times, as individuals change their attitudes and behaviors based upon the contexts in which they are situated (e.g., home, school, work). Based in part on the IAM (Bourhis et al., 1997), the CMA (Piontkowski et al., 2002), and this new literature, Navas and colleagues (2005/2006/2007) have proposed that in order to fully understand the complexities and variability of acculturation and intergroup relations, one must recognize both the acculturation attitudes and practices of immigrants and receiving community members in many different domains. Their suppositions have led to the development of the Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM). The RAEM differentiates between two types of acculturation: ideal and real. *Ideal acculturation* refers to the optimal options that immigrants would like to adopt and those options that receiving community members prefer immigrants to adopt. *Real acculturation* refers to practices immigrants engage in and those practices that receiving community members attribute to immigrants.

The RAEM also draws attention to the complexity of domains of acculturation, suggesting that real and ideal acculturation may differ across life domains. Such domains can be generally separated into three overarching categories: peripheral, intermediate, and central. According to Navas Luque and her colleagues (2006/2010) *peripheral domains* consist of (a) work/employment, (b) economics (consumption habits and family economy), (c) political and government systems, and (d) social welfare systems. *Intermediate domains* consist of (a) social relationships

and friendships. *Central domains* consist of (a) family relationships, (b) religious customs, (c) ways of thinking and principles/values ([See Table 7](#)).

Table 7

Navas et al. 's (2005) Relative Acculturation Extended Model Domains

Category	Domain
Peripheral	Work, Employment
	Economics
	Political & Government Systems
	Social Welfare Systems
Intermediate	Social Relationships & Friendships
Central	Family Relationships
	Religious Customs
	Ways of Thinking, Principles & Values

Although not directly articulated by the developers of the model, the idea that one's real and ideal acculturation may depend upon the life domain in which it is desired and/or enacted is consistent with models of alternation (i.e., shifting cultural practices to be consistent with the cultural context; LaFramboise et al., 1993; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997) and cultural frame switching (i.e., shifting cultural interpretations in order to respond to cues within the environment effectively; Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002; Lehman, Chiu, & Schaller, 2004).

According to the RAEM, real and ideal acculturation can differ across life domains. For example, an immigrant may prefer (i.e., 'ideal' acculturation) to hold values and identifications that originated from their culture of origin in their central domains (i.e., 'separation'), but may prefer to adopt some values and identifications of the culture of residence in the peripheral domains (i.e., 'integration'). Similarly, a receiving community member might wish the immigrant to maintain the values and identifications from the culture of origin in the central domains, but simultaneously

wish the immigrant to adopt the values and identifications of the receiving culture in the peripheral domains (i.e., assimilation). This interaction of ideal acculturation attitudes can be hypothesized to impact the practices an immigrant adopts (i.e., ‘real’ acculturation), such that, in this case, the immigrant may maintain the culture of origin practices in the central domains (i.e., separation), but may feel forced to revoke many preferred practices for the practices of the receiving community in peripheral domains (i.e., assimilation). These practices may or may not align with the perceptions of the receiving community member; this person might perceive the immigrant to separate in central domains and assimilate in peripheral domains or view the immigrant as integrating in both domains.

The idea that there are differences in ideal and real acculturation across domains has some preliminary empirical support. For example, in their quantitative study of 813 Africans (primary from Morocco, Senegal, and Nigeria) who immigrated to Spain, Navas Luque and colleagues (2006) found that, ideally, African immigrants preferred separation in central domains (i.e., family relationships, religious beliefs and customs, and ways of thinking), assimilation in peripheral domains (i.e., work, economics, political system/government, social welfare), and integration in intermediate domains (i.e., social relationships and friendships). There is also evidence that immigrants and receiving community members prefer different orientations. In a study of 187 adolescent immigrants (primarily from Moldova, Albania, Morocco, Peru, India, Côte d’Ivoire, Ghana, and Romania) and 355 Italian adolescents who were born and raised in the receiving community, Mancini & Bottura (2014) found that adolescent immigrants in Italy preferred integration in

peripheral domains and separation in central domains, while receiving community members preferred immigrants to assimilate to the national culture in all life domains. Further, there is some empirical support that there are discrepancies in the perception of receiving community members and immigrants. For example, in the same study conducted by Mancini & Bottura (2014), they found that while immigrants were more likely to state that they used integration strategies in central and peripheral domains, receiving community members were more likely to perceive them using separation strategies, especially in central domains.

Commonalities. In their simplest form, the MAM, IAM, CMA, and RAEM suggest that people follow different cultural paradigms in varying contexts. The more someone can be flexible in their acculturation orientations, the better they can adapt to the particular context, perhaps explaining why those who are integrative/bicultural (i.e., ascribe to both the cultures of origin and receiving communities) have better mental health outcomes (Phinney et al., 2001). While each of these recent models focuses on acculturation in a unique way, they share two prominent features. First, all models are *bidimensional*; that is, they see acquisition of the receiving culture and retention of the culture of origin as two components of acculturation that can combine with, rather than replace, one another. Second, all models are *bidirectional*; that is, they view the receiving community and the immigrant community as impacting one another. In sum, they have an underlying, uniting assumption that the response of the receiving community towards immigrants' acculturation influences the ways in which immigrants acculturate; immigrants' cultural acquisition and maintenance is related to the receiving community's opinion of integration and multiculturalism, and support

for intergroup contact (Horenczyk, Jasinskaja-Lahti, Sam, & Vedder, 2013; Matera, Stefanile, & Brown, 2011; Sam, Jasinskaja-Lahti, Horenczyk, & Vedder, 2013). In this way, stress likely does not arise from the immigrant's or the receiving community's expectations alone, but rather by their lack of fit or congruence with one another (i.e., person-environment fit).

Understanding Why Real Acculturation May Diverge from Ideal Acculturation

As demonstrated above, while immigrants may prefer particular acculturation orientations, they are not always possible to achieve, perhaps due to the varying dynamics at play within the receiving community (van Oudenhoven et al., 2006). Although these recent models have acknowledged that one's 'real' and 'ideal' acculturation orientations do not always align, very little literature has explicitly examined what factors lead to the differing levels of discrepancy among the orientations. (In fact, at the time of this writing in 2016, only fourteen articles had been published on the RAEM (Navas et al., 2005) and all of those studies took place in Western Europe.) That is, to my knowledge, no one has sought to answer the question, "What factors hinder or facilitate the alignment of 'real' acculturation orientations with 'ideal' acculturation preferences?" This is in striking contrast to the field's more extensive focus on the psychosocial factors that appear to influence how someone would ideally like to acculturate, which includes age, time of residence, education, and the reasons for and conditions of immigration; (Krishnan & Berry, 1992).

Consequently, I reviewed the theoretical and empirical literatures on acculturation across multiple disciplines to identify contextual, interpersonal, and

intrapersonal factors that may help explain why someone's 'real' acculturation orientation does not measure up to that person's 'ideal' acculturation preference. From the social science literature, two factors that likely directly describe people's relationships with their communities and community members, and thus may directly influence their acculturation, emerged: psychological sense of community and intergroup anxiety. Further, a number of factors that have been proposed, and at least partially theoretically supported, to play a role in the development of immigrants' psychological sense of community, intergroup anxiety, and acculturation were identified. These include macro-level factors, namely public policies impacting Latina/o immigrants' lived experiences; individual level factors, namely realistic and symbolic threat; and microsystem level factors, namely the attitudes of the receiving community (including their acculturative preferences for immigrants and prejudicial attitudes). Finally, they also include factors that describe the relationships of the individual with the microsystem, namely the quality of contact the immigrant has with the receiving and Latina/o immigrant communities (see [Table 8](#)).

Table 8

Factors Proposed to Influence 'Real' Acculturation Orientations

Predictors	Intermediary Variables	Outcomes
Immigration-related public policies	Psychological sense of community	'Real' cultural change
Realistic and symbolic threat	Intergroup anxiety	'Real' cultural maintenance
Receiving community's perceived acculturative preferences for immigrants and prejudicial attitudes		
Quality of contact with the receiving community and the Latina/o immigrant community		

Psychological sense of community. Sarason (1974) defined psychological sense of community (PSOC) as “the perception of similarity to others, an acknowledged interdependence with others, a willingness to maintain this interdependence by giving to or doing for others what one expects from them, and the feeling that one is part of a larger dependable and stable structure” (p. 157). In its most widely disseminated conception, psychological sense of community consists of four dimensions: (a) membership, (b) shared emotional connection, (c) integration and fulfillment of needs, and (d) mutual influence. *Membership* regards the feeling of belonging and identification with the community, and includes such markers as language, dress, habits, traditions, and a common symbol system. *Shared emotional connection* is the sense of shared history and identification with the community and the bonds developed over time between community members. *Integration and*

fulfillment of needs refers to the feeling that community members' needs will be met by the intangible and tangible resources they receive from being a part of the community. Finally, *mutual influence* pertains to a sense of reciprocal impact – that the community member has influence over what happens in the community and the community influences the community member (McMillan & Chavis, 1986; Obst & White, 2005). The past few decades of international and domestic research have strongly supported the theoretical contention that positive psychological sense of community is important to belonging and community connectedness (Sonn & Fisher, 1996), community participation (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990), and even psychological wellbeing (Pretty, Conroy, Dugay, Fowler, & Williams, 1996; Prezza, Amici, Roberti, & Tedeschi, 2001).

Psychological sense of community likely varies widely among immigrant communities, as many theorists characterize immigration as an ecological transition (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). As people immigrate to new countries, they lose, at least partially, their sense of community with their community of origin and then are assumed to develop a new sense of community with the receiving community and/or other relational communities within that macro-community (Bathum & Baumann, 2007). Maya-Jariego (2006) examined this process in African and Latin-American immigrants to Spain and Indian immigrants to Argentina. Maya-Jariego found that incorporating individuals who have also emigrated from the country of origin (including family members, such as in the case of family reunification) as well as members of the receiving community into personal social networks aids in rebuilding this lost community. Notably, immigrants, like all individuals, are not bound to one

particular community, given that communities can be both relational and territorial, as well as current technology and ways of interacting with the world that no longer require physical presence for participation in communities (Heller, 1989; Hunter & Riger, 1986; Royal & Rossi, 1996; Webber, 1963). Wiesenfeld (1996) first acknowledged that individuals interact and develop relationships in numerous settings and thus possess multiple identities across multiple communities. Brodsky, Loomis, and Marx (2002) fleshed out this concept further, contending that multiple communities can be independent or overlap each other; thus, individuals may simultaneously belong to multiple communities, and their level of PSOC with each community may wax and wane over time. This concept is known as “multiple psychological sense of community” (M-PSOC).

As immigrants adapt to new settings, they become part of new communities. Consistent with Weisenfeld’s (1996) and Brodsky and colleagues’ (2002) definitions, they may define themselves as part of a community made up of immigrants from their country of origin or who share their ethnicity, as well as part of the larger receiving community. Wiesenfeld (1996) would refer to these immigrant groups as relational micro-communities, where potentially shared cultural understandings, symbols, and histories are reconstructed in the larger context of the receiving community (i.e., macro community), which help to develop a shared emotional connection among that community (Sonn, 2002). However, immigrant communities are certainly neither homogenous nor exclusive, and thus immigrants are likely to identify with other micro-communities (e.g., their neighborhoods, both pre and post move; inter-ethnic

groups; affinity groups) as well as with the larger macro-community (e.g., country; Sonn, 2002).

Only a few researchers have attempted to measure psychological sense of community (PSOC) among Latina/o immigrants living in U.S. communities, and the research that has been done has generally demonstrated low levels of PSOC in reference to their local communities. For example, a recent study conducted in Columbia, South Carolina found a relatively low, but consistent, neighborhood PSOC among Latina/o immigrants living in both pre-dominantly ethnically-diverse neighborhoods made up of U.S.-born citizens ($M = 22.88$ out of a maximum of 40 points) and those living in predominantly Latina/o neighborhoods consisting of both immigrants and U.S.-born citizens ($M = 22.28$; non-significant difference; Townley, Kloos, Green, & Franco, 2011). In Spain, Maya-Jariego and Armitage (2007) found that immigrants had a higher PSOC with their neighborhood communities than with their immigrant communities, but that both levels of PSOC were lower than they were in their countries of origin. As noted above, many factors are likely to play a strong, distinct role in the development of PSOC to both the immigrant community as well as the receiving community, including public policy, attitudes of the receiving community, quality of contact with both the immigrant and the receiving communities, and realistic and perceived threat (discussed in subsequent sections).

It is likely that PSOC with both one's ethnic immigrant community and with the local receiving community play a strong in one's real cultural change and cultural maintenance orientations. However, few studies have explored the impact of PSOC on acculturation, and those that have typically look at cultural similarities as a

predictor of psychological sense of community rather than considering real cultural change and/or cultural maintenance as an outcome of the construct. However, concepts related to this construct suggest that, theoretically, PSOC should impact the ways in which individuals acculturate, given that a strong, positive PSOC entails membership, shared emotional connection, and mutual influence; that is, someone who has a strong, positive PSOC is more likely to be influenced by the community, taking on the identifications, values, and practices of the community. Many studies have indicated that PSOC is related to social cohesion (e.g., Garcia, Giuliani, & Wiesenfeld, 1999; Obst & White, 2005; Sonn & Fisher, 1996) and thus also to similar values, identifications, and practices (i.e., components of culture). Such idea should not be surprising as it is ostensibly built into the component of membership. As McMillan (1996) writes, “If one can find people with similar ways of looking, feeling, thinking, and being, then it is assumed that one has found a place where one can safely be oneself” (p. 321).

A social psychological concept, *social identity theory*, fleshes out this link further. Social identity theory suggests that when individuals are strongly aware of their community membership, and that membership holds strong value and emotional significance to them, they accentuate the homogeneity within their community (Fiske, 2004; Obst & White 2005). In other words, the concept supports the notion that when one has a strong, positive PSOC, one is more likely to also take on the values, practices, and identifications of the community; that is, to acculturate. This process can take place in relation to both the receiving community and the immigrant community, as PSOC can provide sources of meaning that can aid in adaptation and

acculturation (Sonn, 2002). Further, PSOC has been demonstrated to facilitate practices that could be considered to be part of real acculturation orientations, such as relationships, identity, social organization, and overall adaptation. In other words, strong PSOC with a relational or territorial community is likely to influence people to modify their practices to match that community (Herrero, Fuente, & Garcia, 2011). Still, at this point in time, in spite of strong theoretical links, there remains little empirical research on the influences that PSOC may have on the acculturation/cultural maintenance of immigrants (Herrero et al., 2011).

Intergroup anxiety. In addition to PSOC, a person's feelings about interacting with the receiving community may influence their decisions – and abilities – to acculturate to that community. These feelings are described as 'intergroup anxiety' throughout the literature. Intergroup anxiety is defined as the negative emotional reaction that emerges when one becomes aware of group differences from actual or anticipated contact with so-called 'out-group' members (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). The concept is at once enduring and cross-situational, but may also be heightened during particular interactions with self-defined out-groups. Although intergroup anxiety may change across situations, many researchers have argued that intergroup anxiety develops into a trait, staying relatively constant across situations. Intergroup anxiety is conceptualized to be comprised of two components: (a) *affective*, a feeling that is negative and aversive, full of apprehension, distress, and uneasiness; and (b) *cognitive*, a negative appraisal of the anticipation of interaction due to potential negative psychological consequences or behavioral consequences, negative evaluation from the out-group (e.g., receiving community) or negative

evaluation from the in-group (e.g., ethnic immigrant community) due to their interaction with this out-group (e.g., receiving community). State-like intergroup anxiety also includes a physiological component, but is beyond the scope of this literature review.

According to intergroup anxiety theory, there are then three primary consequences of intergroup anxiety, all of which may impact one's real acculturation orientation. The first of these consequences is *cognitive*, activating negative evaluations of one's out-group, which are associated with stereotyping and biased perceptions (Berrenberg, Finlay, Stephan, & Stephan, 2002; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Stephan, 2014; Van Zomeren, Fischer, & Spears, 2007). The second consequence is *affective*, creating emotions such as fear, anger, threat, dread, embarrassment, humiliation, frustration, guilt, or hatred (Binder et al., 2009). These cognitive and affective consequences are associated with *behavioral* consequences. These behaviors include avoiding association and contact with members of the out-group, not openly communicating with the out-group, and terminating intergroup interactions quickly (e.g., Barlow, Winnifred, & Terry, 2010; Bromgard & Stephan, 2006; Cole & Yip, 2008; Duronto, Nishida, & Nakayama, 2005; Turner, Hewstone, Voci, & Vonofakou, 2007). Such behaviors can theoretically be seen in one's real acculturation orientation towards the out-group (e.g., receiving community); in other words, immigrants may be less likely to take on cultural elements of the receiving community when they experience high levels of intergroup anxiety.

Although there have been a number of factors (discussed below) that have been proposed to impact the development of intergroup anxiety and have been at least

partially empirically supposed, the leading theorist on intergroup anxiety (Walter G. Stephan) has contended that a full understanding of the predictors is not yet clear. Consequently, he has called for further multi-level analyses that examine both societal (e.g., public policy), individual (e.g., threat, attitudes), and situational (e.g., quality of contact) causes of intergroup anxiety in order to create a more comprehensive, integrative theory (Stephan, 2014).

Public policy. To more fully understand the context of immigrant adaptation and experiences, many researchers (e.g., Bourhis et al., 1997; Kymlicka, 1995; Rudmin, 2003) have also argued that it is necessary to understand the motivations and perspectives of the policymakers and politicians in receiving communities, which can be partially seen in the policies they enact. ‘Integration’ policies regard what conditions are necessary for the successful integration of immigrants in the receiving community, defined by the receiving community. According to Kymlicka (1995), these policies generally reflect the orientation of the economically, demographically, and politically dominant groups in the receiving community, and thus the policies are usually formulated to compel immigrant adaptation, rather than the adaptation of the receiving community. Four classifiers for state integration ideologies, as labeled by Bourhis et al. (1997), are *pluralism*, *civic*, *assimilation*, and *ethnist*. All ideologies expect that immigrants will adopt the public values of the receiving community (e.g., government structure, values paid out in the civil and criminal codes), but they differ on the extent to which they believe they should mandate and support private values and practices. *Pluralism* ideologies believe that the government cannot mandate private values and practices (i.e., those related to domestic, interpersonal, and

associative relations) and that they could and should both financially and socially support the private activities of immigrant communities. Canadian policies generally reflect such an ideology. *Civic* ideologies also believe that the government cannot mandate private values and practices, but they believe in nonintervention; that is, they do not believe that they should financially or socially support the private activities of immigrant communities, and instead promote the integration of immigrants through anti-discrimination laws. The United Kingdom's policies, and more recently the United States' policies, reflect this ideology. *Assimilation* ideologies believe that the government can intervene with some of the private values and practices of immigrants (e.g., linguistic, cultural, religious practices). French policies, as well as some of the United States' policies reflect such an ideology. *Ethnist* ideologies believe that they have the right to limit certain values and practices, and who is part of the state by ethnic or religious terms. Japan and Israel's policies reflect this ideology (Bourhis et al., 1997).

Immigration policy in the United States has changed significantly since the country's foundation. Political scientists typically divide modern immigration policy into five time periods that reflect (a) the amount of immigrants newly arriving to and residing in the United States and (b) the level of restriction imposed by policies. Of course, numerous factors influenced the development of these policies and it is naïve to suggest that these labels comprehensively reflect the policies indicated within them; nonetheless, these time periods provide a way of organizing policy changes and examining the history that has led policy to its current state. These time periods are: 1882 – 1924, a time of high immigration and increasingly restrictive policies; 1924 –

1943, a time of decreasing immigration and severely restrictive policies; 1943 – 1965, a time of increasing, yet still limited, immigration and increasingly less restrictive policies; 1965 – 1980, a time of high and increasing immigration and comparatively low restrictive policies; and finally, 1980 – present day, a time of high immigration and evermore restrictive policies (Daniels & Graham, 2001).

1882 – 1924. The year 1882 marked the first attempt to regulate immigration in the United States. Prior to this year, aside from certain limited restrictions imposed by enacted policies (e.g., the Page Act of 1875 banned entry of criminals and prostitutes to the country, an 1880 law required each immigrant to pay a tax upon arrival), immigration was largely free of restrictions. The time period before 1882 is often termed the “golden age” of immigration. However, growing economic fears led to the Immigration Act of 1882, which contained a ‘Liable to Become a Public Charge’ clause to deny entry to immigrants lacking sustainable living means. Further, blatant anti-Asian sentiment and prejudice led to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which barred entry to any Chinese person who had never previously stepped foot on U.S. soil.

One might wonder why similar policies did not extend to other countries, or at least to the rest of Asia, given the people’s fears. Japan is a fantastic case example of how power and privilege have been built into the immigration system. While the populace generally held and expressed an anti-Asian sentiment in the late 1800s and early 1900s, Japan was also a rising world power. Consequently, in 1907 the Roosevelt administration developed the so-called ‘Gentlemen’s Agreement’ (i.e., executive agreement between U.S. and Japanese leadership that did not require

Congress's approval). The United States agreed to not enact legislation to bar the Japanese people from immigrating, while Japan promised to not issue passports to male laborers but still send 'mail order brides' to help correct the gender imbalance in previous Japanese immigration. Immigration increased from other Asian countries, including Korea, the Philippines, and India, leading to fears of what was termed a 'yellow majority' on the U.S.'s western coast. In response, the U.S. Congress passed the "Asia-Pacific Triangle" provisions of the Act of 1917, essentially barring immigrants from these countries to enter the country. Shortly thereafter, the courts ruled that Filipinos (whose country was a territory of the United States at the time) were part of the U.S. community; though they were not eligible for naturalization, they were granted unrestricted entry, which led to an influx of Filipinos to the California and Hawaii agricultural sectors.

As a result of the poor economy and various uprisings and protests of the 1910s and 1920s, Daniels (in Daniels & Graham, 2001) has posited, along with many other historians, that many U.S. citizens felt like the country was letting in the wrong 'kinds' of people. This time period gave rise to laws that, for the first time, made 'contract labor' (i.e., bringing in foreign-born individuals under contract of labor/services) illegal. Since these laws were first enacted in 1885, many provisions for certain types of labor have been passed depending on the country's need at the time (e.g., agricultural labor during shortages, technical labor in the 21st century). For the first time in the United States, economics played a large role in enacted immigration policies; the weak economy of the 1890s gave rise to groups such as the Immigration Restriction League (IRL) that lobbied for policy changes over the next

three decades. Their efforts culminated in literacy tests (a policy that was passed and vetoed three times before its adoption as law in 1917), which the group wanted only to be made available in English. However, knowledge of the English language only became a requirement for naturalization rather than immigration. Pressure, again rooted in economics, also led to the first large-scale government investigation into immigration in 1907, which ultimately declared that temporary immigration was problematic and taking advantage of the economy. The investigators recommended that immigrants from Northwestern Europe be favored due to their seemingly ‘permanent’ immigration. This period set the stage for quota-based immigration policies, and for the first time in 1921, the United States set a cap of immigration at three percent.

1924 – 1943. Bitter debates over the 1921 law ensued, and the Immigration Act of 1924 (i.e., The Johnson Reed Act) was enacted three years later. It set immigration quotas at two percent of the total number of each nationality in the U.S. as of the 1890 census (as opposed to the previous system that based the quota on the number of 1st generation immigrants living in the U.S.), limiting newer immigration areas such as Southeastern Europe while simultaneously increasing visas to Northwestern Europe. It also continued to exclude immigrants from Asia. In this way, policy makers, influenced strongly by the IRL, attempted to preserve ethnic homogeneity of the U.S. under the guise of strengthening the economy. Then Congressman Johnson (1927) celebrated, “The United States is our land... We intend it to remain so. The day of indiscriminate acceptance of all races has definitely ended” (as cited in Daniels & Graham, 2001, p. 22). Even stricter restrictions were

called for under the direction of President Hoover following the Great Depression when he ordered immigration officials to reinterpret the 'Liable to Become a Public Charge' (LPC) clause to exclude anyone but the affluent.

Nonetheless, the late 1930s and early 1940s saw a steady increase in attempted Mexican immigration. The Hoover administration used the LPC clause to deny entry to many Mexican immigrants and further designed a supposedly voluntary repatriation of Mexican Americans (many of whom were U.S.-born citizens) with the Mexican government, deporting nearly 500,000 people to Mexico. When Roosevelt took office, the executive branch's tone towards immigration changed and the administration halted the repatriation efforts and halved unauthorized immigrant deportation rates, but the laws remained the same. An influx of refugees (i.e., people forced to leave their countries in order to persecution on the basis of their race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership in a social group), many of whom were Jews escaping Nazi Germany, also occurred during the 1930s. However, the Roosevelt administration did not pass a law to grant asylum (in spite of the proposed Wagner-Rogers bill of 1939 to bring in 20,000 children fleeing Germany), and even turned away a vessel carrying 933 Jewish refugees, forcing it to return to Europe. Roosevelt also transferred the Immigration & Naturalization Service (INS) from a largely protective department (the Department of Labor) to a primarily punitive one (the Department of Justice).

1943 – 1965. The Second World War and its aftermath was an important turning point in immigration policies. The administration began to provide temporary visas to refugees and loosened the ties of asylum to the quota system. They also

repealed all of the statutes that excluded Chinese immigration, in part due to China's strong ally-ship during the war. Immigration and naturalization privileges for other excluded Asian countries soon followed. Labor shortages during the war also caused the United States to accept many immigrants from Mexico and the Caribbean on temporary agricultural and industrial visas (e.g., the *Braceros* Program), which continued until 1964, and has truly continued to this day, though it is not sanctioned by law. The years following the war led the United States to develop its first formal legislative refugee program; Congress, during the Truman administration, passed the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, allowing 415,000 refugees to be admitted in 4 years in a soon abandoned 'quota mortgaging' system.

The Cold War was an important influence in the development of the Immigration Act of 1952 (i.e., the McCarran-Walter Act). As the United States claimed to be the "leader of the free world," they could no longer support blatant exclusionist immigration policies, and so the Act removed all racial bars to immigration and naturalization and expanded family reunification. A 13-year debate over the future of immigration policy ensued, culminating in the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965.

1965 – 1980. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (INA) was perhaps the most fundamental shift in immigration policy since immigration was regulated. The INA abolished the national origins quota system and instead adopted a unified quota system based on immigrants' skills and family relationships. While visas were limited to 170,000, they did not include immediate family members or other special cases (e.g., former citizens, ministers, employees of the U.S.

government abroad). This law facilitated what political scientists call ‘chain migration’, or immigration in which family members follow one another. Chain migration coupled with the ‘pull’ factor of economic opportunity (i.e., people more often immigrate to places that are perceived to have an economic advantage), led to a substantial increase in Asian and Latin American immigration, while European immigration remained comparatively stagnant. Immigration swiftly increased from 3.3 million in the 1960s to 7.3 million in the 1980s. The 1965 law also gave authority to the president to authorize unlimited numbers of refugees; as such, the refugee proportion of the immigrant pool was subject to extreme fluctuation, from only 1.2% of all immigrants in 1977 to 42.9% of all immigrants in 1980. Under the Carter administration, Congress passed the Refugee Act of 1980, guaranteeing 50,000 visas for refugees annually and providing a new legal status, ‘asylee’.

1980 – present. The starting point of the tightening in immigration policy is up for debate: a struggling economy, an increase in crime, fears of an AIDS epidemic in the Cuban refugee community, and the Reagan administration are all thought to have significantly swayed public opinion back towards nativism and increasing xenophobia. The Selection Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy appointed by Congress in 1978 stressed the issue of unauthorized immigration, associating it with crime and poverty, contending that the U.S. needed to “regain control of its borders” (as cited in Daniels & Graham, 2001, p. 50). Indeed, millions of unauthorized immigrants lived in the United States at the time, many of whom came through the long-standing *Braceros* Program (which started in the late 1940s) or in other working capacities. Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control

Act (IRCA) in 1986, which allowed for unauthorized immigrants to apply for legal status if they met specific requirements (e.g., maintained a continuous physical presence in the U.S. since 1982; did not possess a criminal record; registered with the Selective Service; demonstrated a knowledge of U.S. history, government, and the English language), but it also barred those who gained legal status or temporary residency from accessing social safety net programs for five years. More than three million immigrants received amnesty through the program, but it unfortunately split families whose members crossed the border at differing times. IRCA also prohibited employers from hiring unauthorized immigrants and developed sanctions for these offenses. Moreover, IRCA mandated increased enforcement of U.S. borders.

Many smaller immigration bills have been passed since IRCA was developed, many of which have been focused on paving pathways to legal status for unauthorized immigrants (e.g., the amnesty acts of the 1990s, the Department of Homeland Security's 2012 allowance for DREAM Act-eligible youth to apply for deferred action, granting them protection against deportation and the ability to get work authorization) and changing immigration restrictions for certain job sectors in order to meet the needs of the United States. Simultaneously, a large number of bills have attempted to 'crack down' on immigration, and especially unauthorized immigration, such as the 1996 Illegal Immigrant Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA). This Act increased border patrol and INS agents, and mandated construction of a fence on the U.S. border with Mexico. The terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 again brought the issue of immigration to the forefront, but the two sides of Congress could not come to a compromise. The House

passed the Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act that focused on border control whereas the Senate passed the Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act, which would have given amnesty to unauthorized immigrants and increased legal immigration.

Responding to the lack of progress in passing comprehensive immigration reform, on November 20, 2014, President Barack Obama took a number of executive actions related to immigration. Specifically, these executive actions: (a) expanded the population eligible for the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program to people of any current age who entered the United States before the age of 16 and lived in the country continuously since 2010, and extended the period of DACA and work authorization to three years; (b) allowed parents of U.S. citizens and lawful permanent residents to request deferred action and employment authorization for three years if they had lived in the country continuously since 2010 and passed background checks, (c) expanded the use of provisional waivers of unlawful presence to include the spouses and sons and daughters of lawful permanent residents and U.S. citizens, (d) changed visa programs to more readily provide visas to skilled workers in job areas determined to facilitate economic growth, and (e) increased information about and access to citizenship education for immigrants. The executive actions were responded to differently around the country. Although they were challenged by representatives of at least 26 states – in part led by the infamous Maricopa County, Arizona Sheriff, Joe Arpaio, who filed suit within hours of the announcement – they were supported vocally by representatives of at least 15 states – including Maryland, New Mexico, and Virginia – who filed a ‘friend-of-the-court’ brief that explained the

economic benefits of the actions. In early 2015, the actions were blocked from implementation during the legal case. As of January 19, 2016 (during the final phase of data collection in this project) the Supreme Court had agreed to take the case, but did not hear any arguments until April 2016 (after data collection was completed). As of June 2016, the Supreme Court issues a 4-4 decision in the case¹ (*United States v. Texas*), upholding a lower court's decision to block these actions (American Immigration Council, 2016). Thus, in spite of these attempted changes in the executive branch and continued debates in the legislative branch, as of this writing, no significant reforms to immigration policy have been made in nearly three decades.

State policies. In the absence of comprehensive immigration reform at the federal level, many states have sought to fill legislative gaps with their own measures. These laws can be grouped into a number of categories: (a) laws requiring state and local law enforcement officials to inquire about immigration status, (b) laws mandating E-Verify enrollment and use, (c) laws requiring applicants for public benefits to verify their immigration status (or citizenship), and (d) laws impacting immigrants' access to higher education (National Immigration Law Center, 2013).

Immigration status inquiry and enforcement. Following in the footsteps of Arizona's SB 1070 law passed in 2010, 25 states proposed legislation aimed at enforcing federal immigration policies. Policies proposed and taken allow law enforcement to inquire into immigration status without reason, create state-level penalties for violations of federal immigration law, and expel immigrants from the state where the law was enacted or aim to make life so difficult for immigrants that

¹ One seat on the Supreme Court was vacant during this time period, following the death of Justice Antonin Scalia in February 2016.

they would leave the state (National Immigration Law Center, 2013). Only five of these states (in addition to Arizona) passed their proposed legislation as of this writing (Utah, Indiana, Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina), but courts halted many of the core components of these laws in all states but Alabama. The majority of states have rejected these measures as unconstitutional, a hazard to public safety, and too burdensome to state budgets (see [Figure 1](#)).

A few states (and many localities) have passed legislation that limits state law enforcement agencies from working fully with the federal government to detain unauthorized immigrants. Under federal law, when Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) learns about a noncitizen in state or local law enforcement custody, they can issue what is known as a ‘detainer’ or ‘immigration hold’. This is essentially an official request to the jail to notify ICE before releasing the person so that federal authorities can arrange to take custody. In the case of an upcoming release (e.g., after the person has been found guilty or innocent, the charges have been dropped, bail has been secured, or the person has served a sentence) ICE asks the jail to hold the person for up to 48 additional hours so that they can take custody for immigration enforcement action. Both California and Connecticut have legislation that prohibits law enforcement from honoring the requests of immigration detainees unless the person has committed a serious crime (see [Figure 1](#)).

- Authorize the state police to ask people about their immigration status
- Limit the state police from fully cooperating with Immigration & Customs Enforcement

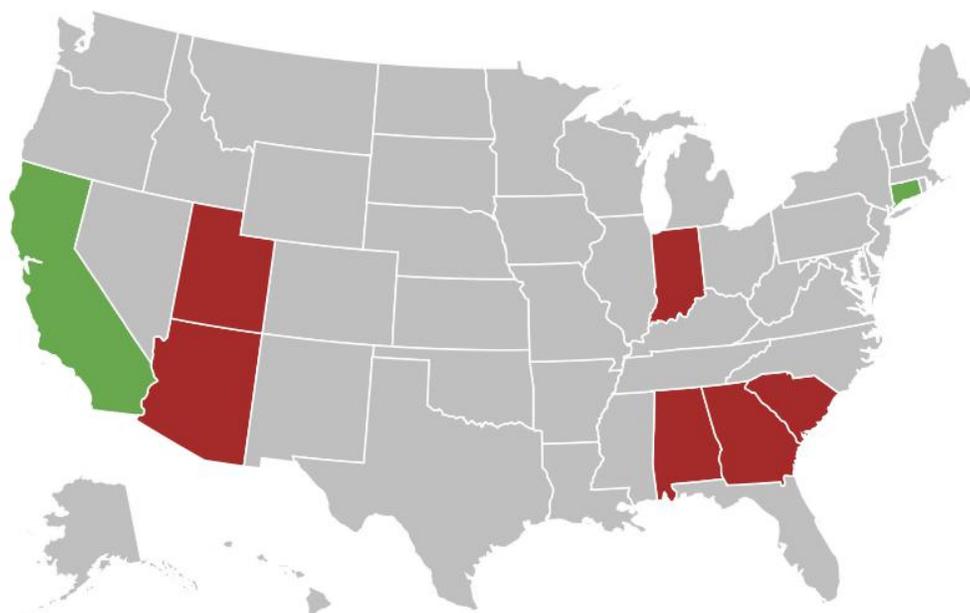


Figure 1. States with policies regarding immigration status inquiry and enforcement.

At the time of this research, while neither New Mexico nor Maryland had state legislation that bars this practice, a number of counties had enacted policies to block ICE’s power. In New Mexico, these policies started to be put into place in 2010. Between December 2010 and January 2011, Taos and San Miguel County enacted administrative policies that prohibit the detention center from accepting any ICE detainees who do not have at least one felony or two misdemeanor convictions. In the summer of 2014, Doña Ana and Bernalillo Counties enacted policies to halt honoring detainer requests from ICE officials at their county jails. Sheriffs of nine counties in Maryland (Allegany, Garrett, Montgomery, Kent, Talbot, St. Mary’s, Cecil, Queen Anne’s, Prince George’s) have also made statements that they will not honor ICE requests to hold immigrants for deportation unless they are accompanied

by a judicial warrant (Immigration Legal Resource Center, 2015a/b). In a series of letters throughout the summer and fall of 2014, the then governor of Maryland, Martin O'Malley, also asserted that the Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services (who administrate Central Booking in Baltimore City) would only honor requests by ICE to hold immigrants for deportation in cases in which an immigrant was charged with or convicted of a felony, three or more misdemeanors, or a 'serious' misdemeanor, and ICE provides a judicial warrant that indicates probable cause that the immigrant has committed a violation of criminal law. However, following the election of a new governor, Larry Hogan, Maryland's tone on cooperating with ICE changed. In August 2015, news outlets reported that Hogan instructed the state detention facility to honor ICE requests in more cases. However, the letter of specific instruction had not appeared at the time of this writing and it is unclear the extent to which state officials are honoring ICE requests. Neither Virginia nor Arizona, nor localities within them, had made any such attempts to limit ICE's reach in their territories at the time of this research (Immigration Legal Resource Center, 2015a/b).

E-Verify enrollment. Prior to 2011, E-Verify legislation was largely a voluntary program that allowed employers to verify the employment eligibility of their new hires on the Internet through the Social Security administration and the Department of Homeland Security's databases. While more than 40 states have proposed legislation regarding E-Verify, as of August 2015, 22 states have laws that make E-Verify mandatory for at least some, if not all, employers. Alabama, Arizona, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Utah, require the use of E-Verify by all employers. Colorado, Florida, Idaho, Indiana,

Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Texas, Virginia and West Virginia mandate the use of E-Verify by most public employers. Minnesota and Pennsylvania mandate the use of E-Verify for public contractors. The legislation is not without serious contention; Rhode Island had a law that mandated the use of E-Verify, but it was repealed by an executive order. Two states (California and Illinois) have laws that prohibit the requirement to use E-Verify (see [Figure 2](#)).

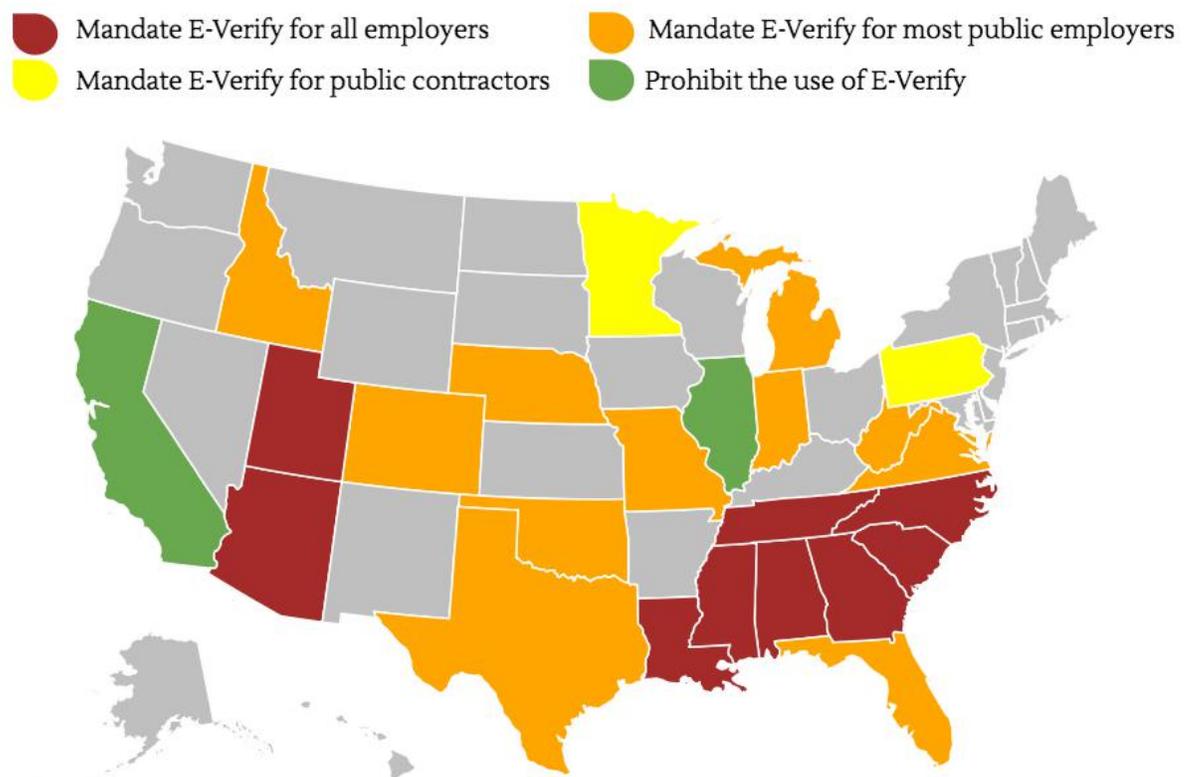


Figure 2. States with policies regarding E-verify.

An additional program under E-Verify is the Records and Information from the Department of Motor Vehicles (known as ‘RIDE’), which adds a capacity to verify the authenticity of state driver’s licenses. Those states that use the service must agree to share their license data with the federal government. As of 2014, only

Mississippi, Florida, Idaho, and Iowa were participating (National Immigration Law Center, 2013). Ten states, as well as the District of Columbia, have gone in the opposite direction of the RIDE program. These states allow people to obtain driver's licenses using a foreign passport or birth certificate or evidence of current residency in the state, consequently allowing many unauthorized immigrants to get licenses (See Figure 3). However, it is important to note that most states still require a Social Security number for a driver's license, which unauthorized immigrants do not have (National Immigration Law Center, 2013).

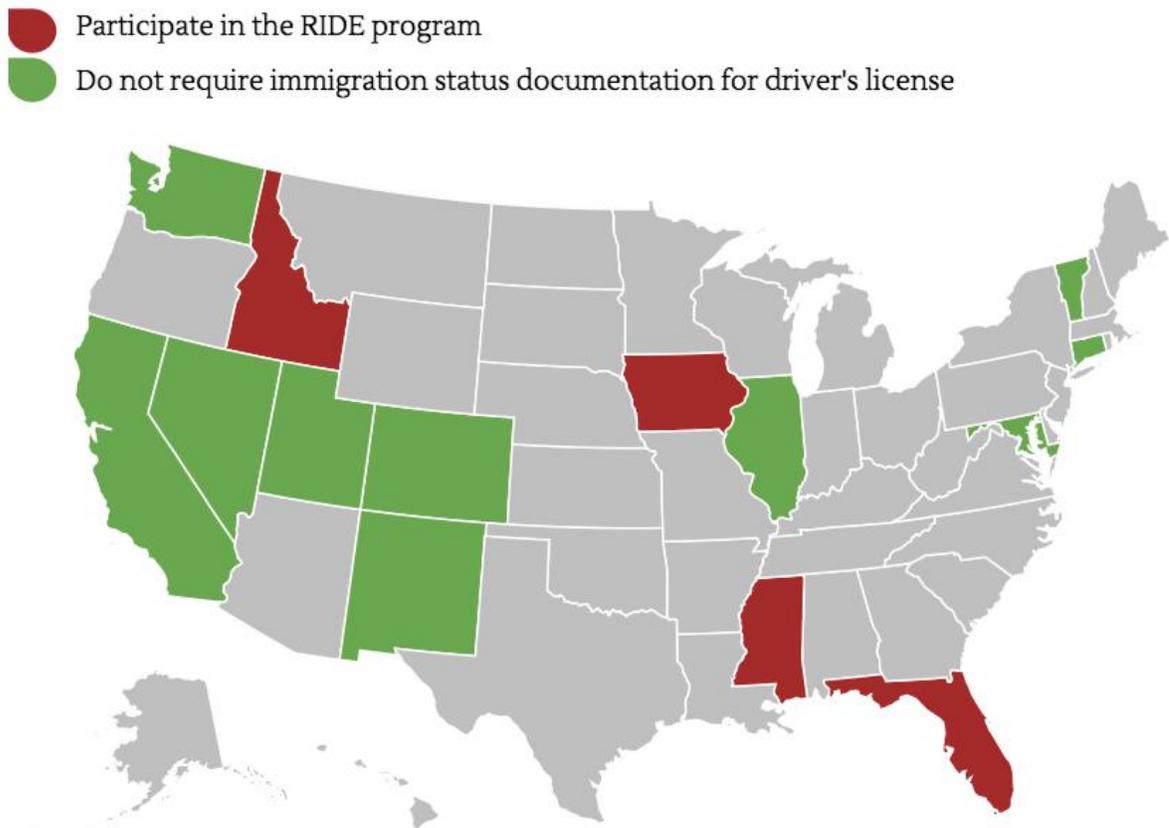


Figure 3. States with policies regarding the provision of driver's licenses to immigrants.

Public benefits. While federal law prevents unauthorized immigrants from accessing public benefits programs, certain states have taken these measures further. These states have enacted laws that require individuals requesting benefits to sign a statement attesting to the fact that they are lawfully present (or citizens), and their status is then verified through a federal database, the Systematic Alien Verification for Entitlements (SAVE) program; if found to be lying, the states then have the right to prosecute these individuals for fraud. Similarly, some states strictly limit the types of documentation immigrants can submit prove their identity when applying for benefits, making the process difficult for lawfully present immigrants. Many states oppose these types of legislation due to the lack of evidence of fraud and the cost associated with implementing these measures, as well as the burden such laws put on citizens of the United States. As of this writing, twelve states (Idaho, Utah, Arizona, Colorado, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Missouri, Indiana, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia) have enacted laws that require verification of immigration status for public benefits (National Immigration Law Center, 2013; see [Figure 4](#)).

 Participate in the SAVE program

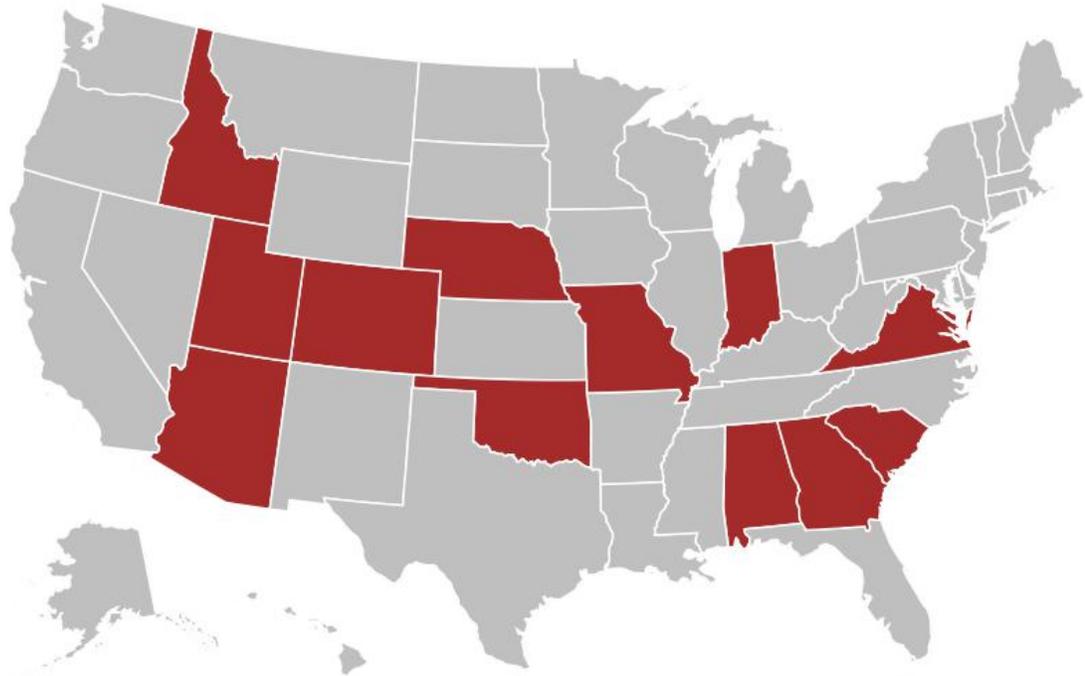


Figure 4. States with policies regarding the SAVE program.

Higher education. Over the past decade, a number of states have enacted multiple measures that seek to restrict or improve immigrants' access to higher education through enrollment, tuition equity, and scholarship/financial aid legislation. While many states (e.g., Arizona, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia) have sought to enact laws that prohibit unauthorized immigrants from enrolling in higher education, South Carolina, Montana, and Alabama are the only states that have such legislation in place. On the other hand, many states have worked to increase access to higher education through tuition equity. Tuition equity is the practice of providing in-state tuition to unauthorized immigrants who have graduated

from high schools within the state. As of April 2015, 20 states (California, Colorado, Connecticut, Hawaii, Florida, Illinois, Kansas, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Mexico, New Jersey, New York, Oklahoma, Oregon, Rhode Island, Texas, Utah, Washington) had passed laws through a variety of means (e.g., state legislation, Board of Regents decisions) to allow this practice. The states have varied in the number of years a student needs to have attended the high school (1 – 4 years), and in the case of Hawaii, a middle school in the state. Some states also require students to submit documentation stating that they are pursuing legal status. Three states explicitly ban students from qualifying for in-state tuition (Arizona, Georgia, Indiana) and Alabama and Georgia ban access in other ways ([See Figure 5](#)).

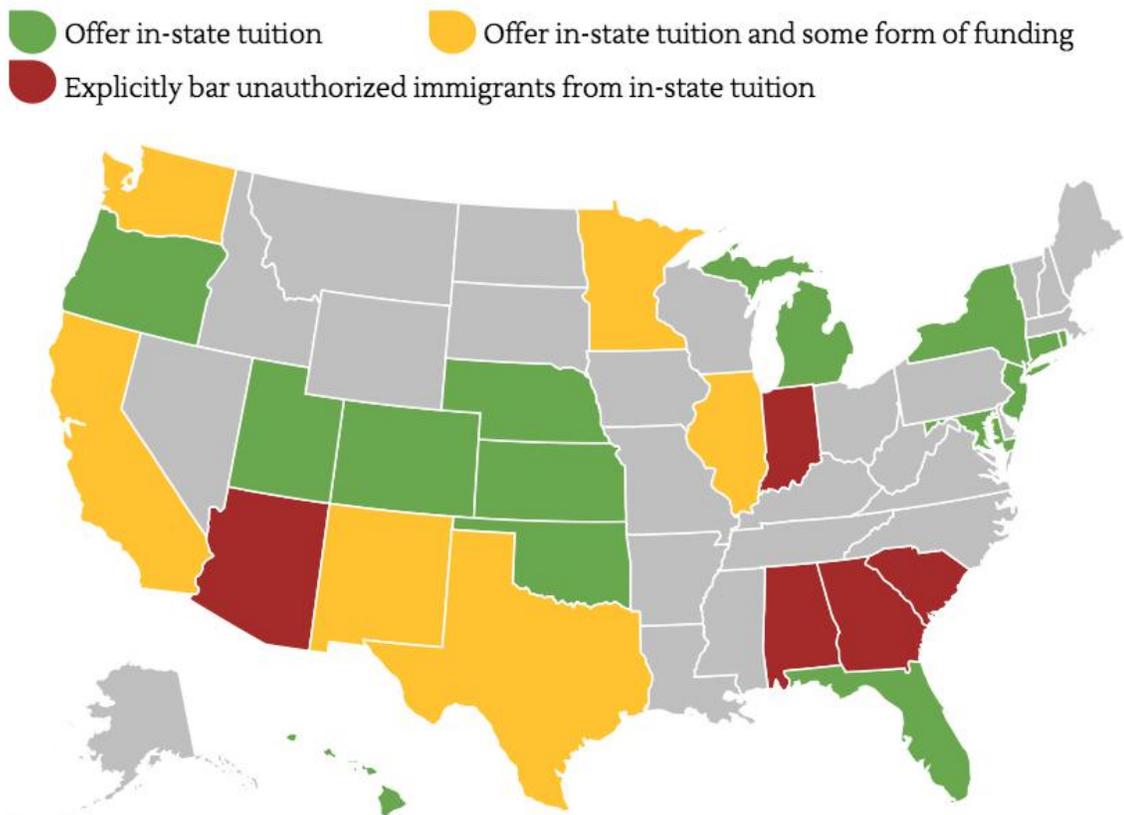


Figure 5. States with policies regarding higher education enrollment and funding.

Even with in-state tuition, costs can be prohibitive for immigrants. Consequently, a number of states have enacted laws that allow unauthorized immigrants to access funding in the form of loans or scholarships from either public or private sources. These states include: California, Washington, New Mexico, Texas, Minnesota, and Illinois ([See Figure 5](#)).

Within an ecological understanding, it is not hard to envision how these policies simultaneously produce and are products of the members of the receiving community. Interactional acculturation models suggest that public policies and attitudes of the receiving community are expected to mutually influence one another: The immigration and integration policies of the state are proposed to influence the acculturation orientations of the receiving community and the acculturation orientations of the receiving community are proposed to influence state immigration and integration policies (Bourhis et al., 1997). Accordingly, inclusive and supportive ideologies and policies are predicted to attenuate conflictual relations whereas exclusive and restrictive state ideologies and policies are predicted to accentuate conflictual outcomes (Bourhis et al., 1997).

Impact of public policies on psychological sense of community. Although there has been little direct research on the impact of immigration-related policies on psychological sense of community (PSOC), one can envision links between policy and the construct. Policies such as immigration inquiry and enforcement, E-verify enrollment, public benefits provision, and higher education access all provide signs to immigrants as to whether or not they are considered members of the community. Moreover, policies certainly can influence whether or not immigrants are able to get

their needs met by the community, given their provision or restriction of education, employment, and safety net programs. Similarly, policies can be theorized to influence whether or not one shares an emotional connection with the community due to differential treatment, as well as whether or not one feels that one can influence one's community due to restriction of roles and areas of entry into the community.

Moreover, a number of researchers have theorized the impact of local, state, and national policies on PSOC, and the data that does exist supports this link. For example, in a qualitative study of graduate students, Fisher & Sonn (2002) noted that the students defined membership in the national Australian community by a number of sociocultural characteristics, such as language and slang, social referents, and historical events, which excluded many individuals of varying ethnicities and citizenship statuses. They argue that 'White Australia' and 'One Nation' (i.e., nationalism) policies have sent messages that exclude immigrants from being a part of communities, depleting their membership and shared emotional connection from the society. In her qualitative study of immigrant women of minority racial statuses in Canada, Hogarth (2011) concluded that immigration-related policies systematically exclude and exploit immigrant women of color and create a sense of "unbelonging" with the community. In the United States, Valdez, Lewis Valentine, & Padilla (2013) found that the passage of SB-1070 in Arizona led Latina/o immigrants in that state to strengthen ties among their immigrant groups so that they could support one another in the face of a common hardship, but also led immigrants to lose social connections with the wider receiving community due to fear and increased isolation. Garcia & Keyes (2012) found similar results in that immigrants coped with restrictive public

policies (especially in regard to immigration status enforcement) by minimizing their interactions with receiving communities, including their involvement in social services and institutions central to their well-being.

Impact of public policies on intergroup anxiety. Similarly, although to my knowledge there is no empirical research on the impact of immigration-related public policies on intergroup anxiety, the leading theorist on intergroup anxiety has proposed that the structural features of societies – such as their political and stratification systems – should influence intergroup anxiety, especially when such policies are discriminatory and lead to injustice, inequality, and restrictions against intergroup contact (Stephan, 2014). Relatedly, Garcia and Keyes (2012) found that restrictive immigration policies increased fear of having interactions with the receiving community, especially for unauthorized immigrants. The associated behavioral consequences of intergroup anxiety as a result of public policies can also be seen in the United States. For example, the day after HB-56 went into effect in Alabama (which requires school officials to report on the immigration statuses of their students and the students' parents), 2,285 Latina/o students were absent from schools across the state (Fitz, Wolgin, & Garcia, 2012).

Impact of public policies on real acculturation. The relation between public policies and real acculturation likely is not fully explained through PSOC and intergroup anxiety. While empirical support is lacking in the current literature, it is probable that these public policies also influence 'real' acculturation orientations directly, as they can directly impede or enhance one's ability to engage in practices congruent with the receiving and immigrant communities. For example, restrictive

immigration enforcement policies, including programs such as E-verify, may drive some immigrants (particularly those without authorization to live in this country) into the shadows, causing them to stay within ethnic enclaves, impeding their opportunities to work and socialize with U.S.-born members of the receiving community, and keeping them from developing English language skills. On the other hand, facilitative immigration policies, such as tuition equity and financial support for higher education, may allow immigrants to more fully participate with U.S.-born members of the receiving community, facilitating their adaptation to the culture.

This link has been made in the literature through a concept named ‘segmented assimilation’. Partially as a result of restrictive immigration policies – as well as a related need for connection, social support, and acceptance – immigrant families, especially those of color, are likely to live in ethnic enclaves (Orfield & Yun, 1999). Such environments can be very useful as they provide roots in the community and protect from cultural isolation (Liebkind, 1996; Noh & Avison, 1996). However, these enclaves simultaneously often concentrate poverty and violence, and are theoretically and empirically linked to immigrants’ assimilation to the norms of what has been termed the ‘underclass’, as these immigrants have little direct and intimate contact with middle-class U.S.-born receiving community members (i.e., ‘segmented assimilation’; Massey & Denton, 1993; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Zhou, 1997). While not an inherently negative situation, it certainly influences acculturation through lack of opportunities to learn new cultural practices, such as diminished opportunities to speak English (Orfield, 1995; Portes & Hao, 1998). Moreover, immigrants may actively reject the culture of a place with policies that restrict them, instead

strengthening their own belief systems and practices. This phenomenon has been seen in many oppressed groups in the United States, such as African Americans (Fordham, 1996; Zhou, 1997).

Threat. In addition to the impacts of a macrosystem level variable (i.e., public policy) on acculturation directly and indirectly through PSOC and intergroup anxiety, individual level variables also likely play a role in these community relations and adaptation. One such variable of likely importance is perceived threat. The perception of threat can occur to both receiving community members in the receiving community and immigrants moving into the community. Integrated Threat Theory (ITT; also often cited as the Integrated Theory of Prejudice; Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999) suggests that the arrival of immigrants to receiving communities can impact feelings of intergroup anxiety and threat for both immigrants and receiving community members, as they come into contact with one another. Riek, Mania, and Gaertner (2006) have reported that such threats are present anytime “one group's actions, beliefs, or characteristics challenge the goal attainment or well being of another group” (p. 353). The broad construct of threat can be broken into two primary categories: ‘realistic’ and ‘symbolic’.

Realistic. Realistic threat refers to the perceptions that one’s in-group (e.g., the immigrant community) will experience decreases in their economic capital, political power, and material and physical well-being because of out-group members (e.g., the receiving community). Originating from the theory of Realistic Group Conflict (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1961), the premise of realistic threat is that competition for these resources, which are perceived to be limited, leads to

group conflict. Realistic threats can be either true or simply perceived, and perceived threats are damaging irrespective of evidence to support or refute them (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

Symbolic. In addition to threats that arise from competition for resources, threats of culture impact immigrant-receiving community relations. “One of the greatest sources of difficulties in intercultural relations is the belief that other cultures pose a threat to one’s own culture. Wars have been fought because of such fears, and, at a lesser level, feelings of threat commonly interfere with diplomatic, business, and interpersonal relations between members of different cultures. These feelings of threat also may prejudice the members of one culture against those of another culture” wrote Stephan, Diaz-Loving & Duran (2000, p. 240) as they described symbolic threats. Symbolic threats focus on threats to one’s value system, belief system, and/or worldview (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). They occur when an in-group (e.g., immigrant community) perceives an out-group (e.g., receiving community) to have different morals, values, beliefs, attitudes, and standards, and that the in-group’s beliefs and values are at-risk for this difference. While not as tangible as realistic threats, symbolic threats jeopardize the way in which the in-group interprets the world and thus as significant in predicting prejudice, negative relations, and lack of identification with different communities. Symbolic threats derive from perceived group differences by individual people, making the construct somewhat independent of macro-level perceived group differences. For example, an experimental study found receiving community members were less likely to perceive immigrant groups

as threatening when they were more similar to them (Rohmann, Piontkoski, & van Randenborgh, 2008).

Typically, realistic and symbolic threats are studied in regard to the majority members' attitudes and perceptions, discrimination towards, and relations with minority members. That is, researchers have most often examined perceived realistic and symbolic threat on the part of receiving community members towards immigrants. However, both majority and minority members perceive threats to their in-groups; thus, immigrants also can experience realistic and symbolic threats (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

Impact of threat on psychological sense of community. While threats and PSOC are not often studied in direct relation to one another, one can extrapolate the relation between both types of threats and PSOC based upon related theories and similar constructs. Both realistic and symbolic threats are likely to have a strong influence on PSOC, given their relation to membership, shared emotional connection, and perceived fulfillment of needs. For example, if an immigrant perceives the receiving community to be impinging upon the immigrant's economic capital, political power, and material and/or physical wellbeing, the immigrant may be more likely to believe that the community cannot meet the immigrant's needs and thus have a lower PSOC with the receiving community and turn to the immigrant community to meet the immigrant's needs. Similarly, if an immigrant perceives the receiving community to impinge upon the immigrant's value system, belief system, and/or worldview, the immigrant may be more likely to hold a weaker PSOC with the receiving community while simultaneously holding a strong PSOC with the

immigrant community. Such a link is predicted by social identity theory, as discussed above. Indeed, Fisher and Sonn (2002) have noted that when symbolic threats are present, communities are quick to exclude those members from their community, setting rigid boundaries. Pretty and colleagues (2006) have also argued that when minority sub-communities (in their case, indigenous Australians) feel threatened and excluded by dominant, majority communities (in their case, Australia), the minority communities strengthen their cultural resources and enhance their PSOC with this sub-community. Though a different population in a different context, oppressive power structures suggest that the same link could hold for immigrant communities in the United States.

Such theoretical links have relatively limited, but nonetheless important empirical evidence. For example, Valdez, Lewis Valentine, and Padilla (2013) conducted a qualitative study that explored Latina/o immigrants' experiences and motivations to remain in Arizona or leave the state after SB 1070 passed in 2010 (which remains one of the most restrictive sets of immigration policies in the country). They found that Latina/o immigrants described increased realistic threat resulting from the threat of deportation caused them to disconnect from the receiving community and instead turn to the immigrant community in order to strengthen their membership and shared emotional connection, as well as fulfill their needs. In a focus group study of 138 immigrants and 54 key informants in Australia, Dandy and Pe-Pua (2013) found that the participants described threats as causing intergroup tension and subsequent lack of PSOC among Anglo and indigenous Australians.

Typically, however, most research continues to examine the receiving community's experience of threat from immigrants. For example, Zagefka, Brown, Broquard, and Martin's (2007) study of negative attitudes towards immigrants in Belgium and Turkey, found that economic competition was predictive of receiving community members' negative attitudes, which lessened their preferences for integration of immigrants into their communities. Consequently, more empirical evidence is needed to assess the theoretical links, which are currently only supported with preliminary qualitative evidence.

Impact of threat on intergroup anxiety. While evidence for the link between threat and PSOC remains limited at this time, there is great deal of evidence to support the contention that both realistic and symbolic threats predict intergroup anxiety. This connection was originally proposed in Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) and has been empirically supported within a large body of literature (e.g., Berrenberg, Finlay, Stephan, & Stephan, 2002; Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Renfro, Duran, Stephan, & Clason, 2006; Stephan, Demitrakis, Yamada, & Clason, 2000; Stephan et al., 2002; Stephan et al., 1999; Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald, & Turkaspa, 1998). The link between these threats and intergroup anxiety has been demonstrated across sexually, ethnically, racially, and culturally diverse groups, as well as with people facing particular experiences (e.g., cancer, AIDS). Similar to the relation of threat with PSOC, the literature that examines the connection of threat and intergroup anxiety in immigrant and receiving community relations looks at it from the perspective of the receiving community. In other words, it tends to examine how the perceived threat of immigrants on the receiving community impacts receiving

community members' intergroup anxiety (e.g., Curşeu, Stoop, & Schalk, 2007; Murray & Marx, 2013; Stephan et al., 1999; Stephan, Renfro, Esses, Stephan, & Martin, 2005). While this relation has substantial empirical support, at the time of this writing there is no direct examination of the connection from the perspective of immigrants.

Moreover, while it is easy to imagine that intergroup anxiety might also predict realistic and symbolic threats, the vast majority of studies consider these threats to be a cause, rather than an outcome, of intergroup anxiety (Stephan, 2014). Consequently, though the process is likely cyclical, this study considers these threats to be predictive of intergroup anxiety rather than outcomes of it.

Impact of threat on real acculturation. Finally, both symbolic and realistic threats, as perceived by the immigrant community, are likely directly predictive of immigrants' 'real' acculturation orientations. While evidence for the relation between realistic threat and acculturation is limited, there is burgeoning empirical support for the relation between symbolic threat and acculturation. In a study of nearly 6,000 Dutch majority and five minority groups living in the Netherlands, van Osch & Breugelmans (2012) found that immigrants who perceived themselves as more culturally different from the receiving community were more likely to maintain their culture of origin and less likely to adopt the culture of the receiving community. And, immigrants' perception of symbolic threats appears to influence their acculturation through prejudice. For example, Rojas, Navas, Sayans-Jiménez, & Cuadrado (2014) found that Romanian immigrants in Spain who were less prejudiced against Spaniards preferred assimilation within peripheral domains and integration in central and

intermediate domains while Romanian immigrants who were more prejudiced against Spaniards preferred integration in peripheral domains and separation in central and intermediate domains.

Perceived attitudes of the receiving community. Sandwiched between macro-level factors (i.e., immigration-related public policies) and individual level factors (i.e., symbolic and realistic threat) are factors within the microsystem. That is, how the local receiving community is perceived to respond to Latina/o immigrants is likely to influence how Latina/o immigrants acculturate, both directly and indirectly through PSOC and intergroup anxiety. This study examined the perceived attitudes of the receiving community towards immigrants through two unique, yet theoretically and empirically related variables: acculturative preferences (i.e., expectations and attitudes) of the receiving community for immigrants and prejudicial attitudes.

Acculturative preferences. The perception of the receiving community's preferences regarding immigrants' acculturation orientations has recently become a focus in immigration literature, following the dissemination of interactional models of acculturation ([discussed above](#)). Briefly, members of the receiving community have certain preferences for the ways in which immigrants acculturate, and according to Navas and colleagues (2005), these preferences may vary across domains of life. For example, the receiving community may wish for an immigrant to only acquire the culture of the receiving community and renounce the immigrant's culture of origin (or vice versa), neither maintain the immigrant's culture of origin nor acquire the culture of the receiving community, or both maintain the immigrant's culture of origin and acquire the culture of the receiving community. As discussed earlier, these

preferences can differ across life domains, organized by Navas and colleagues (2005/2006) into central domains (i.e., family relations, religious beliefs and customs, and ways of thinking), (b) intermediate domains (i.e., social relations and friendships), and (c) peripheral domains (i.e., work, political system/government, social welfare; see [the discussion of the RAEM above for a more in-depth review of these domains](#)).

Prejudicial attitudes. Prejudice is a negative attitude toward a socially defined group and toward any person who is perceived to be a member of that group (Allport, 1954). Xenophobia is a specific type of prejudice, defined as a “form of attitudinal, affective, and behavioral prejudice toward immigrants and those perceived as foreign” (Yakushko, 2009, p. 81). Prejudice is typically conceptualized as including three components: cognitive (i.e., beliefs), affective (i.e., feelings), and behavioral (i.e., tendencies to action; Dovidio, Glick, & Rudman, 2005). Many people in the United States hold varied prejudicial attitudes against Latina/o immigrants as students, employees, employers, colleagues, patients, providers, and as community members (Collado-Proctor, 1999). As a result, Latina/o immigrants face much discrimination across the country in public spheres as well as in particular settings (e.g., health care, educational, and occupational settings). In fact, in a recent national survey of people living in the United States, U.S.-born individuals described Latinas/os as the racial or ethnic group most likely to face a significant amount of discrimination (with 23% reporting that they believe that Latina/os face “a lot” of discrimination frequently), perhaps due to both perceived realistic threats (e.g., economic threat) and symbolic threats (e.g., cultural threat; Pew Research Center,

2010). As a point of comparison, 18% of U.S.-born individuals reported that African Americans were likely to experience “a lot” of discrimination in the same national survey.

There is some evidence that the receiving community’s prejudice against immigrants is related to receiving community members’ acculturation preferences for immigrants, suggesting that these two variables may be strongly correlated. Members of the receiving community who are less prejudiced are more likely to prefer immigrants maintain parts of their original culture and to prefer integration. On the other hand, members of the receiving community who are more prejudiced are more likely to oppose such cultural maintenance (e.g., Kosic, Mannetti, & Sam, 2005; Navas, García, Rojas, Pumares, & Cuadrado, 2006; Rojas, Navas, Sayans-Jimenez, & Cuadrado, 2014; Zagefka, Tip, González, Brown, & Cinnirella, 2012).

Impact of perceived attitudes on psychological sense of community. While there is not a significant body of work directly examining the effect of attitudes of the receiving community on immigrant PSOC, a foundational study conducted by Elias and Scotson (1965) explains how this concept relates in his theory of established outsider relations. Elias documented systematic exclusion by members of one working-class community in England towards another working-class community there. Community members did not differ in terms of their ethnicity, race, education, occupation or income; instead, the only difference was how long the communities had been established. One community was formed by members who had lived in the area for two or three generations while the other consisted of newcomers to the area. Elias and Scotson found that the older community excluded the newcomers from their

community. And, due to the exclusion of newer community members by old members' networks, attitudes, and persistent negative portrayals of these new members, the members of the newer community had more difficulty forming relationships and developing a psychosocial attachment to the older community.

Further, the similarity-attraction hypothesis (Byrne, 1971) helps to explain this relationship as it proposes that when we perceive another to be similar to ourselves on various characteristics, this other community and our community will be positively evaluated. We then strive to see ourselves as a part of their community, emphasizing our within-group similarities. In other words, we like people and groups who we believe are like us and, as a result, see our identities, values, and practices aligning with theirs.

Impact of perceived attitudes on intergroup anxiety. There are also some theoretical connections, and empirical evidence to support, that the attitudes of the receiving community influence the amount of intergroup anxiety an immigrant experiences. Multiple studies have shown that if an out-group (in this case, the receiving community) is perceived to be prejudiced or antagonistic, it is likely to produce intergroup anxiety (see Stephan, 2014 for a review). The perceived preferences of the receiving community for immigrants to retain or reject their potentially different values, identifications, and practices (i.e., the 'ideal' acculturation of the receiving community) also has been shown to predict intergroup anxiety, such that as the receiving community is perceived as less accepting of cultural diversity, immigrants experience higher levels of intergroup anxiety (Hovey & Magana, 2002). For example, in a study of nearly 900 immigrant youth to

Germany, France, and Great Britain, Kunst and Sam (2013) found that immigrants who perceived the receiving community to expect them to relinquish their culture of origin and acquire the culture of the receiving community were more likely to experience a higher degree of anxiety.

Impact of perceived attitudes on real acculturation. Finally, there is also evidence that the receiving communities' attitudes are directly related to immigrants' actual cultural orientation, both in the extent to which they acquire practices of the receiving community and maintain practices of their original culture. For example, in a qualitative, longitudinal study of Afghan and Iranian immigrant youth in Canada, Khanlou, Koh, & Mill (2008) found that the immigrant's cultural orientations were influenced by experiences of discrimination, such that they felt that they needed to relinquish their cultural behaviors in peripheral domains. In Chile, minority indigenous group members (the Mapuche) were more likely to maintain their original culture when the majority group (Chileans) also desired them to maintain it and were more likely to interact with and acculturate to them when the majority Chileans were supportive of the Mapuche and desired intergroup contact (Zagefka, González, & Brown, 2011). There is also growing evidence that prejudice/discrimination and cultural orientation are reciprocally related. For example, in a study of 293 immigrants in Finland, Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, and Solheim (2009) found that immigrants' perceived discrimination led to lack of identification with Finland, which then increased the Finnish's negative attitudes towards the immigrants.

Quality of contact. Finally, in addition to the influence of macrosystem level factors (i.e., immigration-related public policies), individual level factors (i.e.,

realistic and symbolic threat), and microsystem level factors (i.e., receiving community attitudes – prejudice and acculturative preferences) on immigrants' real acculturation directly and indirectly through PSOC and intergroup anxiety, the relationships between members of the receiving community and immigrant community are likely to play a role. The literature is discrepant regarding how contact predicts attitudes and actions (e.g., prejudice, discrimination) towards out-groups. Some studies find that contact decreases prejudice (e.g., González, Sirlopu, & Kessler, 2010) whereas others find the contact actually increases prejudice (e.g., Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). Thus, it is important to not only consider the quantity of intergroup contact (i.e., amount, frequency, level), but also the quality of such contact (i.e., positive, negative).

The quality of interactions especially matters. Positive and intentional contact is more likely to better facilitate psychological sense of community than negative or incidental contact (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). Likewise, there is some evidence that close, pleasant interpersonal contact between people from different groups decreases intergroup anxiety, related to the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969). The effect is much stronger if conditions make contact optimal, such as the possibility for increased knowledge, equal status, and co-operative interaction (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Validzic, 1998; González & Brown, 2006).

Impact of contact on psychological sense of community. It is quite logical that the quality of contact one has with one's communities naturally influences the development of one's PSOC with those communities. After all, the concept is closely linked with one of PSOC's core components – shared emotional connection (i.e.,

sense of shared history and identification with the community, and the bonds *developed over time* between community members). The quality, rather than solely the quantity of contact also appears important based on the definition and empirical studies of PSOC. For example, in the way that Brodsky (1996) found evidence of negative PSOC in single mothers living in risky contexts, it is quite likely that if the contact between the individual and the context is negative or threatening, it will not meet the needs of the individual and thus the individual will not have a strong PSOC with that community.

There is growing empirical evidence that positive contact between immigrants and their immigrant and receiving communities facilitates their PSOC with both communities. For example, in a study of immigrants to Spain, Maya-Jariego and Armitage (2007) found that not only the way in which time was distributed across the immigrants' communities, but also the quality of the relationships with the people in the communities and the immigrants' future expectations of the communities influenced their PSOC with their current local communities, previous communities, and ethnic immigrant communities. In an ethnographic study of multiethnic immigrant and receiving community youth in a classroom in the United States, Malsbary (2014) found that positive contact among the youth allowed for the formation of sense of community. In another qualitative study of Latina/o immigrants in a small farming community in the United States, May and colleagues (2015) identified that both immigrant and receiving community members reported having little contact with each other, which the participants connected to a lack of PSOC. Further, Matschke & Sassenberg (2010) found – in their longitudinal study of

German university students living in the Netherlands – that the foreign-born students' attitudes towards contact with the receiving community led them to more readily identify with the receiving community. This, in turn, led them to have a stronger sense of community with the receiving community. Quality of contact with the immigrant community is also important to PSOC. Multiple studies have showed how positive contact with one's ethnic immigrant community strengthens one's social integration and PSOC (e.g., Barmania, 2015; Bathum & Bauman, 2007; Malone & Dooley, 2006; Ying et al., 2000).

Impact of contact on intergroup anxiety. Quality of contact has been both theoretically proposed and empirically supported as a predictor of intergroup anxiety (Stephan, 2014). According to intergroup anxiety theory, the quality of contact has a more pronounced effect on intergroup anxiety than quantity of contact because it creates experience-based expectancies about interactions with the out-group (e.g., receiving community). In other words, “people who have experienced negative contact know that intergroup interaction can have negative effects and have reason to expect negative outcomes in the future” (Stephan, 2014, p. 245). In a recent meta-analysis of 60 studies, Pettigrew and Tropp (2008) found a significant negative mean correlation among the quantity of contact with out-groups and intergroup anxiety; however, they indicated that due to variables results across individual studies, it was likely that other variables, such as quality of contact, moderated those results. While research on quality of contact is more limited, several studies have indicated that negative contact is positively correlated with intergroup anxiety (e.g., Aberson & Gaffney, 2008; Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Rohmann, Florack, Piontkowski, 2006;

Stephan et al., 2000; Stephan et al., 2002). Positive contact then is predicted to decrease intergroup anxiety. In an experimental study examining contact among people of Latina/o and Anglo descent, Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton, and Tropp (2008) found that over the course of three positive interactions – designed to create friendships among participants who were anxious about being rejected by out-group members – on average, participants’ cortisol activity (a physiological marker of intergroup anxiety) decreased.

Impact of contact on real acculturation. It is possible that contact still has a unique impact on real acculturation above and beyond what is explained through its influence on PSOC and intergroup anxiety. In fact, the assumption that contact strongly influences real acculturation is so prominent throughout the literature that many studies use ‘time in the country of residence’ as a marker of acculturation. Similar to the discussion of intergroup anxiety above, however, the changes in cultural practices are different for different immigrants, suggesting that it is not only the quantity of contact but the quality of contact that plays a role in one acculturating in certain ways (Castro, 2003).

Summary of factors predicted to influence real acculturation. In sum, it is likely that macrosystem level factors (i.e., immigration-related public policies), microsystem level factors (i.e., receiving community attitudes – prejudice and acculturative preferences), and individual level factors (i.e., realistic and symbolic threat) combine with interactional factors (i.e., contact) to influence immigrants’ real acculturation orientations directly and indirectly through PSOC and intergroup anxiety. It is predicted that this constellation of factors may facilitate the achievement

of one's ideal acculturation orientation or they may impede it. Because the newer models suggest that the impact of acculturation on wellbeing is contextual, in the study described below, I have asked what impact this achievement (or lack thereof) of 'ideal' acculturation may have on wellbeing. I suggest, based on the Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM) and related literature, that it is when 'real' acculturation orientations actually live up to 'ideal' acculturation orientations that immigrants may experience the highest levels of wellbeing.

Understanding the Relation between Acculturation and Wellbeing

The RAEM is the newest model to conceptualize the link between acculturation and wellbeing. Consequently, it currently lacks sufficient empirical evidence necessary to support any claim that the accomplishment of one's ideal acculturation facilitates wellbeing. Although no research has directly examined the relationship between the discrepancy in 'ideal' and 'real' acculturation orientations, there is a body of literature that examines similar constructs with different names. This work explores whether immigrants' 'post-migratory realities' have met their 'pre-migratory expectations' (Ward, Bochner, Furnham, 2001; Rogers & Ward, 1993). According to Ward et al. (2001), immigrants' realities (in RAEM terms, 'real') do not always meet their 'expectations' (in RAEM terms, 'ideal'), which can be detrimental for their mental health. Using Ward and colleagues' terms, perceived congruence between immigrants' pre-migratory expectations and post-migratory realities has been shown to be a primary determinant of psychosocial wellbeing. The theories that undergird this work come from cognitive theories of adjustment, which suggest that a match between expectations and outcomes for life events produces

psychosocial wellbeing, whereas discrepancies are theorized to lead to psychopathological symptoms, such as depression and anxiety (Furnham, 1987; Misra & Kilroy, 1992; Murphy & Mahalingam, 2006). In 1990, Landau-Stanton first proposed that this congruency was an issue central to the psychological adjustment of immigrants, regardless of their immigration circumstances, and this body of literature has been empirically built over the 25 years. The theory does encompass acculturation orientations; however, these constructs are somewhat broader than ‘real’ and ‘ideal’ acculturation due to their inclusion of (a) all expectations and realities that may not explicitly relate to culture and (b) all expectations that may be positive, negative, or somewhere in between rather than what the immigrant desires (i.e., ‘ideal’ acculturation).

The evidence for the ‘met expectations’ hypothesis is growing. In Rogers and Ward’s first study of this issue in 1993, discrepancies between expectations and experiences were associated with psychosocial wellbeing when post-migratory experiences (‘real’) did not match up to pre-migratory expectations (‘ideal’). Since then, other research teams, among them Murphy and Mahalingam (2006), have found that perceived congruence is positively associated with life satisfaction and negatively associated with depression. However, there is some question of which domains of acculturation (and their related ‘real’ and ‘ideal’ discrepancies) are most important to wellbeing. For example, in a study of 153 Russian immigrants in Finland, Mähönen, Leinonen, and Jasinskaja-Lahti (2013) found that the more actual social experiences (an ‘intermediate’ domain of the RAEM) aligned with expectations, the better the life

satisfaction and wellbeing. They did not find this to be true of economic expectations and experiences (a ‘peripheral’ domain of the RAEM).

The intermediary role of acculturative stress. The relation between acculturation discrepancies and psychosocial wellbeing seems to be at least partially explained through the concept of acculturative stress. In other words, acculturative stress likely partially mediates the relation between acculturation discrepancies and wellbeing. Wei and colleagues (2007) have defined acculturative stress as a “stress reaction in response to life events that are rooted in the experiences of acculturation, the psychological difficulties in adapting to a new culture, or psychological stressors resulting from unfamiliarity with new customs and social norms” (p. 386).

Although the relation between acculturation discrepancies and acculturative stress has yet to be established, the inconsistent findings in the relation of acculturation and stress throughout the literature may be reconciled if discrepancies, rather than particular acculturation orientations, predict stress. While empirical research is limited, theory suggests that the congruence between one’s ‘ideal’ and ‘real’ acculturation orientation would predict levels of acculturative stress, such that the stronger the degree of alignment between ‘real’ and ‘ideal’ acculturation, the less the acculturative stress. Empirical research in this area has only sought to tie pre-migratory expectations or sociocultural adaptation to acculturative stress, or has examined the link only in regard to general stress (as opposed to acculturative stress). Nonetheless, there is important preliminary evidence that acculturative stress may explain the relation between acculturation discrepancies and psychosocial wellbeing. In the aforementioned study of Russian immigrants in Finland, Mähönen, Leinonen,

and Jasinskaja-Lahti (2013) found that the effect of ‘unmet expectations’ (similar to acculturation discrepancies) on psychological adaptation was mediated by perceived sociocultural difficulties and acculturative stress in the post-migration stage. More research is needed in this area to determine whether acculturative stress can help explain the relation between acculturation discrepancies and wellbeing.

The relation between acculturative stress and wellbeing has been well-established, but is often looked at from a deficit perspective; in other words, increased acculturative stress is predictive of psychopathology or other poor psychosocial outcomes. For example, research nearly three decades old demonstrated a relation between acculturative stress and depression and anxiety in Mexican immigrants in the United States (Salgado de Snyder, 1987). Much research by John Hovey’s team has produced similar results (e.g., Hovey, 2000; Hovey & Magana, 2002, 2003). In a more recent study of 414 Latin American immigrants in Spain, Revollo, Qureshi, Collazos, Valero, and Casas (2011) also found that acculturative stress was associated with depression and anxiety.

Based on the theoretical literature and its empirical evidence, it is likely that the further one is from achieving one’s ideal acculturation orientation, the lower one’s level of wellbeing. It is further suggested that this relation might be at least partially explained through acculturative stress. This study tested these and other hypotheses.

Specific Aims

In sum, the RAEM (Navas et al., 2005) states that immigrants may not have the same acculturation orientations across all domains of their lives (i.e., peripheral, intermediate, and central), and that immigrants may prefer different acculturation

orientations than they actually hold across these varying life domains. These contentions have been empirically supported in studies of North African immigrant groups living in Western Europe. However, this model had yet to be applied to any immigrant groups living in the United States. Moreover, prior to this study, no current model explained why immigrants' real acculturation orientations may differ from their preferred ('ideal') acculturation orientations. And, the impact of immigrants' real acculturation orientations from their ideal acculturation orientations had yet to be tested within the RAEM framework. The current study had four primary aims to expand understanding of the processes whereby individual, microsystem, and macrosystem factors and conditions impact acculturation, acculturative stress, and psychosocial wellbeing.

Aim one: To apply Navas and colleagues' (2005) Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM) to the experiences of Latina/o immigrants across four states in the United States. Because the RAEM had never been applied to the experiences of immigrants living in the United States, this study first aimed to characterize the acculturation orientations that are preferred and utilized by Latina/o immigrants across Maryland, Virginia, New Mexico, and Arizona (i.e., their 'ideal' and 'real' cultural change and maintenance) using both qualitative and quantitative methods. Specifically, this study aimed to quantitatively and qualitatively describe Latina/o immigrants' real and ideal *cultural change* to the receiving community and their real and ideal *cultural maintenance* across life domains: peripheral, intermediate, and central; and, characterize the ways in which Latina/o immigrants' ideal *cultural change* and ideal *cultural maintenance* is similar to and diverges from

their real *cultural change* to the receiving community and real *cultural maintenance* across peripheral, intermediate, and central domains.

Aim two: To describe the ways in which contextual factors and personal characteristics influence real cultural change to the receiving community. Using quantitative methods, this study then aimed to test a theoretical model of Latina/o immigrant cultural change to the receiving community to examine why *real* cultural change may diverge from *ideal* cultural change. Specifically, this study hypothesized the following (see [Figure 6](#)): Ideal cultural change, positive attitudes of the receiving community (including less prejudice and preferred cultural change), quality of contact with the receiving community, perceived threat of the receiving community (including realistic and symbolic threats), and restrictive public policies would predict real cultural change both directly and indirectly through intergroup anxiety and psychological sense of community (PSOC) with the receiving community. Ideal cultural change, positive attitudes of the receiving community, and quality of contact with the receiving community would be negatively related to intergroup anxiety whereas they would be positively related to PSOC and real cultural change. However, both perceived threat of the receiving community and restrictive public policies would be positively related to intergroup anxiety whereas they would be both negatively related to PSOC and real cultural change. PSOC would be positively related to real cultural change whereas intergroup anxiety would be negatively related to real cultural change.

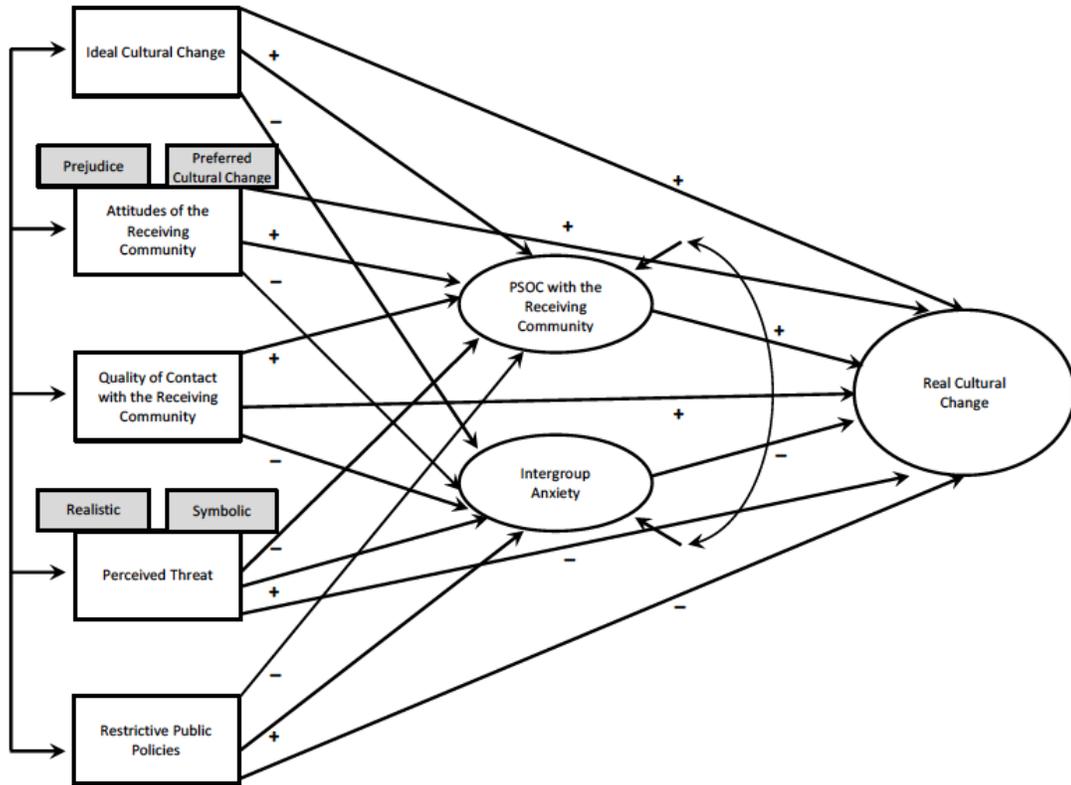


Figure 6. Hypothesized model of real cultural change

Then, because the literature remains scant and has yet coalesce into an inclusive, socio-ecological model of acculturation, this study also aimed to use qualitative methods to examine each of these factors and their relations to one another more deeply by exploring their presence and impacts on real cultural change in the lived experiences of Latina/o immigrants. In sum, this study aimed to examine the processes by which a constellation of factors influences Latina/o immigrants' real cultural change to receiving communities across Maryland, Virginia, Arizona, and New Mexico.

Aim three: To describe the ways in which contextual factors and personal characteristics influence real cultural maintenance. Using quantitative methods, this study then aimed to test a theoretical model of Latina/o immigrant cultural

maintenance to examine why real cultural maintenance may diverge from ideal cultural maintenance. Specifically, this study hypothesized the following (see [Figure 7](#)): Ideal cultural maintenance, positive attitudes of the receiving community (including less prejudice and preferred cultural maintenance), quality of contact with the receiving community, quality of contact with the Latina/o immigrant community, perceived threat of the receiving community (including realistic and symbolic threats), and restrictive public policies would predict real cultural maintenance both directly and indirectly through psychological sense of community (PSOC) with the Latina/o immigrant community. Both positive attitudes of the receiving community and quality of contact with the receiving community would be negatively related to PSOC and real cultural maintenance. However, ideal cultural maintenance, quality of contact with the Latina/o immigrant community, perceived threat of the receiving community, and restrictive public policies would all be positively related with both PSOC and real cultural maintenance. PSOC and ideal cultural maintenance would be both positively related to real cultural maintenance.

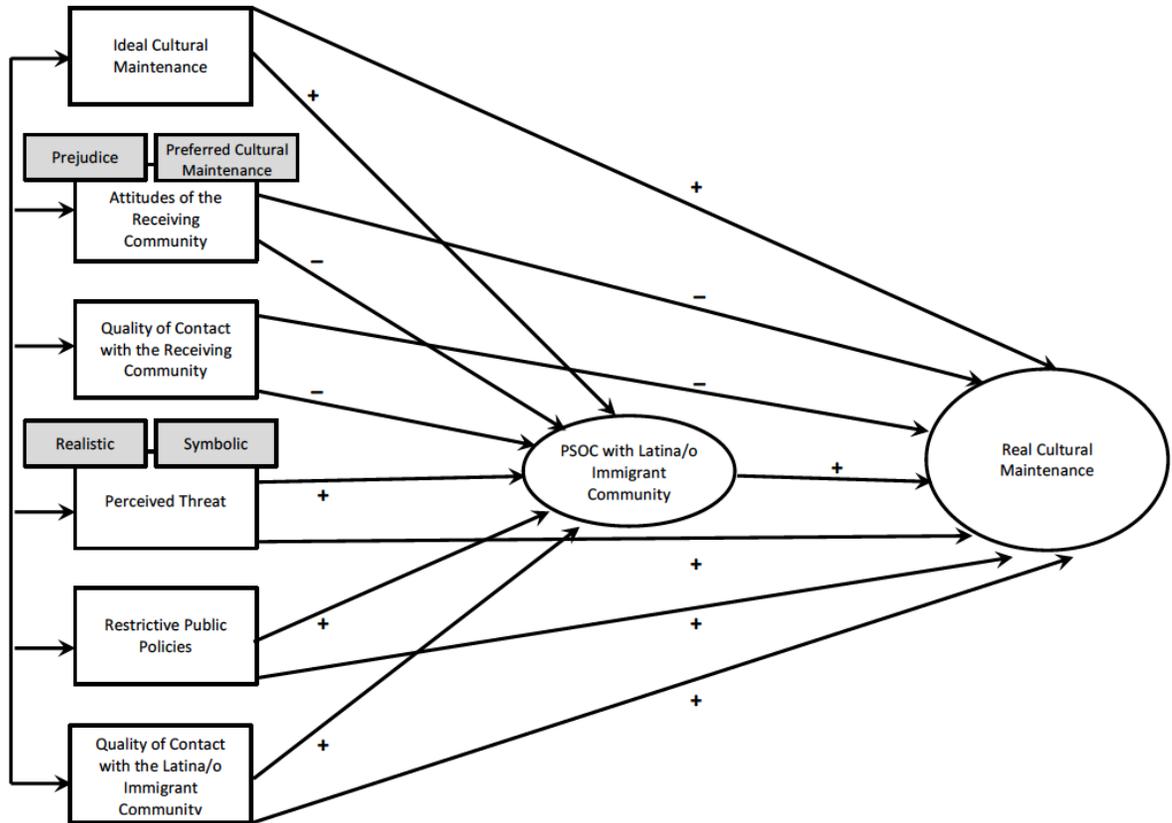


Figure 7. Hypothesized model of real cultural maintenance

Then, because the literature remains scant and has yet to coalesce into a socio-ecological model of cultural maintenance, this study aimed to explore each of these factors and their relations to one another more deeply by exploring their presence and impacts on real cultural maintenance in the lived experiences of Latina/o immigrants. In sum, this study aimed to examine the processes by which a constellation of factors influences Latina/o immigrants' real cultural maintenance across Maryland, Virginia, Arizona, and New Mexico.

Aim four: To characterize the relations between acculturation, stress, and wellbeing. Finally, this study aimed to describe the relation between acculturation discrepancies (i.e., the divergence of real cultural change from ideal cultural change,

and real cultural maintenance from ideal cultural maintenance) and wellbeing, and understand the processes by which the acculturation discrepancies influence wellbeing. [Figure 8](#) shows these hypothesized relations in which ideal-to-real cultural change discrepancies and ideal-to-real cultural maintenance discrepancies differentially relate to wellbeing. Each type of discrepancy was hypothesized to negatively predict wellbeing; however, each measure would indirectly predict wellbeing through its respective measure of acculturative stress. The relations were hypothesized such that increased discrepancies would be associated with increased acculturative stress, whereas increased acculturative stress in the receiving and immigrant communities would be associated with decreased wellbeing.

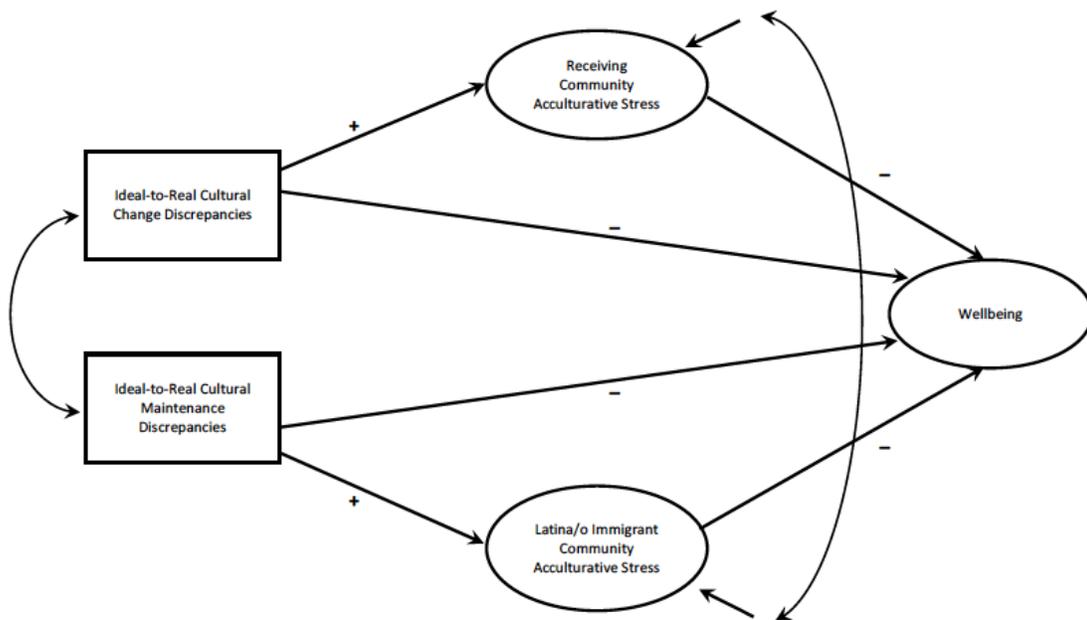


Figure 8. Hypothesized model of wellbeing

Finally, this study aimed to explore the relations between ideal-to-real acculturation and cultural maintenance discrepancies, stress, and wellbeing within the lived experiences of Latina/o immigrants. This study intended to use qualitative methods to more fully understand how Latina/o immigrants experience these ideal-to-real cultural change and cultural maintenance discrepancies, ways in which the discrepancies may influence their acculturative stress, and how the discrepancies and the stress play a role in their wellbeing.

In sum, this research aimed to (a) characterize the acculturation orientations that are preferred and utilized by Latina/o immigrants across Maryland, Virginia, New Mexico, and Arizona, (b) identify and explore the factors and processes that influence their real cultural change to the receiving community, (c) identify and explore the factors and processes that influence their real cultural maintenance, and (d) examine the relations between acculturation discrepancies, acculturative stress, and wellbeing.

Chapter 2: Method

The current study adopted a sequential explanatory mixed-method approach to characterize, describe, and test a model of Latina/o immigrant person-environment fit, adaptation, and subsequent functioning (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2007). The sequential explanatory design began with quantitative survey data collection and preliminary analyses, and was followed by the collection of qualitative focus group data and their respective analyses. In this way, the qualitative data were informed by and used to explain the quantitative results.

There are multiple justifications that supported the appropriateness of a mixed methods approach for this research. Following Bryman's (2006) typology of research rationales, the use of mixed methods in this study aided in the development of a more comprehensive account of what was taking place (*Rationale C: Completeness*).

Whereas quantitative research provides an account of the statistically supported structures of these social systems, qualitative research provides a better sense of the process (*Rationale D: Process*). In this way, the qualitative data helped to explain the findings generated by the quantitative analyses (*Rationale F: Explanation*), particularly in the event of surprising relations (*Rationale G: Unexpected Results*).

The qualitative data also illuminated the quantitative findings (*Rationale L: Illustration*) in order to make the findings more understandable, useful, and applicable to a wider audience (*Rationale M: Utility*). The use of mixed methods capitalized on the strengths of each method, while the strength of one method also compensated for the weaknesses of the other (*Rationale B: Offset*); as Whiting (1984) contends, "A combination of methods is the best strategy." In this case mixed methods allowed a prime strength of qualitative research – contextual understanding – to be combined with a major strength of quantitative research – relations among variables that, due to a larger sample, might be more generalizable to the broader population (*Rationale K: Context*). Combining both qualitative and quantitative methods allowed for increased confidence in the integrity of the findings (*Rationale J: Credibility*) as they were used to mutually corroborate one another (*Rationale A: Triangulation*).

Although based in the proposed models and the respective theories that undergird them, the study also used constructivist grounded theory methods for the analyses of the data gathered in the focus groups (Charmaz, 2000). Grounded theory methods, first developed by Glaser & Strauss (1967), aim to build new understandings by conceptualizing data into newly formed concepts as well as demonstrating relations between these formed concepts. Constructivist grounded theory, a specific approach that builds upon Glaser & Strauss's methods, arose out of symbolic interactionism (Charmaz, 1995). It holds the assumptions that (1) multiple realities exist, (2) data reflect both the researchers' and the participants' constructions of reality, and (3) the researchers enter into and are affected by the world of the participants (Charmaz, 2006). This method of collection and analysis allowed for a deeper understanding of the relations that were supported with the quantitative data and those that were not.

Research Team & Training

Research team members were recruited through university (i.e., University of Maryland Baltimore County, Virginia Commonwealth University, University of New Mexico, Arizona State University) departments (e.g., Psychology, Sociology, Transborder Studies), honors programs, student organizations, and alumni organizations, and through community organizations. Over 50 individuals inquired about a volunteer position on the team; 34 were offered an interview; 14 were offered a position; and, 13 ultimately joined. Research team members were selected for their: interest and experience in community-based research, involvement with Latina/o immigrants and local organizations, awareness and understanding of their local

cultural contexts and community issues for Latina/o immigrants, and fluency in Spanish. In addition to myself (a female, U.S.-born White psychology Ph.D. student), a team of 13 students and professionals were involved in the data collection and analysis for this study:

1. a Bolivia-born Latina woman who was a Master's level mental health clinician and Ph.D. student in public health in Maryland;
2. a U.S.-born non-Latina/Hispanic Black woman who was an undergraduate student in psychology and Spanish in Maryland;
3. a U.S.-born non-Latino/Hispanic Black man who was a Spanish-English interpreter and Master's student in applied psychology in Maryland;
4. a Puerto Rico-born Latina woman who was a clinical secretary and recent college graduate in psychology in Virginia;
5. a U.S.-born Latino man who was an in-home behavioral health aide and recent college graduate in psychology in Virginia, and whose parents had emigrated from El Salvador;
6. a U.S.-born Latina woman who was an undergraduate sociology student in Virginia, and whose parents had emigrated from Peru;
7. a U.S.-born Latina woman who was a public health nurse in Virginia, and whose parents had emigrated from the Dominican Republic;
8. a U.S.-born non-Latina/Hispanic White woman who was an undergraduate student in Spanish linguistics and business administration in Arizona;

9. a U.S.-born Latino man who was a pharmacy assistant, community organizer, and recent college graduate in transborder, Latina/o, and Chicana/o studies in Arizona, and whose mother had emigrated from Mexico;
10. a U.S.-born non-Latina/Hispanic Black woman who was a Master's student in Spanish linguistics in Arizona;
11. a Mexico-born Latina woman who was an activity coordinator, executive assistant, and recent college graduate in global health, non-profit administration, and transborder studies in Arizona;
12. a Mexico-born Latina woman who was a children's program coordinator and Master's student in psychology in New Mexico;
13. a Mexico-born Latina woman who was an undergraduate psychology student in New Mexico.

All 1st generation immigrants, children of immigrants, and the woman from Puerto Rico spoke Spanish as a first language; the remaining four research assistants and myself had acquired Spanish in adolescence and young adulthood through immersion (including living abroad in Spanish-speaking countries), formal study, and/or other professional experiences.

Research team members completed readings on the study's topic and methods along with Institutional Review Board trainings at their respective sites prior to the start of the project. I then conducted two-day in-person experiential trainings with each site team regarding community research, the research questions and topic, community engagement and participant recruitment, community mapping, and data

collection. The training also included work with community organizations where engagement and survey administration were modeled and research team members were able to practice and get feedback on their conversations with community stakeholders and potential participants. Prior to the focus group portion of data collection, research team members completed additional relevant readings.

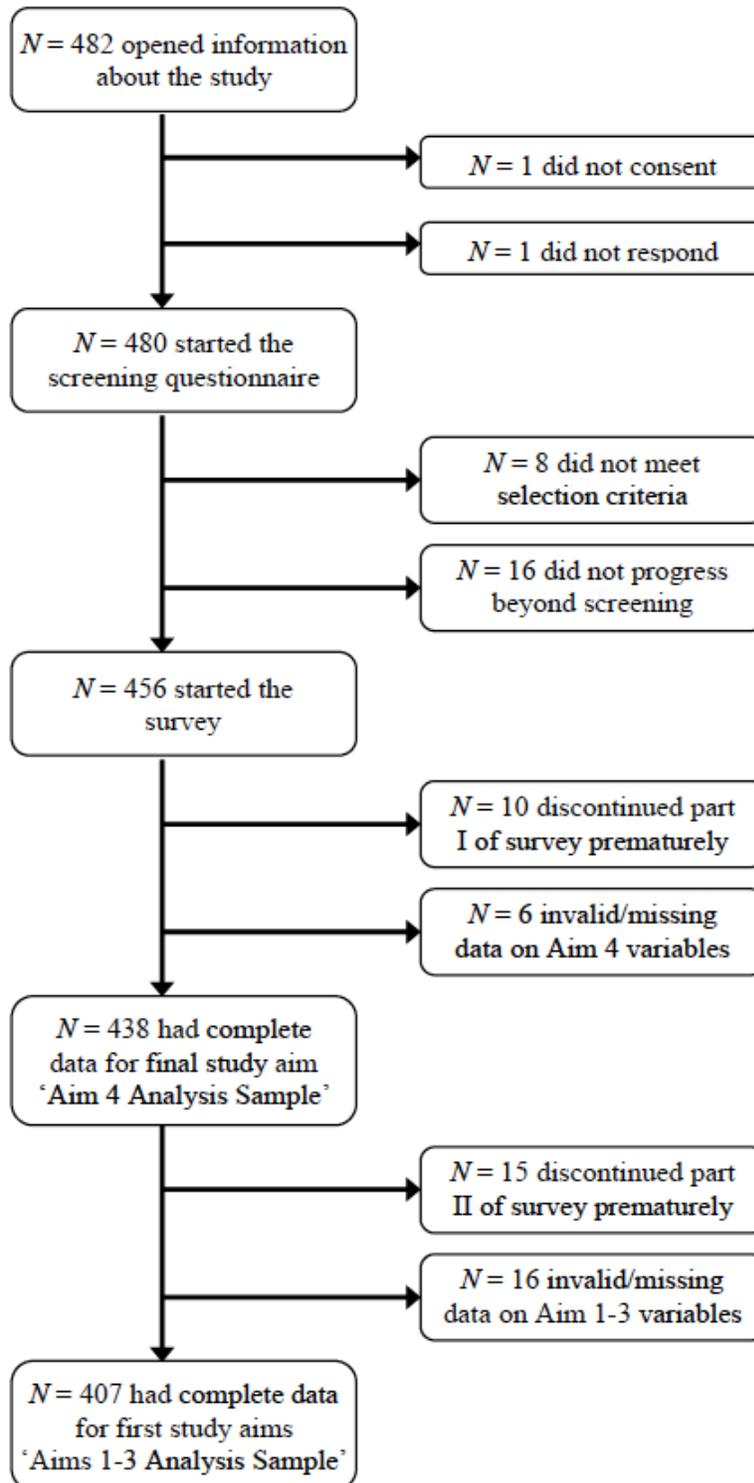
Approximately four months later, between the collection of quantitative and qualitative data, I also flew out in advance of each of the focus groups for a one-day experiential training in focus group facilitation and note-taking. Throughout the project, I led approximately 24 biweekly national conference calls with the full research team for continual training and learning from one another. Each site team had weekly meetings, which I joined in person or via teleconference at least twice per month. Additionally, I provided as needed individual consultation and was ‘on-call’ whenever data collection was taking place.

Participants & Participant Recruitment

Four hundred fifty-six (456) first generation Latina/o immigrants participated in at least one part of this project. Four hundred eighty-two people (482) viewed the consent form; however, one person did not consent to participate and another did not respond, and of those who consented to participated, eight did not meet selection criteria. Despite meeting eligibility criteria, an additional 16 people did not progress beyond the screening questionnaire, and thus 456 people participated in the project. To participate, individuals had to be at least 18 years of age, speak English or Spanish, and reside in Maryland, Virginia, Arizona, or New Mexico at the time of the study. The participants had to have emigrated after their birth from Mexico or the

Spanish-speaking countries of Central or South America, namely: Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Cost Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, or Venezuela. Individuals from Spain were excluded due to differences in the contextual factors that promote immigration from Europe and their differing experiences as immigrants in the United States. Additionally, although some individuals who move from Puerto Rico to the continental U.S. do consider themselves to be Latina/o immigrants, they were excluded due to their differing status within the United States' legal system. To participate in the study, participants had to identify as Latina/o, Hispanic, or Chicana/o. As discussed in the introduction, it is likely that the label 'Latina/o' best characterized all participants; however, immigrants from these nations label their larger ethnic/sociocultural groups in varying ways even when referring to the same group of people.

Of the 456 immigrants who participated, 438 participants had complete and valid data for the quantitative portion of Aim 4 and 407 participants had complete and valid data for the quantitative portions of Aims 1 – 3 (see [Figure 9](#)). Analysis samples did not differ by available demographic characteristics from each other or from the full sample of 456 people who participated in any aspect of the survey. A subset of the participants ($n = 73$) then participated in twelve focus groups that followed the survey portion of the study (3 focus groups per state).



While the gold standard of research is generally to use random selection, Martinez, McClure, Eddy, Ruth, and Hyers (2012) have contended that using this sampling method with immigrant populations (especially those that include unauthorized members) can “lead to considerable and potentially insurmountable obstacles.” This is partially because many immigrants are not included in the U.S. Census or other public access database, and also because immigrants often experience a number of barriers and obstacles that are not as frequently faced by U.S.-born people (e.g., being portrayed as criminals, Immigration & Customs Enforcement (ICE) coming to workplaces and homes to make arrests), which might make them wary of engaging with strangers. Consequently, a stratified snowball sampling strategy was used to locate the participants.

Participants were recruited primarily through the primary investigator and bilingual research assistants in public locations, through key stakeholders at community establishments that serve Latina/o immigrants (e.g., English, general education diploma, small business, computing and other educational programs; social service organizations; after-school, extracurricular, and Head Start programs for 1st and 2nd generation immigrant children and youth; community organizing groups for Latina/o and immigrants’ rights, Latina/o Student Unions and clubs; cultural/immigrant liaison government offices; Spanish-speaking religious institutions; see [Appendix B](#) for a description of all community partners) and at settings that attract a diverse array of people, including both Latina/o immigrants and U.S.-born members of the receiving community (e.g., markets and grocery stores, churches and other places of worship, sports leagues, cultural and neighborhood

festivals, universities, barber shops, laundromats, parks, libraries, community centers). Information about the project was also shared with provider networks, displayed on flyers around the community (see [Appendices K and L](#)), and shared in both print and auditory formats (e.g., radio show interview, newsletter article, newspaper article). Research assistants were trained to engage potential participants with *respeto* (respect) and *simpatía* (respectful interaction) in order to build *confianza* (community trust), all of which are qualities that have been shown to be key to successful recruitment and retention with Latina/o immigrants (Guzmán et al. 2009; Villarruel et al. 2006). Following Martinez and colleagues' (2012) suggestions, research assistants explained the project in the preferred language of the potential participant, answered any questions participants had, and provided them with the primary investigator's contact information in order to normalize and demystify the research process as much as possible.

Across sites, of the 438 participants whose completed surveys resulted in their inclusion in the final analysis sample, about half were born in Mexico and a little less than one-quarter originated from Central America and South America; only a handful were from Caribbean Islands. Regions of origin varied by site and reflected the diversity of the local immigrant communities. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 77 ($M = 37.88$, $SD = 13.07$). They had immigrated to the United States between infancy and later adulthood ($M = 21.36$, $SD = 11.79$, range = < 1 – 64 years), and had lived in the United States from between less than 1 year to 55 years ($M = 16.75$, $SD = 9.72$). Their most frequent reasons for immigration were a better quality of life, economics, employment, education, safety, and to join family. Most participants did

not identify any race; they typically selected ‘other’ as their race, frequently writing in versions of ‘Hispanic’ or ‘Latina/o’. Women were somewhat overrepresented in the sample. While nearly one-third of the sample had less than a high school education, nearly one-third had some level of post-secondary education and over half of the participants were working full time, with less than 1 in 10 being unemployed without another role (e.g., homemaker, student, retired). Nearly one-third of the sample had attained U.S. Citizenship by the time of the study, approximately one-third had some legal immigration status, and a little over one-third either had no authorization or declined to disclose their immigration status (see [Table 9](#)).

Table 9

Demographic Characteristics of Analysis Sample by State

	Full Sample (<i>n</i> = 438)	Arizona (<i>n</i> = 109)	Maryland (<i>n</i> = 119)	New Mexico (<i>n</i> = 106)	Virginia (<i>n</i> = 104)
<i>Age</i>	37.88 (13.07)	36.74 (11.89)	35.66 (11.32)	44.60 (13.16)	34.76 (13.77)
<i>Years in the United States</i>	16.75 (9.72)	18.52 (10.54)	13.34 (8.11)	18.01 (9.17)	17.56 (10.21)
<i>Region of Origin</i>					
<i>Mexico</i>	51.6%	69.7%	36.1%	83.0%	18.3%
<i>Central America</i>	22.4%	12.9%	33.6%	7.5%	34.6%
El Salvador	12.3%	2.8%	16.8%	0.9%	28.8%
Guatemala	3.9%	3.7%	4.2%	4.7%	2.9%
Honduras	5.3%	4.6%	11.8%	1.9%	1.9%
Nicaragua	0.2%	0.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Panama	0.7%	0.9%	0.8%	0.0%	1.0%
<i>South America</i>	22.8%	14.6%	24.3%	7.5%	45.1%
Argentina	1.8%	1.8%	1.7%	0.0%	3.8%
Bolivia	1.8%	0.0%	1.7%	0.0%	5.8%
Chile	0.5%	0.9%	0.8%	0.0%	0.0%
Colombia	4.8%	1.8%	3.4%	4.7%	9.6%
Ecuador	2.7%	1.8%	5.0%	0.0%	3.8%
Peru	9.6%	5.5%	10.9%	1.9%	20.2%
Venezuela	1.6%	2.8%	0.8%	0.9%	1.9%
<i>Islands</i>	3.2%	2.7%	5.8%	1.9%	1.9%
Cuba	1.1%	1.8%	0.8%	1.9%	0.0%
Dominican Republic	2.1%	0.9%	5.0%	0.0%	1.9%
<i>Gender</i>					
Woman	61.1%	55.3%	71.9%	62.4%	53.1%
Man	37.7%	42.7%	28.1%	35.6%	45.9%
Transgender or Other	1.2%	1.9%	0.0%	2.0%	1.0%
<i>Race^{a, b}</i>					
American Indian	5.0%	9.2%	2.5%	5.7%	2.9%
Asian	0.5%	0.0%	0.8%	0.0%	1.0%
Black or African Am.	2.5%	2.8%	4.2%	0.9%	1.9%
Pacific Islander	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%
White or Caucasian	27.4%	23.9%	24.4%	32.1%	29.8%
Other	57.8%	57.8%	65.5%	49.1%	57.7%

^a Participants were allowed to select as many as apply to them; thus, percentages may not total 100%.

^b Many participants did not select any race; hence, percentages do not total 100%.

	Full Sample	Arizona	Maryland	New Mexico	Virginia
<i>Level of Education</i>					
No Formal Education	2.4%	2.0%	3.6%	1.0%	3.1%
Primary – 8 th grade	17.6%	15.7%	26.1%	19.2%	8.2%
Some High School	12.7%	10.8%	13.5%	13.1%	13.3%
Diploma/GED	20.2%	18.6%	18.0%	31.3%	13.3%
Some College	16.3%	16.7%	11.7%	13.1%	24.5%
Associate’s Degree	8.3%	12.7%	4.5%	8.1%	8.2%
Bachelor’s Degree	12.4%	13.7%	7.2%	9.1%	20.4%
Master’s Degree	5.9%	4.9%	9.0%	3.0%	6.1%
Professional Degree	2.7%	2.0%	4.5%	2.0%	2.0%
Doctoral Degree	1.5%	2.9%	1.8%	0.0%	1.0%
<i>Employment Status</i>					
Self-Employed	8.3%	5.9%	5.4%	14.3%	8.2%
Employed Full-time	46.1%	52.0%	41.1%	38.8%	53.1%
Employed Part-time	12.2%	13.7%	13.4%	13.3%	8.2%
Unemployed	7.8%	6.9%	12.5%	9.2%	2.0%
Homemaker	13.2%	11.8%	18.8%	13.3%	8.2%
Student	8.5%	5.9%	6.3%	3.1%	19.4%
Retired	1.5%	1.0%	0.9%	3.1%	1.0%
Unable to Work	1.5%	1.0%	1.8%	3.1%	0.0%
Other	1.0%	2.0%	0.0%	2.0%	0.0%
<i>Immigration Status</i>					
	<i>Entry</i> <i>Current</i>				
U.S. Citizenship	0.0% 31.0%	0.0% 33.0%	0.0% 21.9%	0.0% 24.0%	0.0% 46.5%
Temporary Stay Permit	28.2% 4.8%	24.3% 8.7%	22.8% 7.9%	38.0% 2.0%	28.6% 0.0%
Permanent Stay Permit	16.4% 16.6%	14.6% 16.5%	13.2% 11.4%	14.0% 26.0%	24.5% 13.1%
Other Type of Permit	9.4% 8.9%	2.0% 7.8%	14.9% 8.7%	8.0% 9.0%	12.2% 10.1%
No Authorization	33.3% 21.9%	42.7% 19.4%	41.2% 36.0%	21.0% 21.0%	26.5% 19.2%
Prefer Not to Answer	12.8% 13.9%	16.5% 14.6%	7.9% 14.0%	19.0% 18.0%	8.2% 9.1%
<i>Reasons for Immigration^a</i>					
Economic	58.4%	54.1%	65.5%	52.8%	60.6%
Education	40.4%	33.0%	34.5%	43.4%	51.9%
Employment	43.2%	39.4%	40.3%	43.4%	50.0%
Crime	20.1%	17.4%	22.7%	10.4%	29.8%
Safety	36.8%	33.9%	25.2%	34.9%	54.8%
War	5.9%	0.9%	7.6%	3.8%	11.5%
Political Instability	16.9%	11.9%	20.2%	15.1%	20.2%
Join Family	29.5%	29.4%	24.4%	24.5%	40.4%
Leave Family	2.1%	5.5%	0.0%	1.9%	1.0%
Join Friends	4.1%	4.6%	5.0%	3.8%	2.9%
Get Services	3.2%	0.9%	4.2%	5.7%	1.9%
Natural Disaster	1.6%	0.9%	2.5%	0.9%	1.9%
Better Quality of Life	61.0%	52.3%	53.8%	65.1%	74.0%

^a Participants were allowed to select as many as apply to them; thus, percentages may not total 100%.

^b Many participants did not select any race; hence, percentages do not total 100%.

Participants were first asked to complete an online or paper survey in the language of their choice because it was less time-intensive and required less personal information and involvement than the focus groups. Any person who completed the survey could choose to be entered into a raffle for one of thirteen \$30 – \$100 Visa gift cards. To be entered in the raffle, participants had to indicate their contact information when they completed the survey; their information was not associated with the survey data. Visa gift cards (as opposed to checks or money orders) were offered so that participants without access to identification or a bank did not have any issues with cashing a check or a money order. One gift card was distributed every time approximately 35 participants complete the survey (with complete and apparently valid data). A thank you email was sent to everyone who has completed the survey and provided an email address at that time announcing the distribution of the gift card and with a link to the survey they could send to other potential participants.

After the participants had completed the online or paper survey and had entered their information for the raffle, they were also able to check a box indicating they wished to participate in a focus group about the topics in the survey. Of those who provided contact information to enter the raffle ($n = 338$), 56.5% ($n = 191$) indicated they were interested in participating in a focus group. If they were interested in participating in the focus groups, their contact information was collected and stored separately from their survey data. Finally, participants were given flyers (see [Appendices K and L](#)) to share with their colleagues, friends, and family who had similar or different experiences and would like to participate in the survey. In all,

65.0% of participants indicated that they first encountered the project through a research team member. Another 13.5% of participants first encountered the project from a community organization. Further, 9.2% of participants heard about the project from a friend and 4.5% heard about it from a family member. Finally, 3.1% of participants first encountered the project online and 4.6% of participants indicated they heard about the project from another source; their qualitative responses showed that this most often included recruitment via a radio show or newspaper/newsletter article, information about the project displayed in public locations, or information shared by community partners who were not community organizations.

In January 2016 I contacted participants who expressed interest in the focus groups, engaging them with *respeto*, *simpatía*, and *confianza*, explaining that I wished to schedule a time to meet in order to learn more from their experiences. Three attempts were made to reach each participant and invite them to a focus group (two times via phone and once via email, if they provided an email address), held in February 2016. A maximum of 24 people (ideally 8 participants per group) could participate from each site. Because more participants indicated interest in the groups than there was space, participants were randomized, with the first 24 per site invited. Invitations were then extended to participants further down the list when any of those participants declined participation on open dates. While efforts were made to have at least 5 and no more than 8 participants in each group, due to scheduling challenges, weather events, and late cancellations/no-shows, groups ultimately had between 2 and 11 participants (total $n = 73$). Participants were compensated \$25 in cash for focus group participation. Refreshments were also provided at the focus groups.

Design & Data Collection

Location. The study took place in four states: Maryland, Virginia, New Mexico, and Arizona. These states were chosen in two pairs (i.e., Maryland, Virginia; New Mexico, Arizona) because each state within the pair is similar to the other in terms of geographic location and comparable state-level population demographics (e.g., foreign born population, immigration trends, race, ethnicity, family and household size, language, education, employment, income, home ownership). For example, the rates of immigrants from Latin America, as opposed to other parts of the world, in New Mexico and Arizona are 2/3–3/4; those rates are only slightly over 1/3 in Maryland and Virginia. Poverty rates among the foreign-born and the U.S.-born are greater in New Mexico and Arizona than they are in Maryland and Virginia. And, immigrants in New Mexico and Arizona are less likely to be proficient in English as compared to their counterparts in Maryland and Virginia. [See Table 10](#) for further state-level demographic data. While they are similar in terms of their population demographics, the states within each pair differ greatly from each other in terms of their immigration-related policies. New Mexico and Maryland have measures in place to support immigrants (e.g., in higher education, access to driver’s licenses) whereas Arizona and Virginia have a wide array of policies that restrict immigrants from particular activities and sectors of society (e.g., immigration status inquiry and enforcement laws, employment restrictions, state identification and driver’s license limitations). Consequently, conducting the study across these states allowed for the demographic make-up of communities (see [Table 10](#)) and the role of policy (see [Appendix A](#)) on the adaptation and wellbeing of Latina/o immigrants to be explored.

Table 10

Demographic Characteristics of Foreign-Born and U.S.-Born Populations by State

Demographics	New Mexico		Arizona		Maryland		Virginia	
	<i>Foreign-Born</i>	<i>U.S.-Born</i>	<i>Foreign-Born</i>	<i>U.S.-Born</i>	<i>Foreign-Born</i>	<i>U.S.-Born</i>	<i>Foreign-Born</i>	<i>U.S.-Born</i>
<i>Immigration Demographics</i>								
Overall Percent	9.2%	--	13.4%	--	14.3%	--	11.6%	--
Born in Latin America	76.8%	--	65.1%	--	40.1%	--	35.1%	--
Naturalized Citizens	34.3%	--	39.3%	--	46.8%	--	48.0%	--
<i>Period of Entry into the U.S.</i>								
Before 1990	39.4%	--	38.3%	--	29.4%	--	29.5%	--
1990 – 1999	24.6%	--	27.3%	--	25.2%	--	24.8%	--
2000 – 2009	29.5%	--	27.7%	--	36.8%	--	36.6%	--
<i>Population Change</i>								
2000-2012	28.5%	13.4%	33.5%	26.9%	61.9%	5.6%	66.1%	11.2%
1990-2000	85.8%	16.4%	135.9%	32.%	65.3%	6.9%	82.9%	10.8%
<i>Race</i>								
White	62.2%	72.9%	64.4%	81.0%	31.0%	62.6%	39.6%	73.0%
Black	1.3%	2.1%	2.9%	4.6%	22.5%	30.4%	10.8%	20.4%
American Indian	0.3%	10.2%	0.5%	5.0%	0.4%	0.3%	0.4%	0.3%
Asian	9.5%	0.5%	14.2%	1.2%	28.8%	1.9%	34.4%	2.0%
Other	24.8%	11.1%	16.0%	5.2%	14.7%	1.6%	11.2%	1.1%
<i>Ethnicity</i>								
Latina/o Origin	76.2%	44.0%	64.0%	24.9%	31.6%	4.9%	32.4%	5.3%

Demographics	New Mexico		Arizona		Maryland		Virginia	
	<i>Foreign-Born</i>	<i>U.S.-Born</i>	<i>Foreign-Born</i>	<i>U.S.-Born</i>	<i>Foreign-Born</i>	<i>U.S.-Born</i>	<i>Foreign-Born</i>	<i>U.S.-Born</i>
<i>Family and Household Demographics</i>								
Mean Household Size	3.40	2.59	3.40	2.55	3.36	2.54	3.40	2.51
Mean Family Size	3.85	3.25	3.88	3.17	3.74	3.15	3.77	3.08
<i>Language</i>								
English Proficiency ^a	46.6%	96.0%	50.2%	97.5%	62.6%	99.1%	59.7%	99.2%
<i>Educational Attainment^b</i>								
Less than H.S. Diploma	47.6%	11.3%	37.9%	9.3%	20.7%	8.8%	19.8%	10.8%
	31.3%	57.4%	23.9%	48.2%	10.6%	30.9%	11.6%	28.3%
H.S. Diploma/GED	20.5%	27.3%	22.6%	24.6%	20.3%	27.3%	20.0%	26.2%
	22.1%	19.6%	21.2%	23.6%	17.6%	23.0%	18.0%	22.0%
Some College/Associate's	15.6%	34.0%	18.5%	37.4%	18.8%	27.7%	20.5%	28.3%
	21.6%	12.0%	25.4%	13.5%	22.3%	15.3%	25.1%	15.7%
Bachelor's Degree	8.4%	15.8%	12.6%	18.2%	20.1%	20.0%	21.7%	20.4%
	11.9%	6.2%	17.6%	8.9%	25.0%	15.2%	24.9%	18.4%
Graduate/Professional Degree	7.9%	11.7%	8.4%	10.5%	20.0%	16.2%	18.1%	14.3%
	13.1%	4.8%	11.8%	5.9%	24.4%	15.6%	20.4%	15.7%
<i>Occupational Type</i>								
Mgmt/business/science/arts	20.9%	37.5%	23.7%	37.1%	39.0%	45.4%	36.5%	42.9%
Service	31.1%	19.2%	31.3%	18.0%	25.6%	15.1%	23.5%	15.7%
Sales/office	12.3%	25.0%	15.4%	28.4%	15.6%	24.9%	18.8%	23.8%
Construction/maintenance	22.5%	9.7%	15.6%	7.9%	11.7%	6.9%	11.7%	7.9%
Production/transportation	13.1%	8.6%	14.0%	8.6%	8.1%	7.8%	9.5%	9.6%

Demographics	New Mexico		Arizona		Maryland		Virginia	
	<i>Foreign-Born</i>	<i>U.S.-Born</i>	<i>Foreign-Born</i>	<i>U.S.-Born</i>	<i>Foreign-Born</i>	<i>U.S.-Born</i>	<i>Foreign-Born</i>	<i>U.S.-Born</i>
<i>Participation in Civilian Labor Force^b</i>								
Employed	63.1%	59.2%	60.0%	59.8%	74.2%	66.9%	72.6%	63.5%
	64.0%	62.7%	62.9%	58.0%	73.5%	74.9%	73.0%	72.2%
Unemployed	11.1%	10.1%	9.4%	9.9%	6.8%	8.6%	5.8%	7.2%
	9.4%	12.0%	7.9%	10.6%	5.5%	8.0%	4.3%	7.2%
<i>Annual Earnings^b</i>								
Less than \$10,000	4.1%	3.1%	2.8%	2.3%	1.8%	1.6%	1.7%	1.9%
	3.2%	4.8%	1.8%	3.7%	1.3%	2.4%	0.9%	2.6%
\$10,000 - \$14,999	9.3%	5.9%	10.0%	4.1%	4.6%	2.3%	4.8%	3.2%
	5.8%	11.6%	6.2%	13.3%	1.7%	7.6%	2.6%	7.1%
\$15,000 - \$24,999	30.5%	17.3%	27.2%	13.6%	16.1%	8.3%	18.5%	12.0%
	24.0%	35.0%	19.5%	33.7%	10.2%	22.2%	10.6%	27.1%
\$25,000 - \$34,999	18.4%	17.5%	19.5%	17.6%	16.4%	12.0%	15.9%	14.6%
	16.3%	19.8%	19.4%	19.6%	12.2%	20.6%	13.8%	18.1%
\$35,000 - \$49,999	15.5%	20.0%	16.0%	22.1%	17.9%	18.7%	17.0%	20.2%
	19.1%	13.0%	18.8%	13.7%	16.2%	19.6%	18.9%	14.8%
\$50,000 - \$74,999	14.6%	19.5%	11.7%	20.9%	18.2%	24.3%	16.8%	21.1%
	18.5%	12.0%	15.4%	8.5%	22.4%	14.0%	20.3%	12.9%
\$75,000 or more	7.6%	16.9%	12.8%	19.4%	24.9%	32.9%	25.5%	27.1%
	13.1%	3.8%	18.9%	7.5%	36.0%	13.5%	32.9%	17.3%
<i>Median Household Income</i>	\$31,301	\$44,514	\$36,224	\$50,283	\$67,644	\$71,767	\$66,868	\$61,210

Demographics	New Mexico		Arizona		Maryland		Virginia	
	Foreign-Born	U.S.-Born	Foreign-Born	U.S.-Born	Foreign-Born	U.S.-Born	Foreign-Born	U.S.-Born
<i>Poverty^b</i>								
< 100% of the poverty level	28.4%		25.8%		11.4%		12.3%	
	14.8%	20.1%	14.5%	17.6%	6.1%	10.1%	7.0%	11.7%
100 – 199% poverty level	29.4%		28.5%		18.1%		18.7%	
	23.3%	21.7%	23.5%	19.9%	11.9%	12.7%	12.5%	15.5%
<i>Other Markers</i>								
Home Ownership Rate ^b	62.2%		56.6%		56.5%		54.4%	
	79.5%	68.3%	71.4%	63.6%	72.2%	68.2%	70.3%	67.7%
Health Insurance Rate ^b	54.0%		61.2%		70.4%		69.9%	
	79.6%	84.4%	81.8%	85.7%	87.8%	92.9%	84.8%	89.8%

^a English proficiency = people who speak only English or speak English “very well”

^b Within the foreign-born population, numbers on the left represent naturalized citizens while numbers on the right are noncitizens

While participants from any locality in those four states were eligible to participate in the study, to increase comparability of the site sample, participants were recruited from urban centers within their states; namely, Phoenix, Arizona; Baltimore, Maryland; Albuquerque, New Mexico; and, Richmond, Virginia. The specific locality of the participants was determined by their recorded zip code in the main survey. All Arizona participants were from Maricopa County, with 48.0% residing in Phoenix, and the rest residing in nearby cities (16.3% in Tempe, 12.2% Chandler, 12.2% in Mesa, 4.1% in Gilbert, 3.1% in Avondale, 2.0% in Scottsdale, and 1.0% in Goodyear). Most (78.9%) Maryland participants were from Baltimore City, with an additional 14.0% residing in Baltimore County (Catonsville, Cokeysville, Lutherville-Timonium, Nottingham, Owings Mills, Reisterstown, Rosedale), 3.5% in Anne Arundel County (Edgewater, Hanover, Millersville, Severn), 2.6% in Howard County (Colombia, Ellicott City), and 0.9% in Montgomery County (Silver Spring). The vast majority of New Mexico participants (92.0%) were from Albuquerque, with an additional 5.0% residing in nearby Sandoval County (Corrales, Rio Rancho), 2.0% in Valencia County (Tome), and 1.0% in Santa Fe County (Santa Fe). Most (60.6%) Virginia participants were from Richmond, with an additional 16.2% from Fairfax County (Alexandria, Annandale, Fairfax, Great Falls, McClean), 6.1% in Henrico County (Glen Allen, Henrico), 5.0% in Prince William County (Dumfries, Manassas, Triangle, Woodbridge), 4.0% in Chesterfield County (Chesterfield, Midlothian), 3.0% in Loudon County (Ashburn, Sterling), 1.0% in Arlington County (Arlington), 1.0% in Montgomery County (Blacksburg), 1.0% in Rockingham County (Harrisonburg), and 1.0% in Suffolk City County (Suffolk; see [Figure 10](#)).

Percentage of participants who reside in county out of state sample:

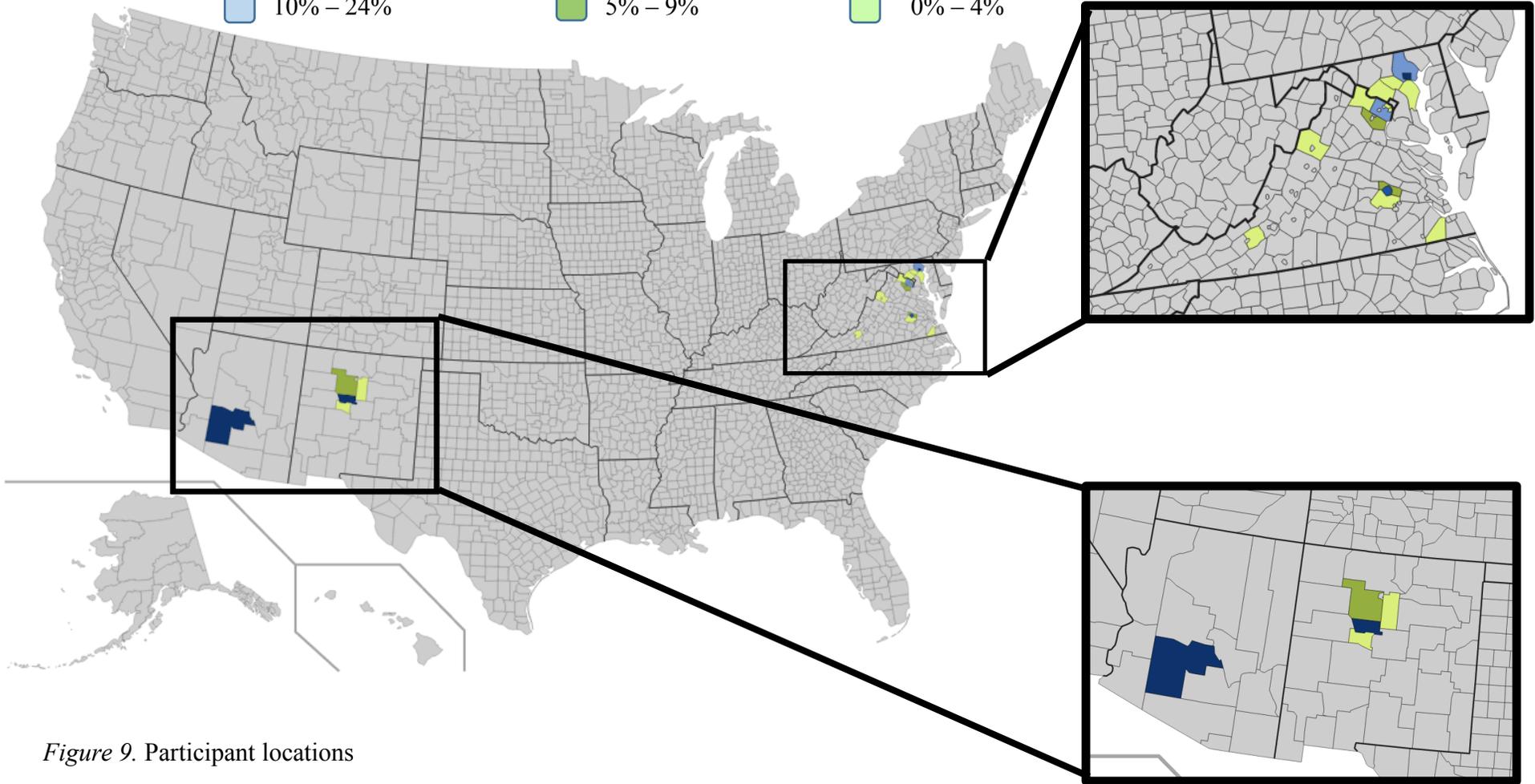


Figure 9. Participant locations

Figure notes: County color indicates percentage of participants from the county in the state.

Quantitative measures. A 212-item survey, which was estimated to take approximately 20-30 minutes to complete, was administered to all participants on paper or online through Qualtrics. Most participants completed the survey in one sitting, though those who completed the survey online through Qualtrics at home had up to a week to complete the full set of measures before the survey automatically closed and submitted their data. The measure was available in English and Spanish. For those which took in one sitting, completion of the survey ranged from 12 minutes to 55 minutes, and appeared largely dependent on the extent to which the participant elaborated on their answers with research team members. At the beginning of the survey, participants were asked to indicate whether they identified as Latina/o, Hispanic, or Chicana/o. Participants were required to answer this question and could not continue the survey if they did not identify with one of those ethnic/sociocultural labels. Throughout the survey, questions were populated with the participant's preferred label. For clarity, all scale items below only contain the Latina/o label (see [Appendix C](#) and [Appendix D](#) for the full set of survey measures in English and Spanish, respectively).

Wellbeing. The construct, wellbeing, was approximated through the present subscale of the Interpersonal, Community, Occupational, Physical, Psychological, and Economic well-being (I COPPE) Scale (Prilleltensky, Dietz, Prilleltensky, Myers, Rubenstein, Jin, & McMahon, 2015) and the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). The present subscale of the I COPPE Scale is a 7-item instrument that measures current perceived interpersonal, community, occupational, physical, psychological, economic, and overall wellbeing.

The participants rated each domain on a scale ranging from 0 (worst) to 10 (best), following the direction, “On the scale below, the number ten represents the best your life can be. The number zero represents the worst your life can be.” A sample item is, “When it comes to relationships with important people in your life, on which number do you stand now?” Responses on this measure were summed with higher numbers indicating higher amounts of wellbeing.

All of the factors within the I COPPE Scale load significantly onto wellbeing (ranging from standardized values of .83 to .99) and demonstrate good concurrent validity with other longer, specific measures of wellbeing, ranging from .43 (interpersonal factor with the Social Connectedness Scale – Revised) to .74 (economic factor as compared to the Personal Financial Well-being Scale). Latent variable reliability of the measure ranged from $H = .95$ to .99 (Prilleltensky et al., 2015). The scale was chosen for its measurement of many wellbeing domains and good preliminary psychometric properties; however, the Spanish version was created and used for the first time in this study. The Spanish version was translated and back-translated by a bilingual Latino lawyer from Mexico and the primary investigator, and had been shown to 12 Latina/o immigrants (from Mexico, El Salvador, Honduras, Argentina, Chile, Colombia, and Guatemala) in Maryland and Colorado in order to vet it for any potential problems. No participants expressed difficulties with the measure when it was piloted nor during the study. Scale internal consistency in this study was excellent ($\alpha = .91$). Scores ranged from 11 to 70 ($M = 48.66$, $SD = 13.02$).

Because the measure had yet to be used for research with Latina/o immigrants, respondents also responded to the SWLS in case the Spanish version did

not perform as anticipated. In the validation study of the I COPPE Scale, it was significantly correlated with the SWLS ($r = .71$; in this study, it was $r = .61$). The SWLS is a 5-item survey, responded to on a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree). Scale items include, “I am satisfied with my life” and “So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.” Responses on this measure were summed with higher numbers indicating higher amounts of wellbeing.

Both the English and Spanish versions of the SWLS have good psychometric properties, and have been used widely in cross-cultural research on subjective wellbeing (e.g., Oishi, Diener, Lucas, & Suh, 2009) and in multi-national studies of acculturation (e.g., Berry, Phinney et al., 2006), with acceptable reliability in both contexts. Diener et al. (1985) reported an internal consistency of $\alpha = .87$ and a 2-month test-retest stability coefficient of $\alpha = .82$; these psychometric properties have been replicated in many studies with diverse populations (e.g., Chmiel et al., 2012; Blais, Vallerand, Pelletier, & Brigare, 1989; Lamers, Westerhof, Bohlmeijer, ten Klooster, & Keyes, 2011). In a study of the validation of the Spanish version, Lucas-Carrasco, Sastre-Garriga, Galán, Den Oudsten, & Power (2014) found an internal consistency of $\alpha = .84$. Scale internal consistency in this study was good ($\alpha = .89$). Scores ranged from 5 to 35 ($M = 24.08$, $SD = 6.68$).

Because the I COPPE scale had sound psychometric properties, it was used in data analyses. The I COPPE was preferred due to its assessment of multiple domains of wellbeing as opposed to simply satisfaction with life.

Acculturative stress. Participants’ acculturative stress associated with both the receiving community and the Latina/o immigrant community was measured with the

Multidimensional Acculturative Stress Inventory (MASI; Rodriguez, Myers, Mira, Flores, & Garcia-Hernandez, 2002). The MASI is a 25-item measure designed to assess acculturative stress among persons of Mexican origin living in the United States. It consists of four subscales: Spanish Competency Pressures (example item: “I feel uncomfortable being around people who only speak Spanish”), English Competency Pressures (example item: “I feel pressure to learn English”), Pressure to Acculturate (example item: “I feel uncomfortable when others expect me to know American ways of doing things”), and Pressure Against Acculturation (example item: “People look down on me if I practice American customs”), which were grouped into two larger scales for the purposes of this study: Cultural Change Acculturative Stress (English Competency Pressures, Pressure to Acculturate) and Cultural Maintenance Acculturative Stress (Spanish Competency Pressures, Pressure Against Acculturation). Participants rated items according to how much stress they have experienced during the previous three months on a 6-point scale ranging from 0 (*does not apply*) to 5 (*extremely stressful*). Consistent with previous researchers’ decisions, MASI items rated as a 0 by participants were rescored as 1 (*not at all stressful*), because an item that does not apply to participants is not a source of acculturative stress (Torres, Driscoll, & Voell, 2012). Responses were summed for each of the two subscales, with higher numbers indicating higher amounts of acculturative stress respective to each types of acculturative stress (cultural change and cultural maintenance).

While the MASI was originally designed for immigrants of Mexican origin, it has been used with Latina/o immigrants from varying countries of origin across the

United States and has performed well. Prior studies of the use of the MASI with Latina/o people living in the United States have found internal consistency coefficients of $\alpha = .90$ and $\alpha = .91$ (Rodriguez et al., 2002; Torres, Driscoll, & Voell, 2012). Scale internal consistencies in this study were good to excellent ($\alpha = .92$ for the Cultural Change Acculturative Stress subscale and $\alpha = .85$ for the Cultural Maintenance Acculturative Stress subscale). Scores on the Cultural Change Acculturative Stress subscale ($M = 32.32$, $SD = 13.55$, range = 14 – 70) were higher and more varied than scores on the Cultural Maintenance Acculturative Stress subscale ($M = 16.21$, $SD = 6.37$, range = 11 – 55).

Acculturation. Participants' real and ideal cultural change to the receiving community and real and ideal cultural maintenance were obtained from the immigrant RAEM Scale, a 32-item measure that is responded to on a 5-point Likert scale ("not at all", "a little", "somewhat", "quite", "a lot"). To measure real cultural change to the receiving community, participants were asked, "To what extent have you adopted American culture" across the specified domains: *peripheral* (work, economics, politics, social welfare; 4 items), *intermediate* (social relations; 1 item), and *central* (family relations, religious customs, beliefs/values; 3 items). To measure real cultural maintenance, participants were asked, "To what extent have you maintained your original culture" across the three domains (8 items). To measure ideal acculturation to the receiving community, participants were asked, "When you first arrived in the United States, to what extent did you want to adopt American culture" across the three domains (8 items). To measure ideal cultural maintenance, participants were asked, "When you first arrived in the United States, to what extent did you want to

maintain your original culture” across the three domains (8 items). The measure was originally developed in Spanish, and was translated by the developers into English. The questionnaire was created and used on a large sample of immigrant adults in Spain, and has been used across Western Europe. Internal consistency is acceptable for such a short measure (4 items in peripheral subscales, 3 items in central subscales). Prior studies using the RAEM have reported Cronbach’s alphas ranging from .74 – .75 for the peripheral maintain scale, .75 – .81 for the peripheral adopt scale, .72 – .89 for the central maintain scale, and .81 for the central adopt scale (Rojas, Navas, Sayans-Jiménez, & Cuadrado, 2014). Cronbach’s alphas in this study were similar, ranging from acceptable to good (peripheral maintain ideal: $\alpha = .76$, peripheral maintain real: $\alpha = .81$, peripheral adopt ideal: $\alpha = .74$, peripheral adopt real: $\alpha = .79$, central maintain ideal: $\alpha = .78$, central maintain real: $\alpha = .75$, central adopt ideal: $\alpha = .80$, and central adopt real: $\alpha = .79$). Responses for each subscale were averaged within each domain and then summed (ranging from 5 to 15), with higher numbers indicating higher levels of cultural change and cultural maintenance, respective of the subscale.

In analyses, these variables were used in two ways: First, in the contextual acculturation models, real cultural change and cultural maintenance were treated as outcomes in the path analyses with ideal cultural change and cultural maintenance as predictors. In the wellbeing model, real cultural change was subtracted from ideal cultural change to create an “cultural change discrepancy” latent variable whereas real cultural maintenance was subtracted from ideal cultural maintenance to create a “cultural maintenance discrepancy” latent variable, which were both treated as

predictors in the model. Please see [Aim 1](#) results for this measure's descriptive statistics.

Psychological sense of community. To approximate participants' senses of community with both the receiving community and the Latina/o immigrant community, this study used the Sense of Community Index, Second Edition (SCI-2; Chavis, Lee, & Acosta, 2008), which is available in both English and Spanish. The instrument consists of 24 items that are responded to on a 4-point Likert scale, depending on the degree of agreement (1 = not at all, 2 = somewhat, 3 = mostly, 4 = completely). The scale was constructed to measure the four proposed dimensions of sense of community by McMillan and Chavis (1986). The participants responded to the measure twice, once in reference to their local community (i.e., "receiving community") and once in reference to the Latina/o immigrant community. The responses for each community were then summed, ranging from 24 to 96, with higher scores indicating stronger sense of community. In a validation study of the SCI-2 with 1,594 people (including 753 immigrants who primarily self-identified as Mexican, Hispanic or Latina/o, and Spanish-speaking or bilingual), reliability between these subscales ranged from $\alpha = .79$ to $\alpha = .86$, and the overall reliability of the measure was high ($\alpha = .94$; Chavis et al., 2008). Thus, the SCI-2 appears to be reliable and valid across cultures and languages. In this study, internal consistencies of the scales in reference to the Latina/o immigrant community and the receiving community were excellent ($\alpha = .95$ and $\alpha = .97$, respectively). Overall scores on the SCI-2 in reference to the Latina/o immigrant community ($M = 60.38$, $SD = 14.67$) were fairly similar to scores on the SCI-2 in reference to the receiving community ($M = 57.69$, $SD = 15.82$).

Intergroup anxiety. Participants' intergroup anxiety was measured with the Intergroup Anxiety Scale – Modified (Stephan et al., 2002). The measure consists of 12 items regarding how participants would feel when interacting with members of the receiving community: uncertain, worried, awkward, anxious, threatened, nervous, comfortable, trusting, friendly, confident, safe, and at ease. Participants responded on a 10-point scale, ranging from “not at all” to “extremely,” and the latter six items were reverse scored so that higher numbers indicated more intergroup anxiety. Responses were summed and could range from 10 to 120, with higher numbers indicating more intergroup anxiety. Internal reliability for this measure is consistently good to excellent across studies and populations in both English and Spanish (ranging from $\alpha = .83$ to $\alpha = .92$; Solano, 2011; Lupano Perugini & Castro Solano, 2015; Stephan et al., 2002). In this study internal consistency was excellent ($\alpha = .90$) and scores varied widely, ranging from 12 to 106 ($M = 52.49$, $SD = 20.46$).

Perceived attitudes of the receiving community. The perceived attitudes of the receiving community towards immigrants was comprised of two unique variables: perceived acculturative preferences of the receiving community for immigrants and prejudicial attitudes. The receiving community's perceived acculturative preferences for immigrants was measured with the ideal subscale of receiving community version of the RAEM (Navas et al., 2005), a 16-item subscale that is responded to on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = “not at all”, 2 = “a little”, 3 = “somewhat”, 4 = “quite”, 5 = “a lot”). To measure what Latina/o immigrants perceive the receiving community's preferences for immigrants' acculturation to be, participants were asked, “To what extent does the United States want you to adopt American culture” across the three

specified domains: *peripheral* (work, economics, politics, social welfare), *intermediate* (social relations), and *central* (family relations, religious customs, beliefs/values). To measure the receiving community's perceived ideal cultural maintenance for immigrants, participants were asked, "To what extent does the United States want you to maintain your original culture" across the three domains. Like the immigrant version of the measure, it was originally developed in Spanish, but has been translated by the developers into English. Prior studies using the RAEM have reported Cronbach's alphas ranging from .74 – .75 for the peripheral maintain scale, .75 – .81 for the peripheral adopt scale, .72 – .89 for the central maintain scale, and .81 for the central adopt scale (Rojas, Navas, Sayans-Jiménez, & Cuadrado, 2014). In this study Cronbach's alphas were good (.85 for each of the subscales). Responses for each subscale were averaged within each domain and then summed (ranging from 5 to 15), with higher numbers indicating higher perceived levels of preferences for cultural change and cultural maintenance, depending on the subscale. Scores varied widely within subdomains (peripheral maintain: $M = 2.51$, $SD = 0.98$, peripheral adopt: $M = 3.69$, $SD = 0.99$, intermediate maintain: $M = 2.72$, $SD = 1.12$, intermediate adopt: $M = 3.41$, $SD = 1.19$, central maintain: $M = 2.90$, $SD = 1.07$, central adopt: $M = 3.33$, $SD = 1.06$). Scores on cultural change ($M = 10.43$, $SD = 2.82$) were somewhat higher than cultural maintenance ($M = 8.13$, $SD = 2.77$).

The perceived prejudicial attitudes of the receiving community were measured with the public subscale of the Perceived Racism Scale for Latina/os (PRSL; Collado-Proctor, 1999, later modified by Moradi & Risco, 2006). The PRSL is a 34-item measure that assesses participants' perception of how often they are targets of

ethnically-motivated prejudicial attitudes and discrimination across multiple contexts: occupational, academic, health care, and public settings. Only the 18-item public subscale (which includes both overt and covert prejudicial attitudes and discrimination) was administered due to the length of the instrument, the breadth of experiences addressed in the public subscale, and the potential lack of applicability of the other subscales to all participants. Sample items included: “Because I am a Latina/o immigrant, I have been stopped, ignored, or harassed by the police” and “I have experienced that Latina/o immigrants are perceived as a threat when they socialize with other Latina/o immigrants.” Participants responded to the items on a 5-point Likert scale indicating how often they have experienced these discriminatory events in the past year, ranging from 1 (never) to 5 (several times a day). The inverse of the scores was then be calculated so that higher scores indicate lower frequency (so that the measure aligns with the scoring of the larger construct – positive attitudes of the receiving community towards Latina/o immigrants). Participants could also select “not applicable” as a response for each item (e.g., a participant may not have ever requested a loan and thus would not be able to an answer to the question, “Because I am a Latina/o immigrant, I have been turned down for loans”). After removing ‘not applicable’ responses, PRSL items were averaged to yield an overall frequency of perceived discrimination score, with lower scores indicating to greater frequency.

This measure has strong psychometrics in both English and Spanish; it strongly correlates with other discrimination measures and internal consistency coefficients from previous studies have been recorded as .93, .92, and .95,

respectively (Collado-Proctor, 1999; Moradi & Risco, 2006; Torres et al., 2012). In this study, internal consistency was excellent ($\alpha = .94$). The PRSL was adapted slightly to reflect participants' statuses as immigrants in this study, replacing the original subject, "Latino," with "Latina/o immigrant." Scores varied widely in this study ($M = 17.58$, $SD = 12.21$).

Quantity of contact. Participants' quantity of contact with both U.S.-born Americans and Latina/o immigrants will be assessed with a modified version of Volpato & Manganelli Rattazzi's method (2000), which has been used in other studies as well (e.g., Castellini, Colombo, Maffei, & Montali, 2011). Participants indicated how much contact they have had with U.S.-born Americans as friends (i.e., close contact), neighbors (i.e., opportunities for contact), school/work colleagues, (accidental contact), or people met in public places (direct contact) on a 5-point Likert scale (0 = no contact, 4 = very frequent contact). They were also asked the same set of questions for Latina/o immigrants. Responses for each set (U.S.-born Americans and Latina/o immigrants) were summed, and ranged from 0 to 16, with higher numbers indicating more contact (U.S.-born: $M = 10.61$, $SD = 3.78$; Latina/o immigrant: $M = 11.33$, $SD = 3.72$). The quantity of contact was not used in the proposed analyses, but was being collected for future investigation of moderation effects.

Quality of contact. Participants' quality of contact with U.S.-born Americans and Latina/o immigrants was also assessed in this manner. Similar to Castellini and colleagues (2011), participants were asked to assess the quality of contact with Latina/o immigrants and U.S.-born Americans for each context in which they have

indicated they have had contact with these groups (i.e., with friends, neighbors, school/work colleagues, and people in public places) by responding on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly negative) to 5 (strongly positive). Responses were averaged, removing any groups with which the participant has not had contact, with higher scores indicating more positive contact. In this study, Cronbach's alphas were good (.84 for the U.S.-born subscale and .81 for the Latina/o immigrant subscale). Scores ranged from 4 to 20 (U.S.-born: $M = 14.29$, $SD = 3.22$; Latina/o immigrant: $M = 15.85$, $SD = 2.95$).

Perceived threat. Two types of perceived threats were of interest in this study: realistic threats, operationalized here as threats to one's political and economic power, and symbolic threats, operationalized here as threats to one's cultural values and beliefs. These threats were measured with a modified version of the Interracial Threat Questionnaire (Stephan & Stephan, 1985), which was originally designed to measure majority group members' attitudes towards minority group members, but has since been used in a variety of situations, including immigrant attitudes towards receiving community members (e.g., González et al., 2010). The 12-item Realistic Threats Measure (Stephan et al., 2002, later adapted by Maddux, Galinsky, Cuddy, & Polifroni, 2008) was used to assess perceived political and economic threats, and was responded to on a 7-point scale that ranged from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Sample items included: "Many companies hire less qualified U.S.-born Americans over more qualified Latina/o immigrants" and "The legal system is more lenient on U.S.-born Americans than Latina/o immigrants." Scores on this measure were summed, with higher numbers indicating more perceived threat. The measure has

excellent psychometrics in the literature (Cronbach's alphas range from .93 to .95 for the 12-item measures and .87 for abbreviated measures; Stephan et al., 2002; González et al., 2010). In this study, internal consistency of the scale was excellent ($\alpha = .94$). Scores ranged from 16 to 84 ($M = 55.44$, $SD = 14.93$).

The 12-item Symbolic Threats Measure (Stephan et al., 2002) was used to assess threats posed by perceived value and belief differences, and was also responded to on a 7-point scale that ranged from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Sample items included: "U.S.-born Americans don't understand the way Latina/o immigrants view the world" and "U.S.-born Americans regard themselves as morally superior to Latina/o immigrants." In this study these measures were slightly adapted for Latina/o immigrants' attitudes towards U.S.-born Americans. Scores on this measure were summed, with higher numbers indicating more perceived threat. The measure also has good psychometrics (Cronbach's alphas range from .87 to .89; Stephan et al., 2002; González et al., 2010). In this study, internal consistency of the scale was excellent ($\alpha = .93$). Scores ranged from 12 to 84 ($M = 58.96$, $SD = 14.51$).

Demographic measures. A number of participant characteristics were also measured for descriptive purposes. These characteristics were: current state, country of origin, country where participant spent the most time, gender, current age, age at immigration, race, primary motivation(s) for immigration (poverty, education, employment, crime, safety, war, political instability, join family, leave family, join friends, need for services, natural disaster, better quality of life, other), household members, other family members in the United States, family members in the country of origin, annual household income, years of education, employment status, zip code,

and original and current immigration status. Some were controlled for in the path analyses due to their theoretical connections to the outcomes (discussed further in the [Data Analyses](#) section).

A number of the variables used in the analyses were transformed from the surveys. Per-person household income was calculated by dividing annual household income by the number of household members. The amount of time lived in the United States was calculated by subtracting age at immigration from current age. Region of origin was calculated by grouping countries of origin into four geographic regions: Mexico, Central America (including Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama), South America (including Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela), and the Caribbean Islands (Cuba, Dominican Republic). Despite the small sample size from the Caribbean Islands ($n = 13$), it was not possible to combine participants from this region with another region because of both significant theoretical cultural differences between the regions as well as statistically significant differences on some outcomes of interest (see [Results](#) for further details).

Finally, current legal status in immigration process was calculated by grouping current immigration status into three higher order categories: naturalized U.S. citizenship, authorized status (including current or renewed temporary stay permit, permanent stay permit, other type of permit such as Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, DACA), and unauthorized/undisclosed status (including expired temporary stay permit, no permit or authorized status, prefer not to answer, and blank responses). Twelve participants selected ‘other’ and their open-ended statements were

coded to place them into one of these three categories (e.g., ‘DACA’ and ‘political asylum’ were coded as authorized status, ‘ninguno’ (none) and ‘ilegal’ (illegal) were coded as unauthorized/undisclosed). Unauthorized immigrants and those who declined to disclose their current immigration status were collapsed into one unauthorized/undisclosed group both for theoretical reasons (i.e., it seems that an unauthorized immigrant has more reason to decline to disclose their immigration status than one who has an authorized status or citizenship) and statistical reasons (i.e., unauthorized and undisclosed immigrants had no statistically significant mean differences on the primary outcomes – real cultural change, real cultural maintenance, and wellbeing – whereas naturalized citizens and authorized immigrants had statistically significant mean differences between each other and unauthorized and undisclosed immigrants).

Policy. State-level immigration-related policy (SIP) scores were computed using publically available data to indicate the restrictiveness of state-level policies on Latina/o immigrants. This scale was developed for this study following the model used by Ewald (2012) to develop the State Collateral Sanctions Policy Score for evaluating the restrictiveness of state-level policies aimed at those with former criminal justice system involvement. Using the SIP, state policies were rated across seven domains which encompass thirteen subdomains: Immigration Status Inquiry/Enforcement (in the community, in custody), Employment (employers, employees, E-verify), Driver’s License/State Identification, Higher Education (enrollment, tuition, financial aid), Voter Identification, Housing, and Public Benefits (program, enrollment). Each subdomain was scored on a scale of 0 to 3 (0 = not

restrictive/no law in place, 1 = minimally restrictive, 2 = moderately restrictive, 3 = severely restrictive) following a review of the states' immigration-related policies (see [Appendix A](#)). The subdomain scores were then averaged to compute a domain score, and domain scores were summed to create each state's immigration-related policy scores, with higher scores indicating higher levels of restriction (Arizona = 17.00, Maryland = 3.50, New Mexico = 3.00, Virginia = 13.33).

Qualitative measure. Twelve 85- to 115-minute focus groups were conducted across the four states, with three focus groups conducted in each state. Focus groups consisted of two to eleven participants (total $n = 73$), and were scheduled according to the participants' availability. All focus groups were primarily facilitated in Spanish due to participants' language of choice, but with some English and 'Spanglish' spoken by participants. These discussions explored the participants' views of their experiences in the receiving community, including: intrapersonal, interpersonal, and contextual factors (e.g., public policies, attitudes of the receiving community, realistic and symbolic threat, contact with the Latina/o immigrant community and receiving community, psychological sense of community, intergroup anxiety) that shaped their experiences and adaptation; their achievement (or lack thereof) of their ideal acculturation orientations; and, the impact of such achievement (or lack thereof) on their stress and wellbeing. An interview guide highlighting suggested domains to be covered within the focus group was utilized to ensure full coverage of topics (see [Appendix E](#) and [Appendix F](#) for the focus group guides in English and Spanish, respectively); however, the exact questions and order of topics depended upon the focus group participants and their discussion. The focus group

guide was structured to illuminate the processes by which contextual factors hindered or facilitated participants' achievement of their ideal acculturation and cultural maintenance, and the processes by which the distance from this ideal acculturation may negatively impact wellbeing. While the interview guide suggested themes and related questions to discuss, the focus groups functioned as a conversation, directed by the participants' responses and discussion. The semi-structured nature of the focus groups allowed participants to discuss broad questions, and also permitted probes for further clarification or following up on emergent themes. In this way, themes could emerge spontaneously from the participants, and were not limited to the initial constructs (Charmaz, 2003; Weiss, 1994).

Multiple observations were also made during the focus groups by trained, bilingual research team members, with at least two research team members attending each group. Observations included both the nonverbal and verbal communication of the participants during the focus groups, such as posture, eye contact, and intonation. Observations were also made in informal interactions with the participants, watching verbal and nonverbal communication when the participants were not engaged in structured conversations, paying attention to what languages they spoke informally, who they interacted with, and the nature of their interactions. The observations were recorded as field notes and later added to the interview transcripts in order to provide a richer sense of the verbal and nonverbal behaviors of the participants (Weiss, 1994). They were used to help expound upon the spoken words of the participants, bringing to light more nuanced meanings of their words. The field notes also provided rich

description so that the results could be interpreted within the context of the participants' lives.

Participants were also asked to complete a short demographic questionnaire at the conclusion of the focus group to further contextualize their individual responses (see [Appendix G](#) and [Appendix H](#) for demographic questionnaires in English and Spanish, respectively). The questionnaire included questions about participants' current state, country of origin, country where they spent the most time, gender, current age, age at immigration, race, primary motivation(s) for immigration, household members, other family members in the United States, family members in the country of origin, annual household income, years of education, employment status, zip code, and original and current immigration statuses.

In addition to field notes, every person directly working on this project maintained personal research journals. These research journals documented the researchers' personal standpoints, thoughts, reactions, and initial interpretations throughout each stage of the research process. The research journals provided an opportunity for continual reflexivity and allowed for better transparency throughout the study. They also provided an opportunity to delineate and work through initial interpretations of the findings. In this way, the research journals not only provided opportunities for reflection, to better the research, and to illuminate the research process for the reader later, but also provide a starting point for discussions around the data collection and interpretation and to capture initial thoughts that might easily have become obscured from data analyses if not recorded.

Data Analyses

This study used a combination of methods to analyze the data gathered as appropriate to each method of inquiry.

Quantitative analyses. All quantitative analyses were performed in IBM SPSS Statistics Version 21. Main analyses used regression-based path analysis. Path analysis is an extension of multiple regression that allows for examination of whether the pattern of intercorrelations among the variables fits the theory of how the variables are related (Aron & Aron, 1997).

Data preparation. The data were prepared in the following ways prior to analyses:

Verification of accuracy. Under my supervision, my research assistants and I entered all of the data from any paper surveys into the online platform. I randomly checked twenty percent of these surveys to ensure data entry accuracy. The data were then downloaded into a password-protected SPSS data file. I then reviewed the file to ensure accuracy of data entry. Specifically, all variables were examined to verify that individual values, as well as means and standard deviations (for continuous variables) and frequencies (for categorical variables), were within the possible range for each variable.

Missing data. Data were examined to verify that the amount of missing data was minimal and not due to systematic factors (e.g., related to demographics or other study variables). It appeared that all missing data were either the result of an incomplete survey submission (i.e., the participant stopped taking the survey before

completion) or due to participants choosing not to answer certain items. No pattern was identified among the missed items.

Scale preparation. Because all of the scales consist of multiple items, I created SPSS syntax to calculate total scale scores by summing individual item scores for most of the scales (i.e., Wellbeing, Acculturative Stress, Psychological Sense of Community – Receiving Community, Psychological Sense of Community – Latina/o Immigrant Community, Intergroup Anxiety, Realistic Threat, Perceived Threat, Quantity of Contact). Two scales (i.e., Quality of Contact and Prejudice) were averaged, rather than summed, after removing inapplicable items in order to eliminate the effects of items that did not apply. The Acculturation Scales (i.e., Real and Ideal Acculturation, Acculturative Preferences of the Receiving Community) were computed by averaging the scores within each domain (central, intermediate, and peripheral) and then summing them. The same technique was used to calculate the Policy variable (see [Appendix A](#)). Additionally, I calculated Cronbach’s alphas to verify that the internal consistency of these scales was adequate in the present sample (see [Quantitative Measures](#)).

Because two variables, preferred acculturation and prejudice, were theorized to make up the construct “perceived attitudes of the receiving community” and two variables, realistic threat and symbolic threat, were theorized to make up the construct “perceived threat”, the degree of their relation was considered through simple correlations. It was found that realistic and symbolic threat did indeed correlate significantly with each other to the degree that multicollinearity could be problematic ($r = .67, p < .001$) and thus the constructs were combined. The combined threat scales

had a very high internal consistency ($\alpha = .95$). Surprisingly, preferred acculturation and prejudice were not found to be related to the degree that multicollinearity would be an issue (cultural change: $r = .06$, *ns*; cultural maintenance: $r = -.14$ $p < .01$) and thus were treated as unique variables in the models.

The survey data was then primarily analyzed through descriptive statistics, simple correlations, analysis of variance (ANOVA), and path analysis.

Descriptive analyses. First descriptive statistics were used to describe the participants. The means, ranges, and standard deviations of all of the ratio/interval variables were calculated (i.e., current age, age at immigration, the variable computed from these two, ‘length of time in the United States’, and years of education); and, the frequencies of all nominal and interval variables was calculated (i.e., current state of residence, country of origin, gender, motivation(s) for immigration, employment status, past and current immigration statuses, household members, family members in the U.S and in the country of origin). Annual per person household income was calculated by dividing annual household income by the number of people dependent on that income. Additionally, means, ranges, and standard deviations were calculated and used to describe the participants’ scores on the measures. To accomplish aim 1 (applying the RAEM to these four states), descriptive statistics were used to describe the ideal and real cultural change and cultural maintenance of the participants across the three domains.

Inferential analyses. Then, multiple one-way ANOVAs were performed in order to examine whether (a) ideal and real acculturation and cultural maintenance differed by domains (i.e., central, intermediate, peripheral), and (b) ideal and real

cultural change and cultural maintenance differed by state (Arizona, New Mexico, Maryland, Virginia). When significant differences were found in the omnibus F-test, Bonferroni's post hoc tests were used in order to determine which means significantly differ from one another. Bonferroni's post hoc test corrects for the inflated alpha level that arises with multiple pairwise comparisons so that there is more confidence that the differences identified statistically are indeed systematic.

Prior to testing the hypotheses presented in Aims 2 and 3, I assessed whether the demographic variables theorized to control a statistically significant amount of variance in the outcomes indeed controlled for a statistically significant amount of variance in the outcomes (i.e., real cultural change, real cultural maintenance) in this sample. Specifically, I conducted two linear regressions: one with 'real cultural' as predicted by 'region of origin', 'immigration status', 'motivation for immigration', 'annual per-person income', and 'time in the United States' (calculated by subtracting 'age at immigration' from 'current age'); and one with 'real cultural maintenance' as predicted by this same set of variables. If any demographic variable was found to control a unique, statistically significant portion of the variance in the outcome, was controlled for within the path analysis (see [Results](#)).

To accomplish aim 2, regression-based path analysis was used to test the effects of the variables (i.e., ideal cultural change, receiving community preferred cultural change, prejudice, quality of contact with the receiving community, perceived threat, restrictive immigration-related policies) on the primary outcome (i.e., real cultural change) both directly and indirectly through psychological sense of community in regard to the receiving community and intergroup anxiety (see [Figure](#)

6). To accomplish aim 3, regression-based path analysis was again used to test the effects of the variables (i.e., ideal cultural maintenance, receiving community preferred cultural maintenance, prejudice, quality of contact with the receiving community and Latina/o immigrant community, perceived threat, restrictive immigration-related policies) on the primary outcome (i.e., real cultural maintenance) both directly and indirectly through psychological sense of community in regard to the Latina/o immigrant community (see [Figure 7](#)). To accomplish aim 4, regression-based path analysis was again used to test the effects of cultural change and maintenance discrepancies on wellbeing directly and indirectly through acculturative stress.

Qualitative analyses. As the focus group guide was developed to tap into the theoretical constructs examined in the path models, the analysis was primarily guided by those theoretical constructs. However, it was also guided by the recommendations put forth in constructivist grounded theory, so that the theory was generated from, rather than ascribed to, the data (Charmaz, 2003/2006). In order to arrive at conclusions from the data gathered, a five phase analytic process was utilized, consisting of: (1) description, (2) organization, (3) connection, (4) corroboration and legitimation, and (5) representation of the account (Crabtree & Miller, 1999). Please see [Table 11](#) for an outline of the qualitative data analysis.

Table 11

Phases of the Data Analysis

Phase	Task	Description
1. Description	Transcription	Tape-recorded focus groups are transcribed into a written document
	Record of Observations	Observations made during the focus groups are recorded in the document
	Record of Initial Thoughts and Interpretations	Records from the research diary and initial thoughts and interpretations during transcription are also recorded in the document
2. Organization	Initial Coding	Each segment of the focus groups is examined as a separate piece of data, and the coinciding actions, events, or thoughts are initially coded
	Constant Comparative Methods (A)	Comparisons are made between each initial coding segment in order to begin to sort them
3. Connection	Focused Coding	The most frequent and significant initial codes are grouped into focused codes to categorize a great amount of data in a precise manner
	Constant Comparative Methods (B)	Comparisons are made between individual focused codes within one focus group, across multiple focus groups in one site, and across all sites
	Categorization	The focused codes are grouped thematically into higher order categories
	Theoretical Coding	The categories are compared and connected as they are grouped into more abstract concepts, resulting in preliminary theoretical constructs
4. Legitimation and Corroboration	Memo Writing	Preliminary theoretical constructs are organized in memos that corroborate multiple perspectives
	Memo Presentation	Memos are presented to the dissertation advisor, research team, and community partners to validate findings and reduce bias
	Memo Revising	Memos are revised based on feedback during presentation, furthering theory development
5. Representation of the Account	Writing the Final Document	The resulting theory is woven into a rich, descriptive narrative and combined with the quantitative data, so that the theory remains contextually grounded in the data

The first phase of the analytic process was *description*, in which the context was set for the analysis to begin. It involved both describing the participants' accounts and reflecting upon what happened in the focus groups, what influenced initial thoughts and interpretations, and what should happen next (Crabtree & Miller, 1999). During this phase, bilingual research assistants and I transcribed tape-recorded accounts into written documents, removing any potentially identifying information (e.g., if a parent accidentally used their child's name rather than relationship to the child, it was replaced with 'my son' or 'my daughter' in the transcript). Transcription occurred in the language the words were spoken. In other words, while focus group discussions were primarily in Spanish, when a mix of English and Spanish (or 'Spanglish') was spoken in the focus group, that mix of languages was recorded verbatim. Transcripts were then checked by a second research assistant, and finally checked once more by me. Observations made during the interviews and initial thoughts arising during conducting or transcribing the interviews were added to the transcripts in order to provide richer, more comprehensive accounts of what took place. During transcription, weekly team calls were held to discuss individual progress transcribing, problems-solve any barriers to accurate transcription, and discuss arising themes both within and across focus groups and sites. These documents provided the context for the analysis.

The second phase of the analytic process was *organization*, in which initial codes of the data were generated and began to be sorted. This phase commenced with initial coding (Charmaz, 2006). Coding took place in the language of the focus group in order to stay close to the interview data and not obscure or inadvertently change

any meanings through translation (Tarozzi, 2013). Through initial coding each segment of each interview, or every complete thought expressed by the participants – be it a couple of words, a full sentence, or an entire paragraph – was examined as a separate piece of data and given an initial code, or name that reflects what took place (Charmaz, 2003).

Initial coding was conducted with an open mind and stayed close to the data by defining what took place; however, initial codes also reflected the constructs under study. As Dey (1999) states, “There is a difference between an open mind and an empty head” (p. 251). These guiding constructs are known as *sensitizing concepts* (Blumer, 1969). Charmaz (2003) contends that sensitizing concepts in the analytic process “offer ways of seeing, organizing, and understanding experience” (p. 259). Thus, initial coding was open and stayed close to the data while reflecting the concepts under study; this allowed for new discoveries that were still relevant to the study (Charmaz, 2006). Consequently, a codebook was developed from the literature and the concepts under study, a close read of all of the focus groups, and input from research assistants. The initial codebook was applied to one transcript, with each research team member coding a set amount of text independently and then meeting weekly with the entire research team to discuss the coding and needed revisions to the codebook, coming to a team consensus. This process was repeated until the first transcript was fully coded. From there, research assistants broke into their site teams of two – four people to code the focus groups from their site, with me on each team. As before, we individually coded, met together weekly to discuss discrepancies in our coding to come to consensus. If content did not fit within the original coding

framework, it was recorded in a memo. If it was found that the content arose multiple times within one transcript or across multiple sites, the content was added as a new code and communicated to all site teams. Then, formerly coded transcripts were reviewed to assure that the content captured under the new code was not present within them (see [Appendix M](#) for the full codebook).

Finally, *constant comparative methods* (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), an approach to locating and assigning codes, were also invoked. Each initial code was compared with other initial codes in order to begin to sort the data. The initial codes and preliminary comparisons then led to the third phase.

The third phase of the analytic process is *connection*, in which grounded theory begins to be developed. The aim of the phase was to discover themes and patterns within the texts, to make links between codes, and to potentially generate new theories (Charmaz, 2006; Crabtree & Miller, 1999). To make such connections, the phase began with focused coding, a selective and conceptual method of coding (Charmaz, 2006). During focused coding, the most frequent and significant initial codes were further grouped into focused codes with the objective of categorizing the greatest amount of data in the most precise manner possible (Charmaz, 2003, 2006). Constant comparative methods were again invoked, as comparisons were made between focused codes within one focus group, between focus groups, and between clusters of focus groups (e.g., by state; Charmaz, 2003; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The focused codes were then further grouped thematically into higher order categories (Charmaz, 2006; Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Finally, theoretical coding of the categories took place in order to conceptualize “how the substantive codes [categories] may

relate to each other as hypotheses to be integrated into a theory” (Glaser, 1978, p. 72). Through theoretical coding, the higher order categories were compared and connected as they were grouped into more abstract concepts, resulting in preliminary theoretical constructs (Charmaz, 2006). As focused coding joined the initial codes and categorization allowed for formation of particular concepts, theoretical coding gave form and structure to the concepts, connecting them to create preliminary theoretical constructs. Thus, phase three allowed for the beginning of grounded theory development.

The fourth phase of the analytic process, *legitimation and corroboration*, fleshed out the preliminary theoretical constructs and considered them from multiple perspectives. This phase dealt with reviewing the data from the analysis, seeking to corroborate the perspectives that arose in the analysis and legitimating the interpretations by presenting them to multiple audiences (Crabtree & Miller, 1999). Following constructivist grounded theory, this phase took place through memo writing, an intermediate step between coding and drafting the completed analysis. Charmaz (2003) stated that, “memo writing helps researchers (a) to grapple with ideas about the data, (b) to set an analytic course, (c) to refine categories, (d) to define the relations among various categories, and (e) to gain a sense of confidence and competence in their ability to analyze the data” (p. 263). Through memo writing, I was able to review the analysis to corroborate multiple perspectives that arose throughout the data. I sought out accounts that did not fit with the other perspectives. When particular accounts were not explained through the grounded theory, the assumptions of the theory were reworked in order to better fit the data. When the

theory was reworked and there was no resolution, attention was drawn to the case and I publicly acknowledged that the grounded theory did not account for the particular case in the results (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).

At the beginning of the fourth phase, memos were presented to the research team in weekly team meetings across sites and revised through discussion. As memos were better fleshed out, they were developed into 2- to 4-page documents (see [Appendix I](#) for a sample 4-page English language handout and [Appendix J](#) for a sample 2-page Spanish language handout) and short presentations (specific to each site) that were shared with community partners as well as my dissertation advisor in order to legitimate my findings and minimize personal biases (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). To date, 21 community ‘share backs’ have been held across all four sites and included participants in the project; English as a second language, general education development, and Head Start teachers and program coordinators; cultural and immigrant liaisons in government offices; community activism/organizing leaders; immigration lawyers; social workers; therapists; public health officials; religious leaders; Chamber of Commerce staff; other social program staff; and, community leaders. While all ‘share backs’ have taken different forms and range in length, size and type of audience, focus, mode (e.g., in-person, telephone, video-conferencing) and degree of formality (e.g., formal presentation, review of documents, more informal discussion), they usually involved a preliminary findings presentation and discussion. New insights from these meetings were noted and, at the end of the fourth phase, memos were formulated that included feedback on the analyses and hypotheses, providing further shape and form to the theory.

Finally, the fifth phase of the analytic process regards sharing the new understandings that result from the interpretations, and representing what has been learned through the analysis (i.e., writing the final document; Crabtree & Miller, 1999). In constructivist grounded theory, writing matters a great deal, as it evokes feelings and experiences through written words (Charmaz, 2006). Theory needs to remain embedded within the context of the narrative; thus, the developed theory was placed back into its original context (Wolcott, 1990). Writing focused on the theory developed from the conceptual categories, woven together with the quantitative findings, with necessary rich description to illustrate it. In this way, the theory remained grounded in the context of the account (Charmaz, 2003). At the end of the fifth phase, the final document was produced as an account of what was learned through the study, grounding proposed theory, and quantitative and qualitative support for it, within the rich context of the participants' lives (see [Results](#)).

Trustworthiness

While standards of validity and reliability were discussed within the quantitative measures section of this document, it is important to note that qualitative methods cannot be assessed by the same criteria as quantitative methods; consequently, they are replaced by trustworthiness, the parallel of validity and reliability in qualitative research.

Trustworthiness of a qualitative study is established through *credibility*, *transferability*, *dependability*, and *confirmability* (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Hoepfl (1997) compares facets of trustworthiness to quantitative terms, equating credibility with internal validity, transferability with external validity, dependability with

reliability, and confirmability with objectivity. As the qualitative researcher assumes the presence of multiple realities, *credibility* in the research involves confidence in the accurate representation of them; thus, credibility “depends less on sample size than on the richness of the information gathered and on the analytical abilities of the researcher” (Hoepfl, 1997, p. 58). The next facet of trustworthiness is *transferability*, which is compared with external validity; it concerns the applicability of the findings to other settings (Glesne, 2011; Marshall & Rossman, 1995). *Dependability*, similar to reliability, deals with the consistency of the findings (Glesne, 2011; Marshall & Rossman, 1995). *Confirmability* is the level of objectivity in the collection, interpretation, and presentation of the findings (Hoepfl, 1997). Specifically, confirmability comprises the degree to which the findings are shaped by the respondents and not researcher bias (Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Marshall & Rossman, 1995). Ensuring methods for increasing credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability establishes the overall trustworthiness of a qualitative study (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).

Trustworthiness was supported in the study design and data collection through the concepts of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Credibility was increased through member checking, or probing for clarification, and by seeking out instances that might have contradicted previously gathered information. Transferability was supported through the rich descriptions and detail brought about through the broad, open-ended nature of the interview questions. Dependability was substantiated through conducting multiple focus groups across the states and posing the same types of questions to multiple participants. Finally,

confirmability was increased at the time of the focus groups through broad questions formulated to be neutral in nature. The flexibility of the broad questions allowed for themes to emerge from the participants spontaneously, increasing confirmability. The overall trustworthiness of the study was established through the credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability of the semi-structured focus groups, furthered through rapport building with the participants, and was continued through the analysis procedures.

Trustworthiness was further substantiated through the data analysis stage of this study. Credibility was increased through peer debriefing, or sharing analysis thoughts with colleagues and research team members to “explore aspects of the inquiry that might otherwise remain only implicit within the inquirer's mind” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 308). It allowed for re-examination of biases and perspectives, and to test emerging hypotheses. Credibility was also bolstered through negative case analysis, or searching for and discussing elements of the data that did not support emerging patterns or explanations from the analysis (Patton, 2002). Transferability was supported through rich description in the manuscript, in order to keep theory grounded in the context of the participants’ lives. Dependability was further substantiated through the process of external audits, having an outside researcher (i.e., my dissertation advisor) examine the process and outcome of the analysis (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Finally, confirmability was supported through triangulation, involving multiple data sources to produce a richer, more complex understanding. Confirmability was also upheld through continual reflexivity, by systematically attending to the construction of knowledge and my background, position, and context

that may have shaped it (Guba & Lincoln, 1985). Reflexivity was fostered through carefully considering and delineating my position, beliefs, perspectives, and values, by keeping a reflexive journal about the research process, and through sharing initial hypotheses with other researcher team members and colleagues. A statement of reflexivity is below. Thus, credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability allowed for the trustworthiness of the study to be upheld in the analysis.

Reflexivity

Qualitative research, based in the tradition of constructivism, recognizes that the researcher shapes the study and the findings from the study, and so it is necessary for the researcher to acknowledge her background and theoretical position. Malterud (2001) states, “A researcher's background and position will affect what they choose to investigate, the angle of investigation, the methods judged most adequate for this purpose, the findings considered most appropriate, and the framing and communication of conclusions” (pp. 483—484). One of the reasons I was drawn to community psychology and specifically qualitative methods of research (in addition to quantitative) is the recognition that our values, beliefs, and backgrounds impact the questions we ask, the way in which we ask or ‘frame’ them, the methods we use to try to answer them, the conclusions we make about the data we gather, and the solutions we then propose. I do not believe it is possible, nor ideal, to rid research of ‘ourselves’ and our biases. I believe that trying to do so merely hides our biases, and thus I will endeavor to reflect on my biases and recognize the role they play in each stage of my research.

I uphold a constructivist perspective on the creation of knowledge, believing that there are multiple truths that exist in the world, and that those truths depend on context. As Dillard (1982) states, “Our knowledge is contextual and only contextual. Ordering and invention coincide: we call their collaboration ‘knowledge’” (p. 56). I believe that the truths I will learn from the participants of my study are presented in the context of their lives and are also in response to interactions with them. Consequently, below I detail my background and the reasons I arrived at the present study.

Background of primary investigator. I am a fifth generation German-American and have been interested in the acculturation process since living abroad for the first time at age 16. I have chosen to live abroad in various parts of Central America, South America, Europe, and Africa, for varying time frames. During each move abroad, some of my values, practices, and identifications shifted, while others solidified, changing my ‘real’ cultural change and cultural maintenance orientations. I spoke and communicated in new languages; I changed the food I cooked and the activities I did in my leisure time; I adapted my level of personal space and my expectations of interactions; I modified the way in which I viewed time and how I structured my day. I went from viewing myself as an individual to more fully considering who I was within a system; I moved from identifying as ‘American’ to rejecting the label entirely, to currently identifying as a ‘U.S.-born person’. I began to value the good of all over freedom of one, and believed group achievement to be just as important as self-reliance. I saw these shifts across domains in my life and noticed that the changes differed depending on how close the cultural elements were to me. I

was fine attempting to communicate in Twi in public spaces in Ghana, but preferred English within the comfort of my home. I accepted the need to show up an hour late to gatherings with friends in Brazil and Spain, but my more German-consistent values of order and timeliness did not change.

Looking back, I also notice that the way I changed did not always align with how I originally envisioned myself adapting, partially a result of contextual factors and the way in which I was treated. For example, I found myself accepting some more ‘traditional’ roles consistent with my gender when I lived in Brazil as a result of those around me strongly suggesting that I should act in particular ways, although I did not value those expectations or consider myself adapting in that way. I lived in Spain during the Bush administration, when the United States was not looked upon favorably by much of the world. I found myself spending more time with international students than Spaniards and hiding my identity as an ‘American’ or ‘U.S.-born person’ as a result of negative experiences brought about because of my nationality. However, more often than not, I felt wholly accepted by the contexts, and developed a strong sense of community with both the U.S. immigrant and international community and the various receiving communities I entered, and I decreased my intergroup anxiety. I do attribute my successful adaptation to the contexts I encountered. While technically not immigration, as my times abroad were always short-term and I planned to return to the United States, it was this personal process that drew me to the study of acculturation. I seek to understand how others make sense of their new communities and why some find it easier to adapt in desired ways than others

I became drawn to the Latina/o immigrant population in the United States during my undergraduate studies, as the town in which I lived was home to a great number of Latina/o immigrants, primarily of Mexican origin. The town was very much split ethnically and culturally, with much of the Caucasian American population wanting very little to do with the Latin American population. Animosity increased in December of 2006, when Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) arrested over 800 people, and later deported almost 300 Latina/o immigrants from Swift & Co., a meatpacking plant, who failed to provide documentation that authorized their legal presence in the United States (Kammer, 2009). Many children were left without parents, but relatives and neighbors took them in, expanding their own families. Few other immigrants in the community left voluntarily, and despite such hardship and adversity, immigration to the region continued and expanded (Kammer, 2009; United States Census Bureau, 2010). I wondered how the context played a role in the mental health and wellbeing of these individuals, as well as what allowed many people to survive and even thrive despite these difficulties.

In 2010 after graduating with my B.A. and working in Peru for a short time on a research project, I was hired back in Colorado as an addictions counselor for Spanish-speaking clients. The vast majority of my clients were 1st generation immigrants from Mexico and Central America. As an addictions counselor, I heard many accounts of and witnessed discrimination at both the individual and institutional levels. Clients expressed fear of their unauthorized immigrant children turning 18, as the children could then be legally deported from the United States, despite living in the country for the majority of their lives. Some fled the state when the time came

from them to enter a work-release program (a penalty for their legal offenses of driving under the influence, possessing or distributing illicit substances, etc.) for fear that they would be handed over to ICE while serving their time. Some struggled to pay for their counseling sessions, as they made less than minimum wage in their jobs as field hands and farmworkers. A great majority used alcohol or other drugs to cope with the trauma they experienced in their pasts, as well as the daily stressors, poor conditions, and discrimination they faced in their contexts. Nevertheless, many spoke about the opportunities given to them, and meaningful connections they had made with members of the local community. A great number completed their treatment successfully, and many were able to thrive in varying ways.

In graduate school, I became interested in how families dealt with differences of culture within their families (known as ‘acculturation gaps’ in the literature), and why some families with cultural differences do so well while others struggle. I thus completed my Master’s thesis on the ways in which two Salvadoran immigrant families coped with acculturation gaps. I noticed that while individual and family processes and orientations were important to their resilience, both families also spoke about the contextual factors that shaped their experiences. Specifically, I saw how friendships outside of the family aided in their functioning and how families used their resources, such as finances, to choose the context in which they wanted to live. While not the focus of the study, context was clearly important. Throughout my current graduate program in Maryland, I have continued to work at an organization that serves Latina/o immigrants and their children. I have seen that some of the contextual challenges faced by these immigrants are similar to those faced by

Latina/o immigrants in Colorado, while others are different. I have watched many thrive while others have difficulty surviving. My interest in the acculturation process and my passion for understanding differential wellbeing in Latina/o immigrants has led me to this current inquiry.

While Spanish is not my native language, I do have extensive training and experience in its use, and I feel confident in my abilities to effectively communicate in Spanish. I first studied Spanish in high school, and continued my studies at the college level. During my college education I lived in Spain, attended the University of Murcia and took language, culture, history, and other undergraduate level classes in Spanish. Following my return, I continued to study Spanish and began to spend much of my time with Mexican immigrants in Colorado, working as an English as a Second Language (ESL) teacher. Upon receiving my bachelor's degrees from the University of Northern Colorado, I went to Peru with the university's resiliency research team, serving as an interviewer and translator. I conducted and transcribed qualitative interviews in Spanish, and also translated them to English. Then, as described in the preceding paragraph, I spent a little over a year working full-time as an addictions counselor for Spanish-speaking clients, conducting individual and group therapy as well as substance abuse evaluations in Spanish, and interpreting for mental health evaluations. In graduate school I conducted a qualitative study in Spanish and English. Consequently, I feel confident in my abilities to communicate effectively, conduct focus groups, and transcribe and code interviews in Spanish, as well as translate findings into English.

Chapter 3: Results

The study's results are organized by aim: (1) apply the Relative Acculturation Extended Model to describe acculturation around the United States, (2) test a socio-ecological model of cultural change, (3) test a socio-ecological model of cultural maintenance, and (4) test a person-environment fit model of acculturation and wellbeing.

Aim 1: Applying the RAEM across the states

Across states. In order to understand how the RAEM may apply differently across the United States, I first examined ways in which participants desired to change and maintain their cultures (i.e., *ideal* cultural change and maintenance), how they reported doing so (i.e., *real* cultural change and maintenance), and the extent to which they were able to do so in their preferred ways (i.e., *ideal-to-real* cultural change and maintenance *discrepancies*) across the states.

Covariates. Because the amount of time lived in the United States, annual income, legal immigration status, and region of origin were theorized to predict these outcomes, I tested their effects.² Only time in the United States and legal immigration status significantly predicted ideal and real cultural change. Regarding their *ideal cultural change*, the further someone was along in the legal immigration process, the less they remembered wishing to make cultural changes [$\beta = -.15$, $t(400) = -2.51$, $p = .012$, partial $r = -.12$]. That is – on a continuum of unauthorized immigration to

² In all of the analyses, legal immigration status was treated as an ordinal variable (undocumented or unanswered, legal temporary or permanent status, U.S. citizenship). Region of origin was treated as a categorical variable (Mexico, Central American, South America, the Latin Islands).

naturalized citizenship, with authorized immigration in the middle (e.g., temporary or permanent resident permit) – on the whole, immigrants who were closer to naturalized citizenship remembered desiring to make less cultural changes whereas those who were unauthorized remembered desiring to make more cultural changes. As Cristy³, an unauthorized immigrant from Mexico expressed, “*I think that all of us who come to this country illegally, well, we want this.*”⁴ Additionally, the longer someone had resided in the United States, the more they remembered desiring to make cultural changes [$\beta = .19$, $t(400) = 3.29$, $p = .001$, partial $r = .16$].

Regarding their *real cultural change*, the further someone was along in the legal immigration process, the more they made cultural changes [$\beta = .26$, $t(400) = 4.55$, $p < .001$, partial $r = .22$]. Rebeca (age 50), Nacional (age 55), and Millonarios (age 68), all Colombian immigrants to Virginia who had lived in the U.S. for similar amounts of time (14–16 years), but who had varying legal immigration statuses (U.S. citizenship, no authorized status, and permanent stay permanent, respectively) stated that these statuses played a role in cultural changes, explaining:

Rebeca: “*Well, if you never plan on staying [and] you think that your status is temporary, you don’t adopt anything and nothing matters to you. Because people who come here, but then leave –*”

Nacional: “*Who are transient.*”

Rebeca: “*Who are transient, well, you don’t care what goes on around you. But for those of us who are thinking about staying permanently, we begin to adopt changes. Not that you change your habits –*”

Millonarios: “*You accept [them].*”

³ This and all other names are pseudonyms that the participants chose and used in the focus groups.

⁴ All quotes have been translated from their original language (Spanish or a combination of Spanish and English (i.e., ‘Spanglish’). The focus group excerpts in their original language can be found in [Appendix N](#), matched by Roman numeral.

Rebeca: *“You adopt, adopt ... what you have ... and you leave some things and take somethings from here too.”*ⁱⁱ

When asked if everyone agreed with what Rebeca shared, the group all nodded in agreement; all believed that immigrants found a sense of permanence through their legal immigration status leading them to cultural changes. Many focus group participants who were currently or formerly unauthorized immigrants shared how this status came with significant fear kept them from interacting in the community, which restricted their ability to make cultural changes. Hector, a formerly unauthorized young man from Mexico explained:

*“Nobody will listen to you when you don’t have [immigration] papers. ... They can hold that over you. That’s something affected me a lot – growing up without papers – because I always knew I was different, and I was very limited in what I could do here. And that was because of fear. But when you get your papers, you are free here. You can do what you want, you have opportunities, but when you do not have your legal immigration status here it is very hard. It is also a very lengthy process and it costs a lot and makes life very difficult.”*ⁱⁱⁱ

A number of focus group participants provided examples of how being unauthorized kept them from making cultural changes even when they desired those changes. For example, Papa Ningo, a 45-year-old social worker who immigrated from Panama to the United States in her 30s shared some challenges of being unauthorized:

“I work with 99% Hispanic families, undocumented families. ... It’s hard because you have to teach them about opportunities, about the rules here in the United States – and to learn English, which is the main thing. ... So, in trying to find resources, you become frustrated, because finding resources for families who do not have documents is so difficult, and you feel so frustrated and so limited because you wonder, ‘Ah, where can I get that?’ It’s that there are not any resources! There aren’t any resources, because you cannot give any kind of resources to them, because they don’t have documents.”^{iv}

Other groups members concurred throughout her response, echoing tangible restrictions that kept unauthorized immigrants from making cultural changes – even

though unauthorized immigrants remembered wanting to make more cultural changes when they first immigrated to the United States.

Moreover, regarding their *real cultural change*, the longer someone had resided in the United States, the more they made cultural changes [$\beta = .18$, $t(400) = 3.44$, $p = .001$, partial $r = .17$]. Focus group participants frequently highlighted the importance of time to their cultural changes, such as Chely, a 43-year-old Mexico-born woman in New Mexico: “*I was 15 or 14 years old when I immigrated here. And now I’ve been here almost 30 years. Because of this I think that I’m more from here than from there.*”^v In fact, many participants who had lived in the United States since childhood spoke of how growing up in the country facilitated their engagement in cultural changes in their communities because of growing up with U.S.-born people. Hector, a 21-year-old Mexico-born young man in Arizona described his experience:

“I grew up with many American customs because I was in school from an early age, because I grew up with all that. And it was easier for me to learn English because I did not have the difficulty of not having someone to learn it with because I was in school and they taught me everything there. So, I learned English very fast. The customs here, well, they are what I have grown up with, so for me the cultural changes do not make such a large difference. And I have lived here more than half of my life, so it is what I know.”^{vi}

Rebeca, a 50-year-old Colombia-born woman in Virginia, exemplified the role of time in the cultural change process, responding, “*At the beginning I think [I wanted to maintain] all of my culture ... because you do not know the culture of this country. So you come in with all of your culture. Then over time you begin changing and taking on what you believe will help you and what you like.*”^{vii}

Only time in the United States significantly predicted the *discrepancy between ideal and real cultural change*. The longer someone resided in the United States, the

better they were able to make the cultural changes they preferred to make [$\beta = -.12$, $t(400) = -2.07$, $p = .039$, partial $r = -.10$]. Across sites, focus group participants who had lived in their communities for longer periods of time frequently comforted newer immigrants, telling them that the immigration process takes time and that they remembered being in their shoes. For example, Chaparra, a recent Mexican immigrant to Phoenix, shared how challenging the immigration experience had been for her:

“Well, here people only work and stay at home. ... Especially those of us who do not have [immigration] papers. We cannot go anywhere else for fear that [Immigration & Customs Enforcement] will grab us on the way and we can no longer come back here. My husband spends all day working, not with the children. When he gets off, he is tired, and he spends the whole time sleeping. We go to the same store always and then turn around and come back. We don't know anything else here. And if we had been in Mexico, well in Mexico it is very different. We would go over to our uncles and aunts' [house], with our cousins, with our parents. ... You go out and take a walk. You take the children out on Sunday to learn more about the area. Here we only go to work and to home or to school and then home.”^{viii}

Tiki, who had also emigrated from Mexico, but had lived in Phoenix for decades empathized with her:

“[Immigration] changes everything about your life. ... I can identify with Chaparra. She is in a process of adaptation that I have already passed. I hear her speak. And the first ten years when I was living here, I would always say, 'Another year and I'm going back.' But right now, I would say no. I am like no longer a [Mexican] citizen because I am not planning to return. Now I no longer want to go back [she laughed]. Not right now. I'm already here. Sometimes, when I go to visit my family in Mexico, I see things I've lost, I feel nostalgic. But actually I have no desire to return to that life. I already fit into this life, which is different and there are customs that you lose, I can definitely tell you that there are many. It is a very difficult process of adaptation, and more for those of us who immigrate when we are older because life here is different. Even the groups that have been created here to support Hispanics are very different than the ones in Mexico. Everything is very, very different. Nothing is the same. And it is good because we learn to be a part of different circles of people than maybe we would have if we were in our cities. And I think I grew in a different way because of this. But our customs, I think you

lose many of them. You adapt to living here and nothing, nothing can ever be the same. And I think that's what is difficult. You need time to adapt to here and accept that you are here. The time came when, as it does when you are running, that you do not realize the effort you are making, and then you turn around and say, 'I don't even remember that I already did that.' Because when you ask me now all of the changes I have made, it could be in thousands of ways. But when you are adapted to here, you do not realize the things that you do. As they say in psychology, when you do things automatically without thinking, they have become new habits. And you become part of here; you like what you like. You are already here."^{ix}

Similarly, Mary, a 60-year-old Peru-born woman who had lived in Maryland since she was 39 expressed to the group how she had been able to make the changes she wanted to make only after having lived in the U.S. for a long period of time:

"I didn't come in with the idea [of settling here permanently], but since I decided to remain here after many years, over many years I began to have an opportunity to learn information, and get more information. And when I started – like a little bird learns to fly – to know this information, I gradually started to come out over time, over the years. I can now say I have my own identity. So I feel I have a voice. I'm already out of the shadows, I am no longer hidden, and I have no fear. ... like everyone else, as immigrants. And now I feel good, but 20 years have passed."^x

According to focus group participants, this was partially because it took time to learn about the resources available to make the cultural changes they wished to make.

Pequeña, a 30-year-old Mexico-born woman who had lived in Maryland for a decade described, *"The good thing here is that you get to know people, because there are all different kinds of people. And they start telling you where you can get help, where you can study, where you can take English classes."*^{xi}

None of the covariates significantly predicted ideal or real cultural maintenance. However, region of origin significantly predicted the discrepancy between the two [$F(3, 403) = 8.31, p < .001, f^2 = 0.06$]. Specifically, South American and Central American immigrants were less able to maintain their culture in preferred

ways than were Mexican and Islander immigrants (see [Table 12](#)). Note that the results for the Islands region should be interpreted with caution given the few participants originating from this region ($n = 13$). There were no differences between South American and Central American immigrants.

Table 12

Real Cultural Maintenance by Region of Origin

Origin Region	Means	Islands	Mexico	Central A.	South A.
Islands	1.35	–	0.81	1.39*	1.65**
Mexico	2.16		–	0.58*	0.84**
Central America	2.74			–	0.26
South America	3.00				–

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

This difficulty with cultural maintenance may be due to a lack of representation that some South Americans and Central Americans felt in their communities as compared to immigrants from other regions. Many South Americans and some Central Americans expressed feeling as though immigrants from Mexico had ‘built in communities’ and support networks when they immigrated to the United States, which facilitated their cultural maintenance, whereas they didn’t have as many immigrants from their own countries of origin, particularly in Arizona and New Mexico. One Cuba-born man, Enrique, who had immigrated to New Mexico less than a year ago simply stated, “*I feel like I am in Mexico. I do not feel I am in the United States. I feel in Mexico. Don’t you think so?*” A few Mexican group members chuckled while his Venezuela-born wife, Tatiana, responded, “*So what am I learning from American culture?*” “*What is American culture?*” interjected Talco, a Mexico-born man, to which another Mexico-born man, Nick, shrugged, “*Who knows?*” “*This*

border zone is Mexican,” Enrique repeated. His wife, Tatiana, agreed: *“It is Mexico.”*^{xii} In another New Mexico focus group, Mexico-born Sr. Koala shared similar thoughts: *“Well, in some way, yes, we feel at home because there are many Mexicans here.”*^{xiii}

A Mexico-born young woman who lived in Virginia at the time of the study, Harry Potter⁵, shared that she had the same experience in Illinois: *“I came to Chicago at the age of seven and lived there for 10 years. ... When I immigrated from Mexico to Chicago, I did not feel the difference because there it was like you were in Mexico. They had all of the products; there are so many Hispanics there. In Chicago if you see a Hispanic you say, ‘Mm, [she shrugged] ok.’”*^{xiv} Moreover, a lack of many people from their countries of origin seemed to also keep participants from accessing tangible resources they needed to maintain cultural customs. For example, Luis, a Colombia-born man in Arizona, shared how he had gotten to know Mexican food well, but had not eaten Colombian food in a long time. When asked which of his customs was the most difficult to maintain, Luis responded: *“The food especially since the things you get here might make it appear that it is the same or similar [but] it is not. The food is not the same.”*^{xv}

Variables that predicted a significant amount of variance in the outcomes were controlled for accordingly in the following analyses.

Ideal and real cultural change. The extent to which participants wanted to and actually did change their cultures overall was remarkably similar across Arizona, Maryland, New Mexico, and Virginia. Specifically, there was no significant

⁵ Although this pseudonym may strike some readers as odd, all participants were told that the pseudonym they chose to use during the focus groups would be used in the sharing of the results.

difference in ideal cultural change across the states [$F(3, 401) = 0.27, ns$] and there was no significant difference in real cultural change across the states [$F(3, 401) = 0.25, ns$] when controlling for immigration status and time in the United States.

Ideal and real cultural maintenance. Moreover, the extent to which participants wanted to and actually did maintain their culture overall was remarkably similar across Arizona, Maryland, New Mexico, and Virginia. Specifically, there was no significant difference in ideal cultural maintenance across the states [$F(3, 406) = 1.53, ns$] and there was no significant difference in real cultural maintenance across the states [$F(3, 406) = 1.76, ns$].

Cultural change and maintenance discrepancies. There also was no significant difference in the extent to which participants were able to maintain their cultures in preferred ways across the states when controlling for region of origin [$F(3, 400) = 0.71, ns$]. Interestingly, however, there was a significant difference in the extent to which participants were able to make cultural changes in preferred ways across the states [$F(3, 402) = 7.63, p < .001, \eta^2 = .054$] when controlling for time in the U.S. Specifically, on average, participants in Arizona were less able to adopt cultural changes in preferred ways than participants in Maryland and New Mexico. To a lesser degree, participants in Virginia were less able to adopt cultural changes in preferred ways than participants in Maryland (see [Table 13](#)).

Table 13

Cultural Change Discrepancies by State

State	Means	Maryland	New Mexico	Virginia	Arizona
Maryland	2.27	–	0.09	0.68*	0.99***
New Mexico	2.36		–	0.59	0.90**
Virginia	2.95			–	0.31
Arizona	3.26				–

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Because Arizona and New Mexico are much more similar to each other in terms of demographics and geographic location (as are Virginia and Maryland) and the level of restrictive policies are a primary similarity between Virginia and Arizona (as well as New Mexico and Maryland), these differences may be partially attributable to state-level immigration-related policies (SIP; see [Aim 2 results](#) for further details).

Across domains. While there were few differences in overall cultural change and maintenance across the states, according to the Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM) cultural change and maintenance may be desired and enacted differently across life domains. Consequently, I explored similarities and differences in ideal and real cultural change and maintenance across life domains. In most instances, the elements of culture that participants reported wishing to change and/or maintain fit well within Navas and colleagues' (2005) model. However, there were other elements of culture, as discussed within the focus groups, that did not easily fit into one life domain or another. Below, I comment on the primary cultural elements participants discussed navigating life as immigrants in the United States.

Peripheral. The RAEM considered cultural customs related (a) work and employment, (b) home economics and consumption, (c) the political and

governmental systems, and (d) social welfare as peripheral domain customs. Across sites and focus groups, participants much more frequently spoke of cultural changes they wished to make, and did make, in these peripheral domains than in other life domains. Many participants viewed cultural changes in peripheral domains as part of their ability to ‘*seguir adelante*’ or improve their lives in the United States. In the surveys, the majority of participants reported moving to the U.S. for a ‘better quality of life’; in the focus groups, participants made it clear that this better quality of life primarily had to do with changes in employment and income, as well as education and other social welfare system components. Cultural changes related to the social welfare system – and particularly education – were frequently brought up when participants were asked to recall cultural changes they had made in the United States. While a few participants lamented changes in primary education, stating that primary education was of poorer quality in the U.S. than in their country of origin and that students lacked respect for their teachers, all participants spoke positively of post-secondary in the United States. For example, Ana, a 32-year-old Mexico-born mother of two U.S.-born children, commented that her children’s opportunity resulted from this cultural change in education:

“I want [my daughters] to appreciate it here because I think it's a blessing to live here. Because they have the opportunity – well, at least as I see it, as I was frustrated that I could not study [in college] and they will be able to study [here]. They will get their degrees. So yes, I think there are more educational opportunities here. In Mexico it is very difficult to get into a university. It's very complicated.”^{xvi}

Sometimes cultural customs within the peripheral domains were intertwined. For example, Elizabeth, a 56-year-old Honduras-born woman who had lived in the United States for three decades, described how changes in work customs (e.g., both partners

in a couple working, higher salaries) led to changes in her family's consumption practices:

In my case, I sometimes tell my husband, 'This week we will pay the rent between us two and next week we can go and buy some new furniture, or buy this or buy another thing.' In contrast, in our [Latin American] countries this does not exist because wages are so low that you have to use credit to buy some new furniture. To have a refrigerator, you have to buy it with credit because you never have enough money to pay for it with cash. But here you can afford to buy new things. You are able to improve everything in your home.^{xxvii}

Not all participants described positive changes in the peripheral domains, however.

For example, across sites there were some participants who provided examples of having made changes to their work and employment that they did not prefer. Tiki, who had immigrated to Arizona from Mexico in her 20s, recounted:

"When I got here, I knew that I had come to work. ... But I was also accustomed to working in an office and wearing high heels, getting dressed up like that. ... [Latina/o immigrants] are all very different and our education is very different, but here we are the same. Here it does not matter who you were [in your country of origin]. Here, I've met people who in Mexico could have been a teacher or a nurse, but here they are cleaning. And there are peasants working there too, and they become the bosses of those who are just starting to clean up. Your situation changes a lot here.^{xxviii}

Although peripheral domain cultural changes were more frequently discussed, nonetheless, participants did comment on customs they wished to and did maintain in the peripheral domains. In fact, every participant, across all of the focus groups, talked about the importance of maintaining customs related to their food consumption and preparation. When asked what they maintained from their country of origin, a Mexican immigrant in Maryland, Aurelia, exclaimed, *"For me, the food! I keep the food the same. I don't change the beans, the tortillas, I continue that until this day. ... The 'molcajete', the stone you use to make salsa, still [I use it], the tortilla press..."*^{xxix}

Then, with her friend, Stephanie, also from Mexico, they laughed about their comfort food in response to a question from Orquidea, a Cuban immigrant, who asked if their food was spicy:

Aurelia: *“Yes, I like to eat spicy food. And there are Salvadoran and Honduran people who ask me, ‘Don’t you get an upset stomach?’ ‘No.’ ‘You don’t get sick at all [from eating spicy food]?’ ‘No,’ I say. I can eat 3 or 4 pounds of peppers a week. Pounds. And they are different kinds of chiles. And there is nothing wrong with us.”*

Aurelia then gestured to Stephanie, who nodded in agreement, as the group laughed.

Aurelia: *“Fifteen chiles and one tomato to make salsa. And eating it does not affect our throat, stomach – it doesn’t affect us at all.”*

Stephanie: *“And even the children eat chiles.”*

Aurelia: *“And the children are accustomed to spicy food.”*

Orquidea: *“Incredible.”*

Aurelia: *“And no, if you get a meal like ‘tomatada’, no, it is not good, no, it is not flavorful. We have to have our food spicy, very spicy. If it is not that way, we do not eat. Someone who does not eat chiles is not Mexican.”*

Stephanie: *“Of course.”*^{xx}

In sum, while participants highlighted customs that they desired and maintained in peripheral domains, they more frequently spoke of new cultural customs that they preferred and adopted in these domains.

Intermediate. The RAEM includes cultural customs related to social relationships and friendships in the intermediate domains. Across sites and focus groups, participants discussed both ways in which they wished to change and maintain cultural elements in the intermediate domains and how they did so. For example, across focus groups participants spoke of changes in their social relationships. Orquidea lamented:

“Life here is so fast-paced for me. ... You have to plan everything you have to do. You cannot visit someone without calling them first. You have to ask, ‘Can I come over? Or can I not come?’ All of those things we do not have to do in Cuba – we just show up. And there you are welcome and you hang out, and everyone is happy, right? Well, here everything has to be planned. And actually, I do not know if I will get used to it. Or maybe I will get used to it, but I will not like it. This is something that we do not talk about often, but it is one of the things that I love about my culture and I think it is commonly shared among Hispanic cultures.”^{xxi}

Participants often wished to maintain their original intermediate domain customs in their new communities. Two immigrants living in New Mexico, Arbolito, from Mexico, and Enrique, from Cuba, illustrated this in their exchange:

Enrique: *“In my country we speak loudly. And we call to each other from across the way, ‘Fulano [Slang term meaning anyone’s name, similar to ‘John Doe’], come here!’ And so the first thing [U.S.-borns] tell you when you arrive is ‘calm down’ [says very quietly, imitating what U.S.-borns have said to him and laughs].”*

Arbolito: *“They think you are angry.”*

Enrique: *“Yes.”*

Arbolito: *“They say, ‘Ma’am, be quiet. Everything is fine.’”*

Enrique: *“‘Calm down. Calm down.’”^{xxii}*

Enrique and Arbolito continued laughing with the larger group, as multiple group members commented on greeting other Latina/o immigrants in the street and receiving similar looks and comments from bystanders.

In addition to the structure of their social relationships, many participants spoke of the leisure activities they engaged in with friends. For example, Luis, a 35-year-old Colombia-born man, described how he adopted new cultural customs in Arizona: *“Of the things people do here, I do like the road trips, to just leave in a car and go somewhere. And here, hiking, all that I do too. ... And here in Arizona we have*

the opportunity to do that. For example, I liked jogging in Colombia too, to exercise. And before here I never did exercise in the gym, no. But after seeing how [hot] it is in summer, it is impossible [to exercise outside].^{xxiii}

In sum, in reference to intermediate domains, focus group participants generally highlighted customs that they desired to change and maintain equally.

Central. The RAEM includes (a) family roles and relationships, (b) religious customs, and (c) ways of thinking, principles, and values in the central domains. Across the focus groups and sites, participants spoke much more frequently of cultural elements they wished to maintain and the extent to which they did so in central domains than in other life domains. Many of these central domain customs involved family functioning, particularly how parents raised their children. Angel, a 43-year-old Mexico-born woman living in Arizona expressed a sentiment echoed by participants across groups: *“We try to have [our children] follow the culture and to have those values. We, as Hispanics, think that we have many values that are very different. Family unity and all of that, and that's why I try to make sure that we do not divide and that we try to stick together.”*^{xxiv} Other participants provided concrete examples of their family structures. For example, Enrique and Arbolito discussed how their cultural practices differed from what they had observed in New Mexico.

Enrique: *“We still keep the children living with us at 18, 19, 20, 30 and we are still working to get their attention and waiting for them to help us. And the American mind is different. At age 18 you leave and go to live your life. If you did not get a scholarship, well, you go and work. We do not do this, [when] our child is 30 years old the [hovering] mom will say, ‘Go. I will pay for college.’ It’s another, different culture.”*

Arbolito: *“This is the way we Hispanics are. What would you say if I said that almost all of my children live with me?”*

Enrique: *“It is the culture.”*

Arbolito: *“The eldest is 35, and he lives with me because he is single. The third is 32, and he still lives with me, because he is single.”^{xxv}*

Beyond family roles and functioning, participants provided numerous examples of ways of thinking, principles, values, as well as religious customs, that they maintained from their cultures of origin. Participants even connected the value of fixing things themselves to maintaining their culture. Alfy, a 30-year-old Mexico-born man in Virginia described, *“If the phone is broken, we will disarm it. Then we’ll look at YouTube to see how to put a new screen on it. If something breaks, you name it, we fix it. If a car is broken down, we look to see what the problem is. ... So someone told me, yes you really are Hispanic. This is what all of us do.”^{xxvi}* The rest of the focus group members laughed and nodded in agreement.

When participants did talk about cultural changes in central domains, they usually concurrently spoke of how they maintained cultural elements in these domains as well. As Ñata, an 18-year-old Peru-born woman who had lived in Virginia since childhood put it, *“Part of me is American, and also Peruvian, but at the same time. ... but I am also a student. I also consider myself, like Latina.”^{xxvii}*

Julieta, a Mexico-born woman living in New Mexico, explained how she strove for this balance with her children:

“Every country has its history, and as I tell my daughter, ‘The more people you meet, the more chances you have to get other experiences. You need to know other languages [because] you will then realize that we are all equal in many ways. But you have to first learn who you are in order to learn [about others].’ And I think that is the connection that many young people are missing here – they do not know who they are or where they came from.”^{xxviii}

When participants spoke of changing customs in central domains, they usually did so by modifying older customs rather than abandoning the customs and fully assimilating. For example, Super Biscochito, a 27-year-old Mexico-born man living in New Mexico, talked about maintaining the religious custom of attending church, but changing the church denomination he attended when he immigrated to the United States:

“I started going to a church where my cousins went. And it was there when my life really began to change a lot, because all my life I went to church with my parents, but I did not really understand why we went, or why we sang, or why we applauded, or why we raised our hands. (I was going to an Apostolic church.) ... The Apostolic church is very, very conservative. Women have to walk long skirts with a veil and men always have to wear a tie. ... After I moved to here, to New Mexico, I stopped going to an Apostolic church, and instead went to church where my uncles went. ... Nondenominational Christian, which was also a church that broke away from the Apostolic church. That's when my life began to change, as soon as I began to realize that religion was nothing more than a relationship, right? A relationship with my cousins, with my uncles, with my mom, with my family. And with God more than anything. So that's what I started to change my way of thinking.”^{xxxix}

However, participants did comment on customs they wished to and did change in central domains, independent of cultural maintenance. For example, many female participants spoke of changes in gender role norms and the value of independence.

“[One value] I have adopted and that has helped me is independence – to become independent. I dreamed of becoming independent here and I succeeded,”^{xxx} expressed

Lucia, a 44-year-old Mexico-born woman who had lived in Maryland for a decade. A couple participants identified with the value of privacy, such as Karina, a Bolivian immigrant also living in Maryland.

“Something I like about American culture is – well, generally, not everyone, but – most people respect the privacy of individuals more. Usually people do not mess with other people. ... People usually do not intrude in other people's lives; they respect our privacy. They don't walk around telling you what to do,

or what they think of you, or whatever. In our culture people get more involved in others' lives. That I do like, that privacy is respected more. ^{xxxix}

Others spoke of how they became more open in their communication with their children. *"In this way here you can speak freely about drinking, contraception, sex, culture, the church, politics – everything you want to talk about,"* ^{xxxix} explained Vivo, a Mexican immigrant living in New Mexico. Cultural changes in central domains were even more common for participants who had immigrated to the United States at a younger age. For example, Ileana, a young Mexico-born woman who had lived in Arizona since childhood, commented on her changing preferences and actions over time:

"When I started going to the university, I wanted to live in the dorms, I wanted to be alone. I said, 'Ok, I'm 18, I can do what I want because this is done in the United States.' And my parents said, 'No, everyone is going to think you were crazy. In Mexico this is not done. If a woman lives alone without being married, she's from somewhere else. I said, 'No, it's fine.' Then as I grew more, I actually returned to live at home again after living alone. ... Before I thought, 'I'll just be here at home with my parents again for a while and then I will move back out.' But now I am seeing that it is my parents' custom because everyone is together more. We can better help each other in this way. So I think that I will now stay." ^{xxxix}

Overall, however, much of the focus group discussions regarding cultural changes in central domains focused on what participants did not wish to do. Many spoke about cultural changes they had made in central domains that were not preferred, such as the change in family structure and role that Ñata the Peru-born woman quoted earlier and who had immigrated with her family as a child, experienced:

"My first days or months ... they were really difficult, like it was very lonely. I went from a huge [extended] family to just my small [nuclear] family. ... And my parents still had to do [immigration] paperwork and so I remember when we got here they had to do some many things. So they had to leave us alone as kids with a baby ... being a child and taking care of a baby at the same time." ^{xxxix}

A number of participants, across sites, stated remarks similar to Diesl, a Mexico-born man who had lived in Arizona for two decades: *“I really have not wanted to adopt any kind of American customs, not really. Actually I wanted us to follow our old customs. We should definitely take advantage of certain things, like how it is easier to do things here, but without losing our cultures, our roots. That's what I wanted. ... But really the customs here, no, no, no.”*^{xxxv}

Cross-domain. Not all the cultural elements that were discussed easily clustered within the life domains outlined in the RAEM. Some of these elements involved practices that participants engaged in across life domains. For example, language was one cultural custom that participants needed to navigate across life domains. Pequeña, a Mexico-born immigrant in Maryland, described language use in the peripheral domain: *“Here the language is paramount, because if you do not know English, the interpreter comes after you arrive and would give you all the information later. This has happened to me. I had my child in the emergency room and I had to wait until the interpreter came, because if not, I would not have understood what they were going to say.”*^{xxxvi} Gloris, a 70-year-old Mexico-born woman who immigrated post-retirement to New Mexico for safety reasons and to be closer to her family, spoke of language in both central and intermediate domains:

“I speak a little [English] but not as fluently as I would like. And to have a rich conversation, you need to be able to perfectly understand and speak it fluently – that's what I need. And since I have four grandchildren who do not speak Spanish, I do talk to them, but I cannot talk to them as much as I would like. ... But if I am living in a country where English is spoken and so I must learn it, even though as my friend says, it is really easy to get by in New Mexico just speaking Spanish because there are many people who speak Spanish, but I still want to talk to the Americans.”^{xxxvii}

Many participants spoke of other cultural elements that also fit across life domains, such as music, food, and dance, as well as holiday traditions and celebrations. For example, some participants described how their food customs (part of a peripheral domain) were enacted with friends (an intermediate domain) and family (a central domain) and engaged in differently according to holiday traditions (cross domain). Moreover, some cultural elements involved values and beliefs related to family roles and functioning (i.e., a central domain) that were enacted in a peripheral domain because they involved the social welfare system, for instance. For example, Paisa, a 68-year-old Colombian woman in Virginia, lamented the use of nursing homes for the elderly:

"That kind of practice was a little shocking for us ... the love of nursing homes. [In our culture] we welcome our elders in our homes. I had my mother living with me after she had a stroke. I had her with me living with my husband's approval – in fact, I didn't even need to ask for his approval. He immediately said 'your mother should come to live with us.' We never thought of sending the elderly to a nursing home. ... It is very sad to see so many elderly people alone, living alone. They have their house, their apartment, you name it, they have the facilities that the government gives them, they have their pension, but they don't have a hug from a person who comes and says, 'I am coming to see you for a while.'"^{xxxviii}

Similarly, Angel, a Mexican immigrant to Arizona, described how she invoked social welfare systems (e.g., schools, clubs, activities; peripheral domains) to support how she wished to enculturate her children (a central domain):

"I tried not to let my culture go on the one hand, but right now I am already 43 years old, so I can say that I have taken on more American culture than my own culture, but of course I always keep instilling my children to follow [our culture], to have them speak [Spanish]. All five of my children are bilingual, and I have them in bilingual classes because it is very difficult to maintain our culture, so I even have them in schools where they speak Spanish and English. We are celebrating Mexico's Independence Day and all of that because there are many Hispanic teachers from Peru – my son's teacher Peruvian. ... And

also I want them to adopt American culture too. For example, I have my kids in Boy Scouts, Girls Scouts, something they don't have in Mexico. ^{xxxix}

In order to further apply the RAEM to the United States, I next examined how cultural change and maintenance differed across these life domains (i.e., peripheral, intermediate, and central). Specifically, I examined how participants wished to change and maintain their cultures across domains (i.e., *ideal* cultural change and maintenance), how they did so (i.e., *real* cultural change and maintenance), and how well they were able to do so in their preferred ways (i.e., *ideal-to-real* cultural change and maintenance *discrepancies*) across those life domains.

Cultural change. In regards to *ideal cultural change*, participants wished to adopt more of the U.S. culture in peripheral and intermediate life domains than they did in the central life domains [$F(1, 406) = 39.15, p < .001, \eta^2 = .088$; $F(1, 406) = 34.61, p < .001, \eta^2 = .079$; respectively]. In other words, participants were more interested in taking on U.S. customs related to work and employment, home economics and consumption, the political and governmental systems, and social welfare, along with social relationships and friendships more so than they were interested in taking on U.S. customs related to family roles and relationships, religious customs, and ways of thinking, principles, and values (see [Figure 11](#)). There were no significant differences between peripheral and intermediate life domains [$F(1, 406) = 0.06, ns$].

In regards to *real cultural change*, participants actually did adopt more of the U.S. culture in peripheral and intermediate life domains than they did in the central life domains [$F(1, 406) = 46.49, p < .001, \eta^2 = .103$; $F(1, 406) = 18.35, p < .001, \eta^2 = .043$; respectively]. Additionally, participants adopted more of the U.S. culture in the

peripheral life domain than they did in intermediate life domains [$F(1, 406) = 10.10$, $p = .002$, $\eta^2 = .024$]. They reported actually engaging in more U.S. customs related to work/employment, home economics, and political, governmental, and social systems, than they did in social relationships, though they did engage in more U.S. customs related to social relationships than they did in their families, religious customs, and values (see [Figure 11](#)).

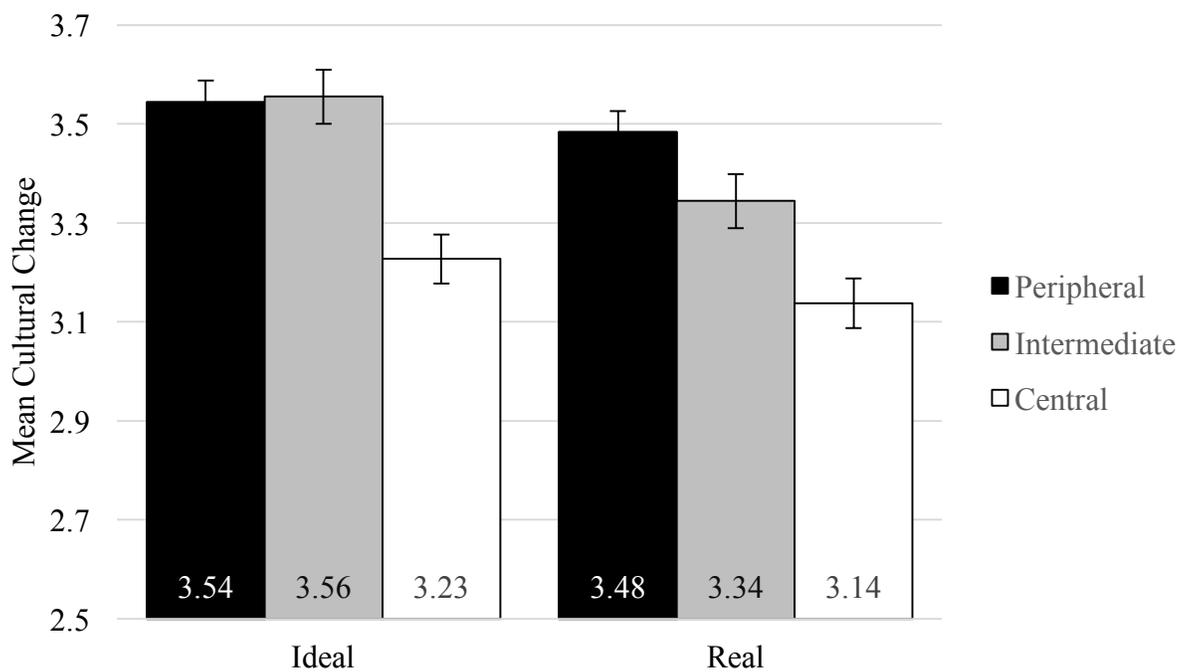


Figure 10. Cultural change across life domains

Figure note: Error bars denote standard error.

The qualitative data reflected these quantitative findings. Throughout the focus groups participants indicated wishing to make more cultural changes in the peripheral and intermediate domains than in the central domain and doing so. Sr. Koala, a 40-year-old Mexico-born man living in New Mexico summed up how some participants expressed their cultural changes in peripheral domains:

“We wrestle with this a lot because we are in a country that is not ours. It's another culture. So I do not try to be like everyone else. I'm like a visitor – like when you're inviting someone to your home, right? I can't have all of the bedrooms, the bathrooms, the kitchen – there are certain rules to follow and I cannot forget that I am a visitor. So, you have to respect [the rules] – well, not because they [receiving community members] respect you, because sometimes they don't respect you [he chuckled sadly and other group members followed suit] – but so that you do not give them reason a reason to not respect us.”^{xi}

In other words, many participants felt that it was their duty to make changes in peripheral domains, and they connected this with ideal cultural change. Others, like Walter, a 57-year-old Venezuela-born man living in Maryland, raved about the peripheral domain customs he and other Latina/o immigrants had been able to make:

“This country is wonderful. ... Here you can get ahead. Here there is so much support and there are many technical schools, for example, that do not cost much. ... I have seen women – women! – graduating when they are 50 years old. Graduating! They learn to install air-conditioning! They get their diplomas because they strive for them. That is the struggle here. This lady, Alombra, entered computer science. And she has two semesters of computer science, and English too! ... I have gotten my second-level English certificate as well.”^{xi}

Cultural maintenance. The differences in cultural maintenance across life domains were striking. In regards to *ideal cultural maintenance*, participants strongly wished to maintain their culture in the central life domains more than they did in the peripheral and intermediate domains [$F(1, 406) = 338.78, p < .001, \eta^2 = .455$; $F(1, 406) = 51.72, p < .001, \eta^2 = .113$; respectively]. They also strongly wished to maintain their culture in intermediate life domains more than they did in peripheral life domains [$F(1, 406) = 145.44, p < .001, \eta^2 = .264$]. In other words, participants were more interested in maintaining their customs related to family roles and relationships, religious practices, and ways of thinking, principles, and values than they were interested in maintain their customs related to social relationships and

friendships, though they were still more interested in maintaining their social relationship customs than they were interested in maintaining customs related work and employment, home economics and consumption, the political and governmental systems, and social welfare (see [Figure 12](#)).

In regards to *real cultural maintenance*, participants did maintain their culture in central life domains more so than they did in the peripheral and intermediate domains [$F(1, 406) = 360.37, p < .001, \eta^2 = .470$; $F(1, 406) = 54.72, p < .001, \eta^2 = .119$; respectively]. They also maintained their culture in the intermediate life domains more so than they did in peripheral life domains [$F(1, 406) = 109.34, p < .001, \eta^2 = .212$]. They reported actually maintaining more of their customs related to their family functioning, religious practices, and values than they did in their social relationships, though they did maintain more customs related to social relationships than they did in work/employment, home economics, and political, governmental, and social welfare systems (see [Figure 12](#)).

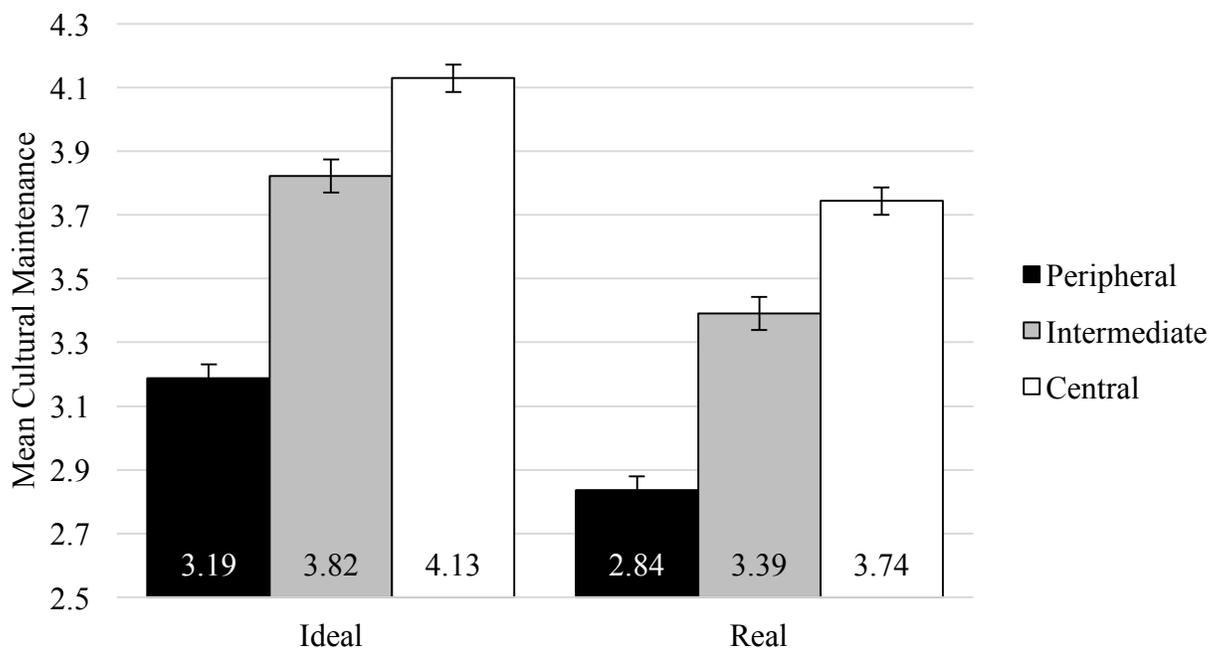


Figure 11. Cultural maintenance across life domains

Figure note: Error bars denote standard error.

Throughout the focus groups, participants spoke more about the desire to maintain their culture in central domains than in peripheral domains. Participants in one focus group in New Mexico described it this way:

Julieta, a 36-year-old Mexico-born woman: *“We must not lose our roots or change anything. We are what we are. But we do what we have to do here in the United States – try to excel and better ourselves because we are in the United States. We are Mexican at heart, but we live in the United States.”*

Mina, a 65-year-old Mexico-born woman: *“Mhmm.”*

Julieta: *“We have to keep trying and working to move forward, and I say this for me too: We need to learn as much as we can in English. And we need the American people because –”*

Mina: *“Yes, because we all have to adapt –”*

Julieta: *“We need to be thankful because we have the opportunity to be here.”*

Mina: “[Addressing focus group facilitator] Sara, yes, I have adapted to here. [Addressing the group] For example, when Sara goes to our countries she tries to understand our culture. She speaks our language because she is in a foreign country. So I agree that when we come, we are in a strange country, so they are not going to adapt to us – we have to adapt to this space.”

Julieta: “This is why I say don’t change my personal culture, but we always should respect and love and everything –”

Mina: “It’s just that I have adapted in this way.”

Vivo, a 34-year-old Mexico-born woman: “But we should not let go of our roots.”

Mina: “Well of course there are things that we should not let go of, as I have explained to you. I still attempt to adapt and we should know the language. I know there are many things that we need to do and we need to respect laws. I respect everything here.”

Vivo: “Yes.”

Julieta: “Mmhmm.”^{xlii}

Another participant, Gloris, described it this way: “I think that since we are in a country that opened its doors to us, we have to love and respect it, like I respect the United States, but I have not forgotten about my beautiful country that is Mexico, which I love with all of my heart. I will not forget my roots either.”^{xliii}

Ideal-to-real cultural change discrepancies. In regards to *ideal-to-real cultural change discrepancies*, participants had more difficulties adopting the U.S. culture in preferred ways in the peripheral and intermediate life domains than they did in central life domains [$F(1, 406) = 12.90, p < .001, \eta^2 = .031$; $F(1, 406) = 5.04, p = .025, \eta^2 = .012$; respectively]. There were no significant differences between peripheral and intermediate life domains [$F(1, 406) = 0.70, ns$]. In other words, though participants both desired to and did make more cultural changes in these domains (as discussed above), they still had more challenges taking on U.S. customs

related to work/employment, home economics, and political, governmental, and social systems along with social relationships than they did related to their family functioning, religious practices, and values (see [Figure 13](#)).

From the qualitative data, it appeared that because participants desired more changes in peripheral and intermediate domains than in central domains, they had more challenges accomplishing them despite making more changes in these domains than in central domains. Focus group participants described facing multiple barriers to making cultural changes in peripheral domains that they wished to make. Preferred changes to work and employment were a topic of frequent discussion across sites. For example, Alexandra, a 27-year-old Honduran immigrant who immigrated to Maryland three years prior recalled: *“The woman who raised me told me, ‘Go there. Since you want to be a lawyer, there at least you can get a good job, you’ll be able to work. Because here [in Honduras]– if you are a lawyer, gangs will come looking for you and kill you.’ So I came here, but I could not finish my studies. I could not be a lawyer.”*^{xxliv} Participants also described more challenges and external barriers to making the changes they desired in intermediate domains more than central domains, often describing difficulties interacting with U.S.-born people due to language issues or being treated as outsiders. As Gloris in New Mexico put it, *“It is very uncomfortable being in a group where they are speaking English and you cannot participate in the discussion,”* later sharing, *“to have a rich conversation, you need to be able to perfectly understand [English] and speak it fluently.”*^{xxlv}

Central domain changes, on the other hand, were seen as more easily controlled by participants themselves; in other words, participants could more easily

practice their desired religious customs or adopt their preferred values because they did not necessarily need others to help enact them and/or others less frequently posed barriers to practicing them. For example, Ileana in Arizona shared how because she desired a change in gender role customs, she was able to make those changes without needing others' approval:

"I'm realizing small things, like when [my boyfriend and I] went out for dinner on Valentine's Day and I don't know how my dad found out ... but he asked me, 'Why did you spend so much in that restaurant?' Like, why I paid the bill. And he told me 'You paid the bill?! When is he going to buy you something? He has to buy it!' ... I think that this custom is very different and I will not keep my parents' [custom]. I want to be the way I am here. I am very comfortable in knowing that I can pay for my things and I do not expect him to buy them for me, or that I have to ask him for things like that."^{xlvi}

Ideal-to-real cultural maintenance discrepancies. In regards to *ideal-to-real cultural maintenance discrepancies*, participants had more difficulties maintaining their cultures in preferred ways in peripheral life domains than they did in central life domains [$F(1, 406) = 7.48, p = .006, \eta^2 = .018$]. The difference between intermediate and central domains was trending on statistical significance [$F(1, 406) = 3.54, p = .060, \eta^2 = .009$]. There was no significant difference between peripheral and intermediate life domains [$F(1, 406) = 0.26, ns$]. In other words, participants had more challenges maintaining their customs related to work/employment, home economics, and political, governmental, and social systems along with social relationships than they did related to their family functioning, religious practices, and values (see [Figure 13](#)).

While overall participants did not desire to maintain peripheral domain customs as much as central domain customs, when focus group participants were asked about challenges they had maintaining their cultures, they frequently described

customs in peripheral domains, such as employment and education. Similar to cultural change discrepancies, many of the focus group participants appeared to believe that they had more control in maintaining central domain customs than peripheral or intermediate domain customs because fewer inter- or extra-personal impacted their retention. Karina, who had emigrated from Bolivia 8 years prior, and Elizabeth, who had emigrated from Honduras over 30 years ago, shared difficulties in maintaining their intermediate domain cultural customs – hanging out with friends without prior planning – in Maryland:

Elizabeth: *“You always have to call and ask them, ‘Are you going to be at home. Can I come visit you like this now?’ It’s quite different.”*

Karina: *“I’ve noticed that I too have been changing in the ways [Elizabeth] has said. People are always busy. If someone comes over without warning, I’m surprised. What am I going to do? ... But I do like when we are able to do things without planning first. When I do spontaneous things, I remember that this is how life should be, without a schedule.”*

Elizabeth: *“Mhmm!”*

Karina: *“But, I think that it is a miracle when you can do anything on the same day without so much anticipation, planning.”^{xxlvii}*

Flor, a 27-year-old woman who had emigrated from Mexico 8 years prior concurred:

“I would like to hear about and see other experiences besides my own. And well, there are hardly any opportunities here, because this country is one of opportunity, it is true, but I think this country also is a different culture and does not have the same amount of socializing, well in my case, with people.”^{xxlviii}

Not having tangible resources also kept participants from maintaining their peripheral domain customs, as participants in a focus group in Virginia explained:

Alfy (from Mexico): *“How difficult it is to find an avocado that is ripe here!”*

Papa Ningo (from Panama) and Cony (from Mexico): “Mmhmm.”

Alfy: “You pay \$1.60 for just one avocado. Then you get home, cut it open and –”

Music (from Venezuela): “It’s still green [not ripe yet]!”

Carlos Kent (from El Salvador): “It’s shit.”

Music: “You can’t tell by the color, but it is not ripe.”

Rosario (from Venezuela): “Oh my god!”

Alfy: “Well, when I get food here it has been difficult, really very difficult, but I think it was more difficult for you, because there were not as many [Hispanic] stores.”

Tito QZ (from Peru): “In ‘86. ... Well there was actually nothing to see. The [Hispanic] stores did not exist.”^{xlix}

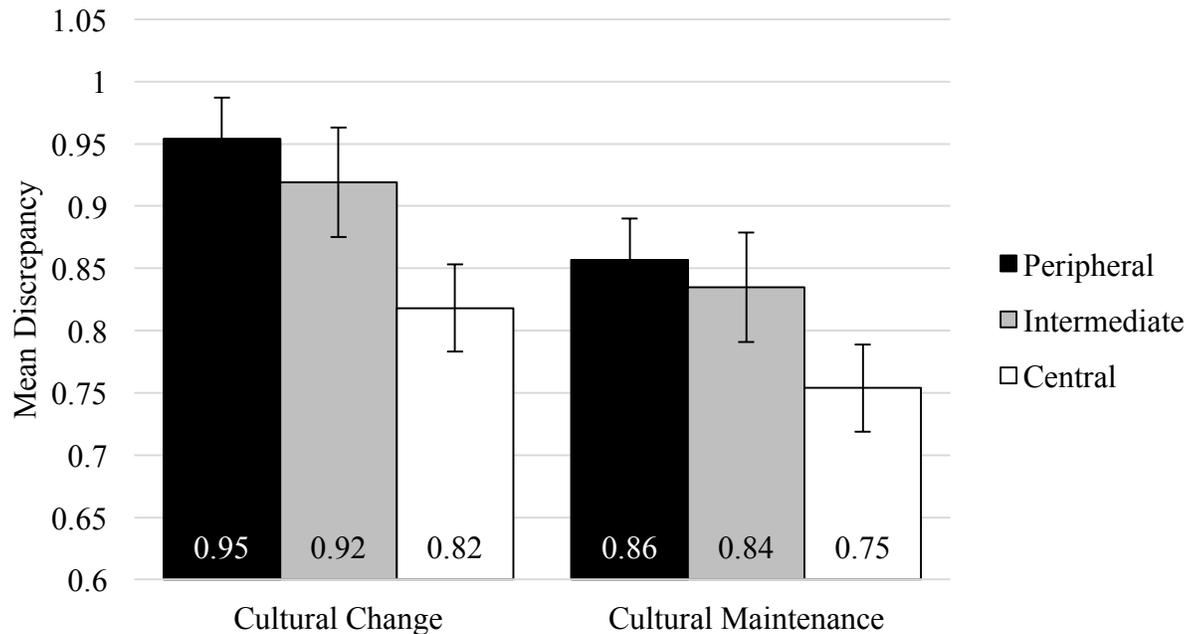


Figure 12. Cultural change and maintenance discrepancies across life domains

Figure note: Error bars denote standard error.

State differences by domain. While overall there were few differences in the broad concept of cultural change and maintenance across the states, there were differences in the extent to which participants desired to and did engage in cultural change and maintenance across life domains. Consequently, I examined whether there were differences in cultural change and maintenance in at the level of life domains across the states.

Peripheral. While there were no significant differences in *ideal cultural change* in peripheral domains across the states [$F(3, 401) = 0.70, ns$], there was a difference in *real cultural change* in peripheral domains trending on significance [$F(3, 401) = 2.59, p = .053, \eta^2 = .019$], controlling for time in the U.S. and immigration status. Specifically, while participants across states desired to take on the same amount of U.S. customs related to work/employment, home economics, and political, governmental, and social systems, participants from Arizona reported actually engaging in more of these U.S. customs compared to participants in New Mexico (see [Table 14](#)).

Table 14

Real Peripheral Cultural Change by State

State	Means	New Mexico	Maryland	Virginia	Arizona
New Mexico	3.39	—	0.03	0.08	0.27*
Maryland	3.42		—	0.05	0.24
Virginia	3.47			—	0.19
Arizona	3.66				—

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Moreover, there were significant differences in the extent to which participants were able to make cultural changes in preferred ways (i.e., *ideal-to-real cultural change discrepancy*) in peripheral domains across the states [$F(3, 402) = 6.34, p < .001, \eta^2 = .045$], controlling for time in the United States. While overall participants in Arizona took on more U.S. customs related to work/employment, home economics, and political, governmental, and social systems, they were less able to take on these customs in preferred ways than participants in New Mexico and Maryland, as were participants from Virginia compared to participants in New Mexico (see [Table 15](#)). This suggests that participants in Virginia and Arizona may have felt more ‘forced’ to take on particular U.S. customs than participants in New Mexico, and to some extent, Maryland. As described [above](#), it may be that restrictive state immigration-related policies best account for the observed differences (see [Aim 2](#) results for further details).

Table 15

Peripheral Cultural Change Discrepancies by State

State	Means	New Mexico	Maryland	Virginia	Arizona
New Mexico	0.78	–	0.08	0.30*	0.36**
Maryland	0.85		–	0.23	0.29**
Virginia	1.08			–	0.06
Arizona	1.14				–

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

There were significant differences in *ideal cultural maintenance* in peripheral domains across the states [$F(3, 403) = 9.54, p < .001, \eta^2 = .066$]. Specifically, participants in New Mexico showed a stronger desire to maintain their customs

related to work/employment, home economics, and political, governmental, and social systems than participants in Arizona and Virginia (see [Table 16](#)). The difference between Maryland and Arizona was also trending on statistical significance.

Table 16

Ideal Peripheral Cultural Maintenance by State

State	Means	Arizona	Virginia	Maryland	New Mexico
Arizona	2.94	–	0.07	0.31	0.60***
Virginia	3.01		–	0.24	0.53***
Maryland	3.25			–	0.29
New Mexico	3.54				–

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Further, there were significant differences in *real cultural maintenance* in peripheral domain customs across states [$F(3, 403) = 6.11, p < .001, \eta^2 = .044$]. Similarly, participants in New Mexico reported maintaining their customs related to work/employment, home economics, and political, governmental, and social systems more so than participants in Arizona and Virginia (see [Table 17](#)).

Table 17

Real Peripheral Cultural Maintenance by State

State	Means	Arizona	Virginia	Maryland	New Mexico
Arizona	2.65	–	0.01	0.14	0.47**
Virginia	2.66		–	0.13	0.46**
Maryland	2.89			–	0.23
New Mexico	3.12				–

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Finally, there was a significant difference in the extent to which participants were able to maintain their culture in preferred ways (i.e., *ideal-to-real cultural maintenance discrepancies*) in peripheral domains across the states [$F(3, 400) = 3.40$, $p = .018$, $\eta^2 = .025$], controlling for region of origin. Participants in Arizona experienced more difficulties in maintaining their customs related to work/employment, home economics, and political, governmental, and social systems in preferred ways than participants in New Mexico (see [Table 18](#)).

Table 18

Peripheral Cultural Maintenance Discrepancies by State

State	Means	New Mexico	Maryland	Virginia	Arizona
New Mexico	0.75	–	0.04	0.19	0.23*
Maryland	0.79		–	0.15	0.19
Virginia	0.94			–	0.04
Arizona	0.98				–

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

In sum, while participants across states reported desiring to adopt U.S. customs (i.e., *ideal cultural change*) in peripheral domains to a similar degree, participants in Arizona did so (i.e., *real cultural change*) more than participants in New Mexico. However, participants in Arizona, and to some degree, Virginia, were less able to make cultural changes in desired ways (i.e., *ideal-to-real cultural change discrepancies*) in the peripheral domain than participants in New Mexico and Maryland, suggesting that they might have felt forced to adopt peripheral domain customs that they did not desire. On the other hand, participants in New Mexico reported both desiring to and actually maintaining more of their peripheral domain

cultural customs (i.e., *ideal cultural maintenance*, *real cultural maintenance*) than participants in Arizona and Virginia. Participants in Arizona were less able to maintenance their peripheral domain cultural customs in desired ways (i.e., *ideal-to-real cultural maintenance discrepancies*) than participants in New Mexico.

Intermediate. Overall, there were few differences across states in intermediate domains. There were no significant differences in *ideal cultural change* [$F(3, 401) = 0.29, ns$] nor in *real cultural change* in intermediate domains [$F(3, 401) = 0.57, ns$] across states, controlling for time in the U.S. and immigration status. There were also no significant differences in *ideal cultural maintenance* across the states [$F(3, 403) = 0.56, ns$]. However, there was a significant difference in *real cultural maintenance* in intermediate domains across states [$F(3, 403) = 3.23, p = .022, \eta^2 = .023$].

Participants in Arizona reported maintaining their customs related to social relationships and friendships more so than participants in Maryland (see [Table 19](#)).

Table 19

Real Intermediate Cultural Maintenance by State

State	Means	Maryland	New Mexico	Virginia	Arizona
Maryland	3.17	–	0.18	0.31	0.43*
New Mexico	3.35		–	0.13	0.25
Virginia	3.48			–	0.12
Arizona	3.60				–

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

There were no significant differences in the extent to which participants were able to make desired cultural changes (i.e., *ideal-to-real cultural change discrepancies*) in intermediate domains across states [$F(3, 402) = 2.46, ns$],

controlling for time in the U.S., nor in the extent to which participants were able to maintain their cultures in preferred ways (i.e., *ideal-to-real cultural maintenance discrepancies*) in intermediate domains across the states [$F(3, 400) = 0.21, ns$], controlling for region of origin.

Central. Similarly, overall, there were few differences across states in central domains. There were no significant differences in *ideal cultural change* [$F(3, 401) = 0.94, ns$] nor in *real cultural change* in central domains [$F(3, 401) = 0.76, ns$] across states, controlling for time in the U.S. and immigration status. There were also no significant differences in *ideal cultural maintenance* [$F(3, 403) = 2.03, ns$] nor in *real cultural maintenance* in central domains across the states [$F(3, 403) = 1.53, ns$]. There were also no significant differences in the extent to which participants were able to maintain their cultures in preferred ways (i.e., *ideal-to-real cultural maintenance discrepancies*) in central domains across the states [$F(3, 400) = 2.01, ns$], controlling for region of origin. There were significant differences in the extent to which participants were able to make cultural changes in preferred ways (i.e., *ideal-to-real cultural change discrepancies*) in central domains across the states [$F(3, 402) = 6.92, p < .001, \eta^2 = .049$], controlling for time in the U.S. Participants in Arizona, and to a lesser extent in Virginia, reported more difficulties making the cultural changes they desired to make related to their family functioning, religious practices, and values than participants in Maryland and New Mexico (see [Table 20](#)).

Table 20

Central Cultural Change Discrepancies by State

State	Means	Maryland	New Mexico	Virginia	Arizona
Maryland	0.64	–	0.08	0.28*	0.38***
New Mexico	0.72		–	0.20	0.30**
Virginia	0.92			–	0.10
Arizona	1.02				–

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

In sum, there were few differences across states in central and intermediate life domains. State-level differences were most apparent in peripheral domains, as participants in Arizona were more likely to make cultural changes than participants in New Mexico, and participants in New Mexico were more likely to maintain their peripheral domain cultural customs than participants in Arizona. Notably, it was more challenging for participants in Arizona to enact desired cultural changes in central and peripheral domains and to maintain desired cultural customs in peripheral domains than participants in New Mexico and Maryland.

Aim 2: Predicting Cultural Change

Although there was some variation in cultural change across states, as examined above in [Aim 1](#), there was much variation within states. Thus, in order to understand how participants engaged in cultural change, I next applied path analysis. Because time in the United States and immigration status predicted a significant amount of variance in cultural change, they were controlled for in the following analyses. With a few important exceptions (described below), ideal cultural change, preferred cultural change of the receiving community, prejudice, quality of contact with the receiving community, perceived threat, and restrictive public policies all

impacted real cultural change in hypothesized ways, directly and/or indirectly through PSOC with the receiving community and/or intergroup anxiety (see [Table 21](#) and [Table 22](#); see [Figure 14](#)).⁶ In all, the set of predictors controlled for 45.2% of the variance in real cultural change [$F(10, 396) = 32.61, p < .001, f^2 = 0.82$].

Table 21

Real Cultural Change Path Analysis Test Statistics of Direct Effects

	PSOC Receiving Comm.		Intergroup Anxiety		Real Cultural Change	
	<i>t (p)</i>	Partial <i>r</i>	<i>t (p)</i>	Partial <i>r</i>	<i>t (p)</i>	Partial <i>r</i>
Ideal Cultural Change	4.20 (<i>p</i> < .001)	.21	- 2.87 (<i>p</i> = .004)	- .14	6.01 (<i>p</i> < .001)	.29
Receiving Community Preferred Cultural Change	2.89 (<i>p</i> = .004)	.14	- 1.45 (<i>p</i> = .147)	- .07	6.38 (<i>p</i> < .001)	.31
Prejudice	2.69 (<i>p</i> = .007)	.13	4.42 (<i>p</i> < .001)	.22	- 0.68 (<i>p</i> = .492)	- .03
Quality of Contact with Receiving Community	7.22 (<i>p</i> < .001)	.34	- 7.23 (<i>p</i> < .001)	- .34	1.13 (<i>p</i> = .258)	.06
Perceived Threat	- 4.44 (<i>p</i> < .001)	- .22	3.12 (<i>p</i> = .002)	.16	- 0.04 (<i>p</i> = .971)	.00
Restrictive Public Policies	- 0.01 (<i>p</i> = .990)	.00	0.71 (<i>p</i> = .476)	.04	2.46 (<i>p</i> = .014)	.12
PSOC with Receiving Community	—	—	—	—	3.64 (<i>p</i> < .001)	.18
Intergroup Anxiety	—	—	—	—	- 2.94 (<i>p</i> = .003)	- .15

⁶ I use causal language throughout these results to reflect the hypotheses tested and to share the participants' words and meanings in the ways in which they conveyed them. All of the data collected are cross-sectional, and so causal connections are only theorized and are empirically correlational. Future research may reveal additional pathways and bidirectional relations between factors.

Table 22

Real Cultural Change Path Analysis Test Statistics of Indirect Effects

	Through PSOC: Receiving Comm.		Through Intergroup Anxiety	
	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Ideal Cultural Change	2.64	.004	2.02	.022
Receiving Community Preferred Cultural Change	2.18	.015	- 1.25	.106
Prejudice	2.07	.019	- 2.44	.008
Quality of Contact with Receiving Community	3.12	< .001	2.75	.003
Perceived Threat	- 2.69	.004	- 2.11	.018
Restrictive Public Policies	0.68	.250	- 0.66	.254

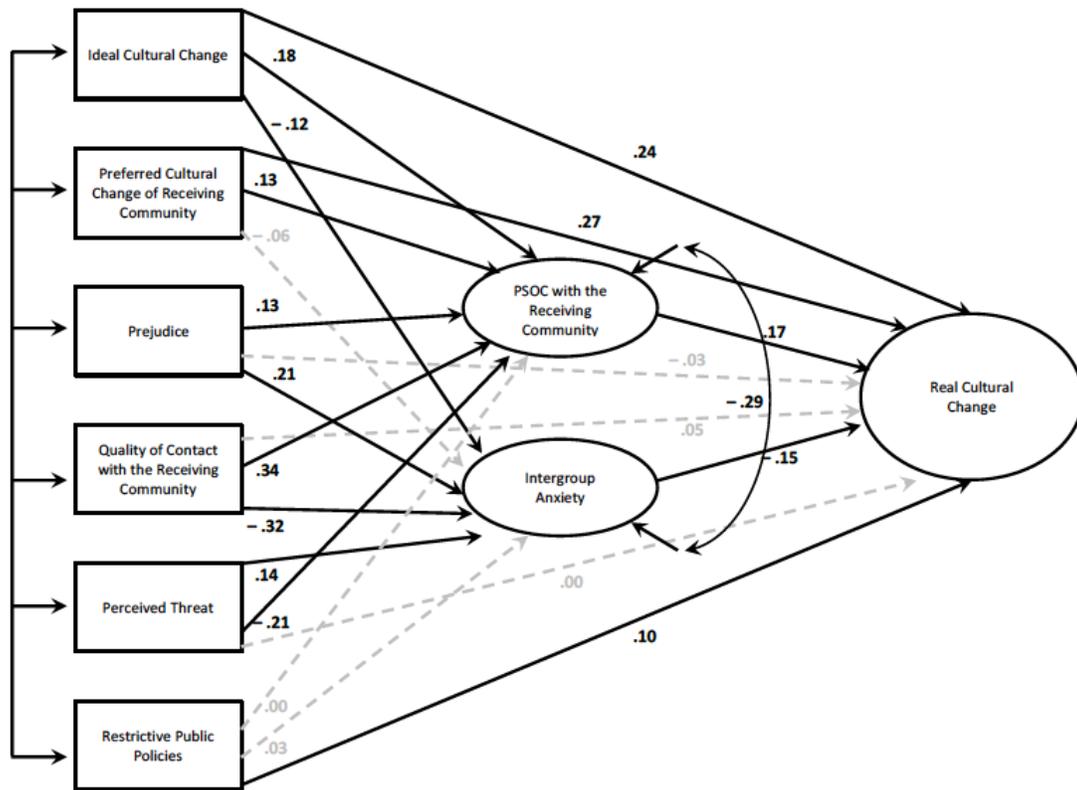


Figure 13. Real cultural change path model with standardized path coefficients

Figure notes: Black solid lines denote statistically significant path at the .05 level; gray dashed lines denote paths tested, but not significant at the .05 level.

Both of the intermediary variables hypothesized to help explain why the exogenous variables influenced cultural change – psychological sense of community (PSOC) with the receiving community and intergroup anxiety – significantly predicted cultural change in hypothesized ways.

PSOC. The extent to which Latina/o immigrants experienced psychological sense of community with the receiving community positively predicted the extent to which they engaged in cultural change. In other words, the stronger one's sense of community with the receiving community, the more they engaged in cultural change. Across the focus groups, participants' stories confirmed the importance of each component of PSOC – membership, fulfillment of needs, shared emotional connection, and mutual influence – on their adoption of their new community's customs. For example, Magdis, a 32-year-old woman living in Maryland shared that even though she had “only been in the country for 8 years” she, for the most part, “felt at home” in her new community, which ultimately influenced her adoption of new customs.

“I have to thank this country, really, that has adopted me, really – not fully because I'm from there, from the other side [Magdis laughed]. But I have been accepted. And there are opportunities. It has helped me a lot in this way, as you [group members] say. Right now, precisely at this time I'm learning a little about the history of the United States, really, because I'm taking classes, and I'm learning the history of the United States because I want to learn it.”¹

Through heartfelt tears, Rosario, a 50-year-old woman who had immigrated to Virginia from Venezuela a decade ago provided another example of how having a strong, positive PSOC with her local community led her to make a number of cultural changes:

“I was a volunteer in the ESL department, reading to the Hispanic children. And my English ... my grammar is very good, but we make a mistake: We do not speak it enough. ... So, this experience led me to express everything [in English]. ... The first reading [I did] was in October, Halloween, and I did the scenes of the witch for everyone [in the school], so that led me to feel useful. By 2007, they had already given me the position of cafeteria monitor. Yes, I accomplished something. ... I have been working in [the public school system] for eight years, and it has given me the opportunity to work with the Hispanic community, and help and encourage them.”

She then shared that her experiences in the community led her to seek citizenship:

“When I became a citizen, one of the questions they asked me was ‘What would you do for your new country?’ If the decisions could be in my hands, I would give citizenship to everyone, because the taxes we pay fund our schools. I had not seen such beautiful schools like those here, and in this way our children have everything they need to move forward and achieve their goals.”

A focus group member, Cony, interjected:

“That's what I love about the United States, the interest in overcoming.”

Rosario continued:

“Exactly. I say to Hispanic parents, ‘Forgive me for my position, but register, sign up, here you should learn English. ... You have to work for it. ... So do your job ... and we will do this, do not worry.’ And, well, the Richmond community already offers language classes and many alternatives. ... The United States is not an issue for me, because I've adapted depending on where I have been.”^{li}

Intergroup Anxiety. On the other hand, the extent to which Latina/o immigrants experienced intergroup anxiety with members of the receiving community negatively predicted the extent to which they engaged in cultural change. In other words, the more one experienced negative emotions when recognizing differences between oneself and receiving community members, the less one engaged in cultural change. For example, Thor, a 30-year-old Mexico-born man living in Virginia shared how when his anxiety lessened, he was able to improve his English and communicate with receiving community members:

“Something, to me, that helps me a lot and that has really helped me a lot [in the past] is to feel strong with my accent. Before I felt a little ashamed of my accent; now I love it. I thank God that I have an accent ... and I speak now, but before I was scared. But I'm over it now. Now, I speak, even if things go wrong for me, I speak. Why? Because I feel capable and I will do it. I already got rid of that fear that people made me feel, saying, ‘Oh, I heard you wrong,’ or when they deceived me. ... What happens is you have this fear, ‘Oh, he is going to make fun of me!’ And what do I gain with that fear? I'm not going to win anything! They can make fun of me, but I'm going to do what I do! So, that's a step, right, to really rid us Hispanics of this fear. I would recommend that Hispanics speak English. ‘Oh, he did not say that well,’ – they will say things like that. ... But in the end basically you should feel proud of what you have learned.”^{lii}

Throughout his statement, other group members concurred, chiming in about how losing this fear had aided their adoptions of new customs as well. Participants shared many stories of how intergroup anxiety kept them from making cultural changes and frequently provided examples of how this anxiety kept them from speaking English and socializing with U.S.-born receiving community members. Intergroup anxiety even appeared to keep them from adopting new customs related to their family economy and use of acculturation resources, and resulted in some participants with high intergroup anxiety limiting their community experiences to places frequented by Latina/o immigrants. In a couple cases, intergroup anxiety seemed to leave some participants homebound as they feared interacting with any U.S.-born community members ([see below](#)).

The residuals of PSOC and intergroup anxiety were related in the quantitative model, and results from the focus groups illustrated their statistical relation. Participants who felt a stronger, more positive sense of community with the receiving community were less likely to experience intergroup anxiety with the receiving community. Cusi, a Cuba-born woman in Maryland, demonstrated this relation as she

counseled participants in her focus group: *“There are many things we do not know. We need to know them. When [bad] situations happen to us, we let them happen because we think ‘this is their country, not ours’ [imitating others].”* Aurelia chimed in, *“Yes, sometimes we are afraid. We do not want to cause a problem.”* *“But, we pay taxes,”*^{liii} Cusi responded, highlighting how this act helped her to at once feel that she was a member of the receiving community and lessened her intergroup anxiety.

Moreover, participants who felt less of a sense of community with the receiving community were also more likely to endorse intergroup anxiety. Ileana, a young Mexico-born woman who had lived in Arizona off and on since preschool explained how getting signs from others that she was not part of the community both led to her to a poorer PSOC and developed her intergroup anxiety.

“I went to a high school where there were many Americans. And really there were no Mexicans. I think I was the only one. And before that time I don’t think I had ever thought [about being an immigrant]. ... I always thought oh, I’m from here. Yes, I’m very proud that I am from Mexico, but I’m also from here. ... But people started saying to me, ‘Oh, you’re the only Mexican here. How do you feel? How do you say that in Spanish? Have you seen these words in Spanish? Have you seen Rebelde? In my Spanish class we watched it all the time.’ ... I felt like I was all alone. When we were taking honors classes in English – which I used to like a lot. I have always liked to read. And I was always very proud to get good grades. ... And a boy said something that will always stay with me. He said, ‘Are you sure you’re not in the wrong kind of English? Because English is not your primary language.’ ... And since that time, I have felt anxious about speaking with Americans. I used to want to have the feeling that I’m from here, I think. And since that time, I have not cared about that. Now I’m like, ‘No! I am not from here!’”^{liv}

Both intergroup anxiety and PSOC with the receiving community helped, at least in part, explain how other factors influenced real cultural change (discussed below).

Ideal cultural change. The extent to which Latina/o immigrants desired to make cultural changes predicted the extent to which they engaged in cultural change, both directly and indirectly through increasing their PSOC and decreasing their intergroup anxiety with the receiving community. In other words, the more Latina/o immigrants wanted to take on new customs, the more they took on new customs, partially due to feeling a greater of a sense of community with U.S.-born receiving community members and feeling less intergroup anxiety with them.

In all focus groups, participants were quick to note their active role in the acculturation process, remarking on numerous choices and efforts they made to take on the customs they wanted to adopt. Thor, the previously quoted Mexico-born man who immigrated to Virginia in his teens, shared that he was able to take on many of the customs he desired:

“The year I came here with my twin sister I said, ‘Well, you know what? Let's learn English, let's enter high school. If they give us the opportunity, let's go. Come on.’ I finished high school in three years. I started to study, to read all of my books from beginning to end. And I solved every problem. I did not care if I wasn't doing well [because] I was doing okay. I worked in the afternoons as a dishwasher. When I was not working in the evenings, I went to evening ESL classes. I did everything possible to learn, to get ahead.”^{lv}

For many, learning English was described as a desire, rather than simply an expectations of the receiving community. Aurelia, a Mexico-born woman who had lived in Maryland for a little over a decade shared, *“I am learning English to benefit myself. ... People of all nationalities are welcome in my house. I am friends with all sorts of different people.”^{lvi}* Angel, a Mexican immigrant who had lived in Arizona for more than three decades commented on how her desire to learn English helped her seek out opportunities for learning:

“I always really liked working. I began working when I was twelve or thirteen years old. When I got here, I started looking for work right away. I was fifteen and I found job in Scottsdale that I enjoyed. I spoke no English, absolutely no English, but I started talking, I started learning while I was caring for their three children. I started to learn because I liked to learn. ... [The job] was good because I learned English. I try to take every opportunity to learn, to grow, and even being nanny for all, I had the opportunity to learn English.”^{lvii}

Other participants, such as Caty, a Mexico-born woman living in New Mexico, provided examples of how they were able to adopt other cultural customs they desired in their new communities, such as what they perceived to be the U.S. style of parenting: *“[Having the children leave the house at 18] is a custom I have seen here and is something I want to give my kids, to have the opportunity to work and progress. ‘Go! Of course when you have a problem, come here, I will help you, but go.’”^{lviii}*

It seems logical that part of the reason that the ideal degree of cultural change predicted the degree of real cultural change was because it increased Latina/o immigrants’ sense of community with receiving community members and decreased their intergroup anxiety with them. The more Latina/o immigrants wished to make cultural changes, the more they felt part of the receiving community, ultimately making more of those changes. Tiki in Phoenix exemplified this:

“In the United States, there are many people – White Americans, Native Americans, Americans of Color - that are becoming more open to accepting us. And so we also have to learn to accept them. We should not let anyone make us feel bad. You are part of this country. And when we are already here and part of this country, we must be conscious and aware of all people here. And I think there’s a lot to learn and educate ourselves about here and educate our children so that we can ... celebrate [our membership in the country]. ... All of us here are part of this country in the same way.”^{lix}

As predicted, while ideal cultural change did account for a significant amount of variance in real cultural change, it did not fully explain it. Other factors outside of

that desire – including the receiving community’s preferences for cultural change, prejudice, quality of contact with receiving community members, perceived threat, and immigration-related policies – played a role in the degree to which participants made cultural changes.

Preferred cultural change. The extent to which Latina/o immigrants perceived that the receiving community wanted them to engage in cultural change positively predicted the extent to which they did engage in cultural change, both directly and indirectly through their PSOC with the receiving community. In other words, the more receiving community members were perceived as wanting Latina/o immigrants to adopt their culture, the more Latina/o immigrants adopted their culture, partially because of a stronger sense of community with them.

Stories from focus group participants exemplified how receiving community members’ stronger preference for Latina/o immigrants to take on new cultural customs resulted in a greater psychological sense of community. For example, Cony, a Mexican immigrant in Virginia, shared a number of cultural changes she had made – changing her employment and mode of working – and later attributed it to feeling a part of the community, which came from *“how the country is so interested in people’s education and their improvement in life.”*^{lx} Other focus group participants nodded their heads at this, concurring with her statement.

While the relation between the receiving community’s preference for cultural change and real cultural change was partially explained by these expectations leading to a better sense of community with the receiving community, it was not fully explained by it. This may be because some receiving community members’

expectations for cultural change were not always viewed positively by participants; some participants felt ‘forced’ to make changes they did not desire, particularly regarding private matters. For example, while some participants wished to learn English, other described the need to learn English firmly as an expectation from the receiving community. As Elizabeth, a Honduras-born woman who had lived in Maryland for three decades, stated, *“I had to learn English because, well, I had to – not because I wanted to learn it – it’s that I had to learn it.”*^{lxi} Similarly, Chely, a Mexico-born woman who had immigrated to the United States nearly three decades ago, further explained, *“In El Paso everyone spoke Spanish, so you didn’t need to worry. When we arrived in Albuquerque it was horrible because not even the ESL teachers spoke Spanish ... But it helped me! ... Because I had to learn [English].”*^{lxii} Leidy, a 23-year-old Colombia-born woman who had immigrated to Virginia less than one year ago, shared many ways in which she felt ‘forced’ to acculturate, including how she acted at parties, what she wore when going out with U.S.-born friends, what she wore to the beach, and even what and how she ate:

“There were many [acculturation] shocks, but you learn. What [focus group participants] already mentioned about the food – it isn’t just the taste of the food itself but also getting used to the American way of life, which is breakfast, and a sandwich for lunch. I never in my life had eaten a sandwich for lunch. That, to me, was eating badly. My father scolded me for that: ‘You should not eat that! Eat your rice, your potatoes, your meat.’ That is what his lunch was there, and then sandwiches [for dinner]. For my family it is that way ... Here you eat a little at noon and you keep snacking on stuff - almonds, chocolate - and at night is the main course, and there it is not so. Well, at the cultural level, for me, it was not that way. It was another [acculturation] shock. There were many [acculturation] shocks that I never imagined, but already at this point, well, you get used to everything.”^{lxiii}

She shared feeling embarrassed when she inadvertently did not comply with the cultural expectations of receiving community members, but always followed her

stories with, *“Well you adapt.”* Notably, in the quantitative model, preferred cultural change did not significantly predict intergroup anxiety with the receiving community, and throughout the focus groups participants rarely discussed feeling more or less anxious about interacting with receiving community members as a result of their cultural expectations.

Perceived threat. The extent to which Latina/o immigrants perceived receiving community members to be a threat to their culture and/or wellbeing indirectly predicted the extent to which they engaged in cultural change through decreasing their PSOC with the receiving community and increasing their intergroup anxiety with them. In other words, the more Latina/o immigrants perceived receiving community members to be a threat, the less they felt a PSOC with them and the more they experienced intergroup anxiety with them, which in turn decreased the extent to which they took on new customs. Perceived threat did not explain cultural change beyond this indirect relationship.

In the focus groups, instances in which participants described a lack of sense of community and/or increased intergroup anxiety with receiving community members were usually connected to these perceived threats. Many of the symbolic threats (i.e., threats to one’s culture) discussed in the focus groups involved concerns of their children taking on what they viewed as negative aspects of U.S. culture. When asked about ways in which she hasn’t wanted to make any cultural changes, Case Verde, a 50-year-old woman who had immigrated to Virginia fifteen years ago, lamented:

“When I invited a group of kids from one of my children’s schools for the first time. And they sincerely came in like this [she looked all around, averting eye

contact]. They didn't even look at us, as the mother and father of the house, and I said, 'What is this?' and my husband said [to our children], 'Don't act like this! They didn't even greet us. They didn't even say thank you to us.' In Colombia it's very different. So later I talked to them: 'Here you arrive at a house and you greet the mom and dad because they are the ones that deserve respect in the house.' That kind of custom, of education, was a little bit shocking for us. ^{lxiv}

Nely, a Mexico-born mother raising her Mexican-born children in New Mexico, explained how she was concerned that her children's wellbeing would negatively impacted by the receiving community's culture: *"I'm so worried about my children. Here there are so many people with tattoos. ... And it seems like everyone uses drugs too."* ^{lxv} As a result, Nely withdrew from the receiving community and described concerns about having to interact with receiving community members. Alfy echoed her sentiments despite immigrating to a different state, Virginia, from Mexico when he had just turned 18: *"I felt I was losing part of myself, of my culture. It stayed behind, and I felt a bit empty, alone. ... It was difficult for me to adapt to American culture, and I saw friends who started to go out partying, who started to abuse drugs ... and I was scared. I said, 'I don't want to do that.'"* ^{lxvi} Another Mexico-born woman, Yara, explained how she frequently counseled her children against taking on certain aspects of U.S. culture, striving to keep her children from taking on family practices she perceived were detrimental to them:

"One thing here that I say to my husband, 'That is so strange' is that – for example, when we were young and I was 17 and he was 18 and we got together, we got a common law marriage to be together, like, 'My wife, my husband.' And here you can have 15,000 children and say, 'Ah, that's my girlfriend, that's my boyfriend.' I say, 'Why?!' 'If you are already like spouses, don't say that it's your girlfriend; it is not that way,' I tell my son." ^{lxvii}

Many participants outlined realistic threats related to both immigration policies and the narratives about immigrants created by politicians and furthered through the media. Nick, a young Mexico-born man shared his story of deportation as a teenager after he had immigrated to New Mexico with his family as a child.

“They are deporting people who should not be deported, they are separating families. ... Because you're not from here the authorities do not take you into account, they do not believe anything you say, no – it takes many processes in order to receive some support, to get them to change their mentality. They treat you like this, a criminal. ... They put me in with delinquents. I was with criminals, murderers, Mara Salvatrucha gang members. And they say it is a detention center, but it is really a maximum security prison – it was. And only immigration officers run the prison – they do not care what the rules are, the laws. I know they have said that children should not be locked up, but they had many children locked in front of where I was.”^{lxviii}

Upon listening to his son’s story, his father, Mantequilla, exclaimed, *“All of this about immigration is a political game and we’re the victims.”^{lxix}* Many participants shared stories of their own deportations or how deportations had affected people they knew, describing deportation as a realistic threat to their wellbeing. Their stories reflected intergroup anxiety and negative psychological sense of community, and often seemed connected to less engagement in cultural change. As Hector (quoted earlier) illustrated, cultural change was not possible when one didn’t feel part of the community and was fearful of its members: *“Nobody will listen to you when you don’t have [immigration] papers. ... They can hold that over you. That’s something that affected me a lot – growing up without papers – because I always knew I was different, and I was very limited in what I could do here. And that was because of fear.”^{lxx}* Sometimes threat was even apparently maliciously instilled by other members of the Latina/o immigrant community, potentially as a way of keeping newly arrived immigrants from interacting with their receiving communities. Patricia

told her story: “*Sometimes the helicopters would fly over our heads like this. [My roommates would say to me], ‘Hide, don’t make noise because [Immigration & Customs Enforcement] is going to get you.’ I cried in a corner. I wanted to go out, but since they told me that immigration was going to get me, I never left.*”^{lxxi}

In sum, the more Latina/o immigrants perceived the receiving community to be a threat to their culture or wellbeing, the less they ultimately engaged in cultural change, in part due to increases in intergroup anxiety and in part due to feeling less of a sense of community with the receiving community.

Prejudice. Interestingly, the relation of prejudice to cultural change was not as straightforward as the relation of perceived threat to cultural change. The extent to which Latina/o immigrants experienced prejudice indirectly predicted the extent to which they did engage in cultural change through *surprisingly increasing* their PSOC with the receiving community as well as predictably increasing their intergroup anxiety. In other words, the more Latina/o immigrants experienced prejudice, the more they experienced PSOC with the receiving community, leading to more cultural change, and the more they experienced intergroup anxiety with them, ultimately leading to less cultural change. Prejudice and discrimination did not explain cultural change beyond this indirect, mixed relationship.

The surprising relation between prejudice and PSOC in the full model was driven by perceived threat (discussed above). When threat was not included in the model, prejudice and discrimination were negatively associated with PSOC, as hypothesized. However, this relation turned positive when threat was accounted for. This seems to suggest that when Latina/o immigrants experienced prejudice but did

not generalize these experiences to the larger receiving community and did not view the receiving community as threatening, they may have actually felt a stronger sense of community with their local receiving community members. This statistically supported relationship was echoed through many discussions participants had in the focus groups. Examples participants gave seemed to point to some participants not considering people who discriminated against them as part of their local receiving community and/or splitting the receiving community into two communities – one that discriminated and one that did not – and feeling that they belonged in the local receiving community that did not discriminate (i.e., multiple psychological sense of community, M-PSOC; Brodsky, Loomis, & Marx, 2002). For example, when asked what allowed him to acculturate to the community, Luis, a Colombia-born graduate student at Arizona State University responded:

“Tempe. The people in college – especially those studying topics related to Spanish or Transborder Studies. And there are also open, liberal spaces, because Arizona is actually a very conservative, anti-immigrant, racist state. But in these spaces of art and theater, I think that it is a different and more receptive environment. So these spaces have been important for me. ... Where there was live music, in coffeehouses, I feel like I belong in that type of environment. I do not experience the part of Arizona that is racist and bigoted. I think I've been fortunate to be in this bubble, protected by certain areas of the university and I think the arts as well, all of these kinds of environments – the rest [of Arizona], no. ... I have restrained a bit in that sense.”^{lxxii}

Notably, perceived threat and prejudice did have a strong positive relation. That is, people who reported experiencing higher levels of prejudice, also generally reported higher levels perceived threat. Tiki, in Phoenix, shared how such prejudice frequently made her feel less a part of the community and less likely to feel like she had taken on

the receiving community's customs because she was always given signs she did not belong:

“For example, like it is right now with Donald Trump’s campaign for the presidency. But not all [receiving community members] are like Donald Trump. That’s just one way of thinking, one political party. And not everyone thinks that way. But, sadly I was talking the other day with a patient who was very sick and he was White. Donald Trump was on television. And I do everything for him as [a nurse], as a Hispanic woman. And I do not think he realized that I’m Hispanic by my accent, because he began to say bad things about Mexicans. So I take offense to this, you know? And I’m doing my job – I have to help, but I just said, ‘If you need pain medication, call me’ and I left [focus group participants laughed]. That’s the way it is for us here. These experiences ... make you feel like you do not belong here. Even when you have [immigration] papers, even when you are a citizen, we are still treated the same as those who do not have papers. ... [We are] trying to deal with people who have not yet accepted us. Because when we are adopting more of the culture here, people will always tell us, ‘You’re not from here’ [she laughed sadly]. Or they’ll tell us we’re Indians and so on. You’re like, ‘Oh, my God.’ You never finish adapting – when you almost feel adapted and good, someone always comes to remind you that you are Indian, Mexican, or dark-skinned, or that they feel you are taking away their job. Nonsense like this. I don’t think anyone will ever feel 100% adapted because there will always be someone like that.”^{lxxiii}

Prejudice also indirectly negatively impacted cultural change through intergroup anxiety, a sentiment echoed throughout the stories of focus group participants. When participants experienced prejudice, they frequently described being worried about interacting with U.S.-born receiving community members at-large. When a young Peruvian woman talked about not wanting to interact with other students and teachers in her high school because of discrimination, an older Mexico-born woman, Chispy shared that experiences of discrimination – both her own and those she had vicariously experienced through family members’ stories – led her to fear U.S.-born community members so much that she was homebound:

“I’m always inside my house, because I when I go out, I don’t feel safe. ... Sometimes I go shopping with my husband, but I feel that someone is already

following me, or is watching me, and that frightens me. ... I feel like someone, that some person wants to abuse me ... because when I worked at a hotel, these was a man, an American, and I was in the bathroom cleaning, and he locked me in there. ^{»lxxxiv}

Chispy went on to share an emotional story of assault, which she believed was precipitated by her immigration status. She concluded her story by discussing how her resulting intergroup anxiety kept her from adopting the customs she desired:

“I knew nothing of English, because when we came, we knew nothing ... and I stay in the house ... And while God has sent me good people, Americans that I know, who have shown me their love, there are also people who want to persecute me. ... And so that is the very particular fear I have. ... I say, ‘They want to do something to me. Maybe they will abduct me, maybe they will hurt me. So that's the fear that I have.’ ^{»lxxxv}

Mónica, who immigrated with her parents from Colombia to Virginia during childhood, also shared how prejudice and discrimination in her school increased her intergroup anxiety, leading her to isolate herself from the U.S.-born children in her school:

“They scared me because I spoke Spanish – I didn’t speak English. They did things to me. Sometimes I wasn’t safe and so I did not want to return [to school]. Sometimes they fought with me. ... They said things to me that I did not understand and they wanted to hit me, and sometimes teachers did as well because they were not patient with me. And sometimes I changed schools because of this, but it was the same until high school. I was locked in bathrooms ... because they did not like being with me since I spoke Spanish. They did bad things to me...” ^{»lxxxvi}

Ultimately, when Mónica’s experience in a public school culminated in a sexual assault, her parents pulled her from the public school system, sheltering her from U.S.-born peers.

Levels of prejudice did differ across the sites statistically and differences were supported by the qualitative data. While Latina/o immigrants in Arizona reported the highest levels of prejudice ($M = 21.66$, which was significantly greater than both

Maryland and New Mexico's mean levels of prejudice, as measured by the PRSL: 16.89 and 12.15, respectively), participants, *across all sites*, described being verbally assaulted, physically harmed, racially profiled, treated disrespectfully, and denied services and employment because of ethnicity, language, or perceived immigration status. However, focus group participants who moved from Arizona to New Mexico were quick to point to differences in these communities. Replying to remarks about prejudice made by a couple who had immigrated 9 months ago, Arbolito responded:

"Yes, there is discrimination here in New Mexico, but you have been here a very short time. As of now I have lived in New Mexico for 10 years. But before that I lived for 22 years in Arizona. There yes, I felt so much discrimination ... because I did not speak the language, for being Hispanic, not to mention being undocumented. So here in New Mexico it is truly charming, everything I've lived here. ... I got my [immigration] papers here. Here everything has been easier for me. ... But in Arizona I always experienced discrimination. When I did not lack one piece of [immigration] paperwork, I was missing another. They were always trying to make me feel like I was guilty when I knew that I was not a criminal."^{lxvii}

Quality of contact with the receiving community. The extent to which Latina/o immigrants' interactions with receiving community members were positive indirectly predicted the extent to which they engaged in cultural change through increasing their PSOC with the receiving community and decreasing their intergroup anxiety with them. In other words, the more positive the experiences Latina/o had with the receiving community, the more they experienced a sense of community with them and the less they experienced intergroup anxiety with them. The quality of contact with receiving community did not explain cultural change beyond this indirect relationship; that is, it was fully explained through sense of community and intergroup anxiety.

Many participants across sites described positive interactions with U.S.-born bosses, coworkers, neighbors, church members, teachers, friends, spouses, and even strangers helping them to feel a part of the community and leading them to take on new customs. Angel, who spoke glowingly about her place of work throughout a focus group in Arizona, labeled her coworkers as a primary reason she took on new cultural practices:

“I think [your adaptation] depends on where you work as well. Because, for example, if I go to work at Food City or Ranch Market [Hispanic grocery stores], I will hang out with mostly, maybe 90% Hispanic people. So, it depends on the people you interact with. ... Yes, the jobs I have had have helped me a lot because I interact with a lot of American people and that helps me learn the culture here, the customs.”^{lxxviii}

Pilimili, a Peru-born woman who immigrated to Virginia eight years prior, gave an example of how positive contact fostered a sense of community with receiving community members, ultimately leading her to learn to new customs:

“We will always find people who will feel like family to us. ... So I think I have encountered them here, having endured all of my experiences of change, of adaptation – knowing I’m not working against, but with this culture, of walking hand in hand [with receiving community members]. My husband is American. ... So if I open [my mind], and I accept [cultural differences], and they do as well, we will enrich each other mutually.”^{lxxix}

When asked what has allowed her to adapt to her receiving community of Albuquerque, Ana shared another example of how this positive contact was related to a lack on intergroup anxiety and her acquisition of new cultural customs: *“Working with purely American people. I feel perfectly comfortable because I have had the privilege of only having good experiences. I can communicate with them. I do not speak English well, but it is also not such a difficulty for me. All of them are very kind to me.”^{lxxx}*

Restrictive immigration-related public policies. The extent to which Latina/o immigrants had restrictive immigration-related public policies in their state directly predicted the extent to which they engaged in cultural change. As Chiquita, an Ecuador-born woman who had immigrated to Maryland just one year prior, put it, *“I believe that as an immigrant you need to learn and follow the rules.”*^{lxxxix} Contrary to what was hypothesized, the more restrictive the public policies, the more Latina/o immigrants actually engaged in cultural change. Thus, participants in Virginia and Arizona made more cultural changes as compared to respondents in Maryland and New Mexico. This relation was not explained by psychological sense of community or intergroup anxiety.

Three explanations can be given for this counterintuitive finding. First, in further examining the data, it was found that while participants living in states with more restrictive public policies (i.e., Arizona, Virginia) were overall more likely to make cultural changes to the receiving community, at the same time they were less likely to make the cultural changes they desired to make. Specifically, the more restrictive a state’s public policies, the greater a participant’s discrepancy between ‘ideal’ and ‘real’ cultural change. In essence, a participant could have felt ‘forced’ into making cultural changes as a result of restrictive public policies. For example, Tito QZ, a Peru-born man in Virginia, spoke for many participants who described making changes to their work practices due to policies like E-verify:

“The biggest problem here is that if you are working in jobs that are low-level [blue collar] ... because due to your lack of documentation, you cannot work in medium or high [white collar] work, you have to have two or three jobs. And so the dad works, the mom works, the child works ... so that together they can pay for food and rent. There is just not time for anything else.”^{lxxxii}

In a similar vein, many focus group participants, particularly those living in Arizona and Virginia, described adopting certain customs so that they blended in and did not create any waves. For example, after Alfy crossed the U.S.-Mexico border without authorization and made his way to Virginia, he described making numerous cultural changes, including his work customs, to not “cause any trouble”:

“When I arrived here I worked the entire month without a day off because I had to work. And I did not care what kind of work I did ... I was doing the same thing as men and women who were almost illiterate. I did not let that bother me. I did what I needed to do. ... I remember I left the house when it was dark and arrived at home when it was dark again.”^{lxxxiii}

“Keeping their heads down” and “not causing trouble” were common phrases used by participants (particularly those who were unauthorized) to explain cultural changes they made that seemed the result of restrictive state-level immigration policies.

Second, responses from the focus groups indicated that while many participants were aware of and agreed with policies that were supportive of immigrant integration into the community in some sites, the stories of these participants indicated that these policies were not always implemented as designed. For example, participants in Maryland and New Mexico were supportive of the DREAM Act and many had tried to use the policy for themselves or their children. However, when enrolling in a state university, multiple participants across the focus groups in these two sites indicated that they were charged tuition as international students rather than in-state students. Arbolito, who lived in Albuquerque, explained her daughter’s situation:

“Students in the United States, they have a certain [tuition] rate, but the rate was super high for my daughter. ... They accepted her and all because of her good [high school] grades, but when I came to see that they were charging her a lot more than an [in-state] resident, I said, ‘What is the difference?’ ...

Then I had the meeting and we realized it is because she was registered as a child of immigrants [referring to international tuition rates]. ... But a woman in the office helped us fix our papers. ... And in 15 minutes, before we even left the office, everything was changed. Already they had changed [her tuition rate]. But that's how I had to work with [the university]. You have to carefully review every number, every word, what is going on, and how much things cost. If you don't say anything, often things are not done correctly.^{lxxxiv}

Frequently, these changes were not made until participants involved immigrants' rights organizations and legal counsel. Nick, who also lived in Albuquerque, recounted his experience:

"Last semester – there is a document called FAFSA. It is government financial aid. I cannot get the federal, but I can get the state. So I had to complete an application, fill out the application, but on paper. Others [those with legal residency status] had to fill in the computer version. And I gave it to them and for two years I didn't receive any financial assistance. And we talked about why they had not given me anything, why I'm not getting money. And it is because I had not filled an area where it said, 'If the first is yes, leave everything else blank.' ... And well, it was just because the man told us, 'You don't have to fill that out.' Why would he say that? Well, Centro de la Raza provides help to Hispanics in college. So we went to talk to the financial aid officer [with Centro de la Raza], and in minutes I had an account number.^{lxxxv}

Relatedly, it could also be that restrictive policies were not always implemented as intended. For example, one Richmond participant from Peru, Pilimili, described that in spite of state laws prohibiting her as an unauthorized resident from obtaining a license, she was instructed on how to evade the driving restriction:

"The police, for example – I participated in a meeting with police for two months. We got a diploma on how [to interact] with an authority ... and they said to us, 'If you drive, drive with care, follow the speed limit. If you are not licensed, follow the speed limit, have your license plates fastened securely, your inspections done, have good tires, and you will be fine.'^{lxxxvi}

Third, there was also rampant confusion about what local and state immigration-related laws did and did not allow, seemingly due, in at least part, to frequent changes and disagreements among local government and larger entities.

Consequently, mishearing and misunderstanding laws may have also played a role in cultural change – and lack thereof. For example, when Mexico-born participants in a focus group in Albuquerque were asked about the impetus for an upcoming protest, their confusion regarding state laws was apparent:

Nely: *“The licenses.”*

Yara: *“Well, we have already fought for the licenses, the one that they wanted to change that were like –*

Gloris: *“Yes, as long it remains –”*

Yara: *“I don’t think this is going to happen. It did not go well with Susana Martinez [the governor of New Mexico].”*

Gloris: *“So what? The license doesn’t work for us as an ID?”*

Yara: *“Yes, it does!”*

Gloris: *“Oh, that’s good.”*

Lia: *“No, they said it will only be a permit for driving, but it won’t be a license.”*

Yara: *“But it hasn’t been said that they are going to do it this way. It hasn’t been said. That is why we are protesting.”*

Nely: *“Now it is going to stay the same – the license will work as an ID, right?”*

Gloris: *“Mhmm.”*

Lia: *“But not for traveling, not anymore.”*

Yara: *“Yes, it works for travelling too.”*

Nely: *“Still?”*

Lia: *“No, not yet.”*

Yara: *“My husband travels between Texas and here.”*

Ricky: “When are the votes to decide if the license will work as identification or not?”

Yara: “Well actually, I don’t know.”^{lxxxvii}

Finally, while not supported quantitatively, many focus group participants provided examples of how restrictive public policies kept them from making cultural changes. For example, Ricky, a Mexico-born man, lamented about being restricted from higher education and employment as a result of his legal immigration status:

“It is very difficult to engage in this kind of life – their rules, their customs are very difficult. We came from Chihuahua out of necessity because things were difficult. ... We went to live in Colorado for better opportunities, but doors closed on us. I wanted to study at a university, but being undocumented they would not let us. And many times I regret [immigrating], because the 20 years that I have been here, they have been wasted. Why have I come to America if the opportunities said to be there are not actually given? I think it's not fair because I think I have wasted 20 years of my life.”^{lxxxviii}

Summary. In all, a constellation of individual-, micro-, and macro-system level factors helped to explain cultural change. The more participants wanted to make cultural changes, the more they did so, partially due to an increased sense of community with the receiving community and decreased intergroup anxiety. However, ideal cultural change could not fully explain real cultural change, as other contextual factors impacted what new cultural elements were adopted. The more participants perceived the receiving community wanted them to make cultural changes, the more they did so, partially due to an increased sense of community with the receiving community but also likely because those changes were seen as demands. The more positive participants’ contact with receiving community members, the more they made cultural changes, due to experiencing greater PSOC and less intergroup anxiety with them. The more prejudice participants experienced,

the fewer cultural changes they made, in part due to experiencing more intergroup anxiety with the receiving community. However, when threat was accounted for, prejudice actually predicted greater PSOC with the receiving community, perhaps reflecting M-PSOC to subgroups that were more welcoming. Finally, contrary to what was hypothesized, participants who lived in states with more restrictive immigration-related public policies made more cultural changes. In all, this socio-ecological model of cultural change accounted for nearly half of the variance in cultural change. Analyses of focus group data pointed to a number of additional factors that may have accounted for some of the remaining variance in cultural change (see [Novel Qualitative Findings](#)).

Aim 3: Predicting Cultural Maintenance

Next, I again used path analysis to understand how participants engaged in cultural maintenance. Ideal cultural maintenance, preferred cultural maintenance of the receiving community, prejudice, and quality of contact with the Latina/o immigrant community all impacted real cultural maintenance in hypothesized ways, directly and/or indirectly through PSOC with Latina/o immigrants (see [Table 23](#) and [Table 24](#); see [Figure 15](#)).⁷ The relation between quality of contact with the receiving community, perceived threat, restrictive public policies, and real cultural maintenance was not statistically supported. In all, the set of predictors controlled for 42.0% of the variance in real cultural maintenance [$F(8, 398) = 36.05, p < .001, f^2 = 0.72$].

⁷ I use causal language throughout these results to reflect the hypotheses tested and to share the participants' words and meanings in the ways in which they conveyed them. All of the data collected are cross-sectional, and so causal connections are only theorized and are empirically correlational. Future research may reveal additional pathways and bidirectional relations between factors.

Table 23

Real Cultural Maintenance Path Analysis Test Statistics of Direct Effects

	PSOC Latina/o Immigrant Comm.		Real Cultural Maintenance	
	<i>t</i> (<i>p</i>)	Partial <i>r</i>	<i>t</i> (<i>p</i>)	Partial <i>r</i>
Ideal Cultural Maintenance	4.08 (<i>p</i> < .001)	.20	9.36 (<i>p</i> < .001)	.43
Receiving Community Preferred Cultural Maintenance	5.21 (<i>p</i> < .001)	.25	3.49 (<i>p</i> = .001)	.17
Prejudice	4.94 (<i>p</i> < .001)	.24	- 0.91 (<i>p</i> = .365)	- .05
Quality of Contact with the Receiving Community	1.93 (<i>p</i> = .054)	.10	- 1.59 (<i>p</i> = .113)	- .08
Perceived Threat	- 1.10 (<i>p</i> = .271)	- .06	1.35 (<i>p</i> = .177)	.07
Restrictive Public Policies	- 0.49 (<i>p</i> = .622)	- .03	1.46 (<i>p</i> = .146)	.07
Quality of Contact with the Latina/o Immigrant Community	4.74 (<i>p</i> < .001)	.23	0.04 (<i>p</i> = .971)	.00
PSOC with the Latina/o Immigrant Community	—	—	7.65 (<i>p</i> < .001)	.36

Table 24

Real Cultural Maintenance Path Analysis Test Statistics of Indirect Effects

	Through PSOC with the Latina/o Immigrant Community	
	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Ideal Cultural Change	3.58	< .001
Receiving Community Preferred Cultural Maintenance	4.30	< .001
Prejudice	4.14	< .001
Quality of Contact with the Receiving Community	1.86	.032
Perceived Threat	- 1.09	.139
Restrictive Public Policies	- 0.49	.314
Quality of Contact with the Latina/o Immigrant Community	4.01	< .001

Note: The direct path of quality of contact with the receiving community was trending on statistical significance and the indirect effect should be interpreted with caution.

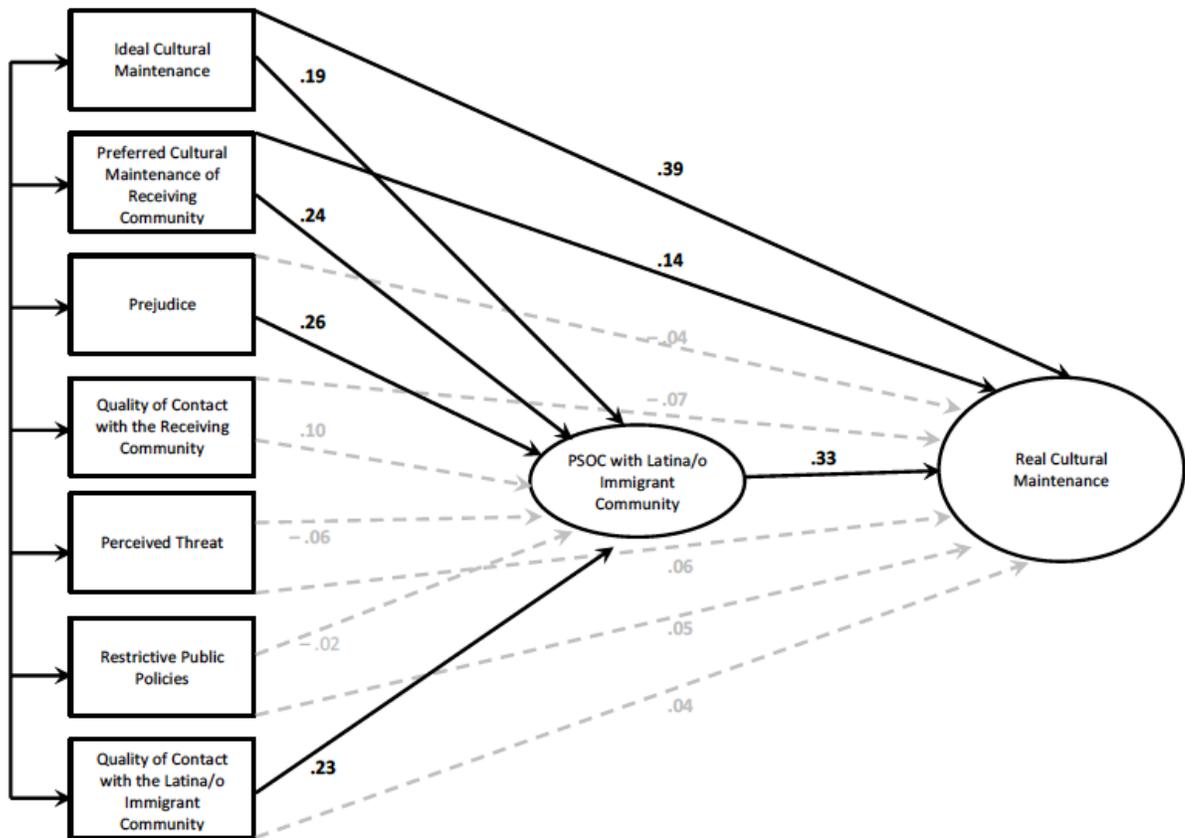


Figure 14. Real cultural maintenance path model with standardized path coefficients

Figure notes: Black, solid lines denote statistically significant path at the .05 level; gray dashed lines denote paths tested, but not significant at the .05 level.

PSOC. The extent to which Latina/o immigrants experienced a psychological sense of community (PSOC) with Latina/o immigrants in their community positively predicted the extent to which they maintained their cultures. In other words, the greater one's PSOC with the local Latina/o immigrant community, the more one engaged in cultural change. Super Biscochito exemplified this relation, describing how not having a sense of community with Latina/o immigrants led him to not maintain his culture when he immigrated with his family to Los Angeles:

“Although all the people who live in Los Angeles speak Spanish and most are Mexicans, there are no programs that are dedicated to working with immigrant children who live in that city. ... And so I grew up without knowing anything about my culture. My mom and my dad did not talk much about our experiences in Mexico, and they spoke very little about how we crossed the border. So, I grew up without knowing myself, without knowing where my people are from, right? Nor where my ancestors are from, or where I was from, or where I am from! So I think this was creating in me a resentment against me, against my own people, against my own language, against my own race.”^{lxviii}

Upon moving from Los Angeles to Albuquerque, Super Biscochito developed a strong sense of community with Latina/o immigrants, leading him to resume customs of his culture of origin. He described joining a church where he felt at home with other Latina/o immigrants, learning about his culture of origin through university studies, and becoming friends with other Mexican immigrants. Ultimately, he shared that he was newly embracing ‘his culture’ and ‘his people’, adopting a Northern Mexican style of dress (which he wore to the group) and passing on what he viewed were Northern Mexican values to his children.

Thor provided another example of how feeling a sense of community among all Latina/o immigrants in Richmond aided him in maintaining his culture:

“Another thing that is very, very important: When you see a Hispanic person, [you say], ‘Hey, where are you from? Hey, do you speak Spanish? Hey, what’s going on?’ Right? And we feel the unity between us Latinos [others in the group concurred]. It is not just Mexican, Peruvian, no – it is Latino, Hispanic. This helps a lot. Another thing is the Mexican language – us Mexicans, we laugh all the time, with songs and all that [group members chuckled]. Oh my God, we are so proud to be Mexican. Right? [group members concurred]. Any song, any joke, I’m laughing. ... In this way, it also helps me to keep going. ... My uncle and aunt came from Mexico to here. And, well, we made [Mexican] food in the house. We all came together. We roasted meat, we made menudo, I killed a goat. And we feel our roots this way. Since I came from there, I am Mexican, I’m Latino, so I do this. ... I am one of them [Latino immigrants]. Right?”^{xc}

Throughout his remarks, group members continually concurred, echoing the importance of PSOC to cultural maintenance. PSOC with the Latina/o immigrant community helped to explain why many of the exogenous variables influenced Latina/o immigrants’ real cultural maintenance.

Ideal cultural maintenance. The extent to which Latina/o immigrants desired to maintain their culture predicted the extent to which they did so, both directly and indirectly through increasing their PSOC with other Latina/o immigrants. In other words, the more Latina/o immigrants wanted to maintain their culture, the more they did so, partially due to feeling a greater of a sense of community with Latina/o immigrants. Ricky, a 38-year-old Mexico-born man summed up what many participants across sites expressed: *“I think that one should know very clearly to not forget our customs, our country, and even though it is very different here, we should always be clear that our ways are what is most important.”^{xc}* Indeed, the relation between ideal and real cultural maintenance in this model was stronger than the relation between ideal and real cultural change in the previous model (see [Aim 2](#)).

Part of the relation between ideal cultural maintenance and real cultural maintenance was direct, as Patricia, a Mexican woman living in Baltimore, exemplified: *“I think I need to speak Spanish; I need to always practice my culture to not forget my culture.”*^{xcii} When other participants in his Virginia focus group were reminiscing about partying and dancing in Latin America, Alfy commented that if you wanted to maintain your culture, you could – you just needed to work at it:

“In my house there is always dancing, and so I have realized that, if you want to relive your own culture and relive your roots, your traditions, nobody cares! Nobody is going to relive it for you. That makes me think, if you want to experience it again, relive it! Relive it and share it well. My wife loves to make hojuelas [a Latin American sweet, particularly popular in Colombia] every Christmas. She makes, ten, fifteen batches – more than my mother. ... If you want to eat some refried beans and some eggs with chorizo, you'll simply have to prepare it yourself.”^{xciii}

Frequently participants described maintaining their culture by sharing it with their Latina/o immigrant communities, including their families, which then allowed for more cultural maintenance as a large group. Chely, a Mexico-born mother of New Mexican-born children stated, *“It’s most important to me that [my child] knows where we are from ... so I first have her learn who she is to have power. I think many young people don’t have this connection. They don’t know who they are, where they are from.”*^{xciv} Disel, a Mexico-born father of children born in Mexico and in Arizona expressed,

“When we get together as a family, we always maintain the food in our culture. We always do potlucks. ... A potluck, you know what I mean, where we all bring a dish. We will never make an American dish; we only make Mexican dishes. It is a way of not letting go of our culture. And we are always speaking in Spanish. Not because we do not know, but because we want to keep the language of the family.”^{xcv}

As predicted, while ideal cultural maintenance did account for a significant amount of variance in real cultural maintenance, it did not fully explain it. Other factors outside of that desire played a role in the extent to which participants maintained their culture.

Preferred cultural maintenance. The extent to which Latina/o immigrants perceived the receiving community wanting them to maintain their cultures positively predicted the extent to which they did maintain their cultures, both directly and indirectly, through their PSOC with the local Latina/o immigrant community. In other words, the more receiving community members were perceived as wanting Latina/o immigrants to maintain their cultures, the more Latina/o immigrants experienced PSOC with the local Latina/o immigrant community and the more they maintained their cultures.

Some participants described how having receiving community members simply tolerate their cultural practices was also helpful in allowing them to maintain their culture. Arbolito described this phenomenon vis a vis her Albuquerque neighborhood: *“Where I live there are Anglos all around me, but we have an understanding between us. We are used to listening to music really loud, but of course we wait until the weekend because many people work, so we don’t have a problem keeping this custom. So, my neighborhood hasn’t been difficult for me.”*^{xxcvi}

Other participants shared how their neighbors interrupted their desired cultural maintenance, as Rebeca, a Colombia-born woman living outside of Richmond, illustrated: *“I can’t play loud music in my house even though it’s inside my house*

because my neighbor will call the police and they will come and tell me, 'Turn down the volume.' ^{xxcvii}

Others highlighted how receiving community members' true embrace of participants' cultures – beyond tolerance – allowed them to develop a stronger sense of community with other immigrants, leading to more cultural maintenance. Pilimili voiced her delight at being able to maintain her language by sharing it with others in Richmond: *"My first experience here was also going to the 'Meet ups' in Spanish ... so that was also a nice experience because there were people who were not American, but who wanted to learn that language, or they were Americans and they were trying to open themselves up to another culture, right? So that experience was super enriching for me in my early beginnings here.* ^{xxcviii}

Participants frequently contended how important it was for them to be able to share their culture with others. Yara, in Baltimore, expressed:

"My children love Mexican food – pozole, tamales, mole – they are such fans of all of that. And even their friends when they come over – even some who don't speak a word of Spanish – will eat my food happily. One friend will say to my son, 'When your mom makes the stew with potatoes and cheese, tell me so I can come eat at your house.' ... And so we continue with our food, our customs. ^{xxcix}

And even when some of their events and celebrations were not fully understood by the receiving community, most participants appreciated that there was support for some of their holidays, as was illustrated by one focus group in Albuquerque when asked what helped them to maintain their culture:

Mina: *"Events, 'Cinco de Mayo', all of that."*

Chely: *"Yes, May 5th. I tell my daughter, 'It's not Mexico's Independence Day, daughter.'"*

Vivo: *“Yes, it is a huge confusion they have here. I think it has been going on for many years, but I do not know. Because Washington adopted it, I think, that they also celebrated May 5th as the day of independence.”*

Chely: *“But even then we have to be thankful for them [celebrating it].”*

Vivo: *“Thankful because they confuse it.”*

The group laughed loudly.

Mina: *“At least they celebrate it.”*

Julieta: *“There is a little bit [of our culture] that they are adapting. Mexico’s Independence Day, yes.”^c*

Conversely, when Latina/o immigrants perceived the receiving community as not wanting them to maintain their culture, they were less likely to maintain their culture. Flor, a Mexico-born mother of two children, one born in Mexico and one born in the U.S., shared how U.S.-borns’ judgments of her parenting practices had led her to renounce many of them, though she did not desire to do so:

“I look at my daughter – I took her everywhere when my daughter was a little girl, and she came and stayed sitting down. She was a girl who came and at her age I had to just look at her and with that look I controlled her behavior. Why? Because I was controlled that way ... [In my country] I can raise my voice if she does not come, but in this country I cannot raise my voice because it makes me embarrassed. I’m embarrassed because no other mother does that, so how can I do that do my own daughter? ... And now I see my [younger daughter] and she talks back to me. Why? Because in this country we cannot touch a child, because in this country we cannot call attention to a child, because if I call attention to my daughter in a strong way, she feels bad, because everyone around us does not do that.”^{ci}

Lack of cultural maintenance related to the receiving community not desiring cultural maintenance was partially due to a resulting poorer sense of community with the local Latina/o immigrant community. Choclo, a 29-year-old Peru-born man who immigrated to Arizona in his teens, described how being forbidden to speak Spanish

at work led him to separate from the Latina/o immigrant community, ultimately not working to maintain any of his Spanish language skills:

“When I started working I was forbidden to speak Spanish. They told me, 'You cannot speak Spanish' because there were people who spoke English and they told me that they would think that I am talking about them. No, we were not talking about them; we were saying what we would eat for lunch. ... There are several places that have forbidden me to speak in Spanish. You know what? I had to get used to that. Then one day when I was watching soap operas and hugging my dog, I did not speak English very well, I hated it - I was sad every time people said that they did not understand me. Frustration! And so I decided to stop speaking Spanish. I stopped listening to Spanish music, I stopped talking to everyone who spoke Spanish, watching TV in Spanish. I watched Law & Order [he chuckled]. I switched to another English soap opera – ”

“Television show,” Angel interjected, correcting his Spanish.

“Television show,” Choclo acknowledged. “I started to cut out people who spoke Spanish for a time. I hated speaking Spanish and I didn’t even talk to my mother, or my sister, no one, for a couple of years. I spoke very little Spanish and didn’t even read in Spanish.”^{cii}

Notably, during the focus group Choclo spoke in both English and Spanish, often pausing to remember words in Spanish:

“One of the reasons I feel bad about not speaking Spanish for many years is that now I have difficulties speaking Spanish. You probably realize that I often speak in Spanish and in English because I do not remember how to say it in Spanish. I lost [Spanish]. And sometimes, as I say, I detest learning Spanish. This hate is so strong that I did not speak [Spanish] for many years – I even hated people who spoke Spanish. I detested them.”^{ciii}

He reported to the group that he identified as fully separated from Latina/o culture during much of his young adulthood and that he was in the process of ‘rediscovering’ and appreciating his cultural roots. Angel appeared taken aback by his commentary and visibly upset at Choclo denouncing cultural heritage and the Latina/o immigrant community in such a way. Later, she responded to him, again highlighting how she

saw a lack of support for cultural maintenance by the receiving community kept Latina/o immigrants from maintaining elements of their culture:

“I see this every day where I work – that people who come from other countries and who are doctors and engineers [in their countries] are working construction here. It's hard to see that. ... I applaud you for being so brave and for making such an effort [to reconnect with your cultural roots]. I'm not sure, but I think maybe if you think back on some of the bad decisions you made, like to stop talking to your dad, your sister, your mother, you would have made them differently, but somehow you felt forced by society to make them with the way they were looking at you.”

“I had no choice,” Choclo interjected.

“I understand,” consoled Angel. *“It is precisely this – because you had no support, because people criticized you.”^{civ}*

Prejudice. The extent to which Latina/o immigrants experienced prejudice indirectly predicted the extent to which they maintained their cultures through increasing their PSOC with Latina/o immigrants. In other words, the more Latina/o immigrants experienced prejudice from the receiving community, the more they experienced PSOC with the local Latina/o immigrant community, ultimately leading to more cultural maintenance. Consistent with the literature, prejudice against their community created an impetus for many of these participants to come together as a community in order to cope with this prejudice and potentially rail against it.

Prejudice did not explain cultural maintenance beyond this indirect relationship.

As described earlier, the degree of prejudice was significantly greater in Arizona and Virginia. However, all participants described how prejudice against them, as Latina/o immigrants, was frequently spread through the media, creating at least some degree of ‘anti-immigrant’ sentiment in all of their communities, no matter

how accepted they had felt over the years.⁸ As Alfy in Virginia put it, *“I tremble from frustration... The experience of undocumented immigrants is very sad in this country. ... Unfortunately, the media doesn’t help. The media tries to lower us, tries to say that we’re rapists ... and when I hear those words I get angry. I say, ‘I’m not doing enough. Let’s open our mouths more. Let’s join together more, let’s do good as a community.’”*^{cv}

Across all four sites, participants frequently described coming together as a community to advocate for change in the face of prejudice and discrimination. Mantequilla in Albuquerque contended, *“When we have experienced discrimination, we have come together as families and as a community. And we have fought together to make changes in this community. We have had marches ... we have lifted our voices. And we have triumphed.”*^{cvi} Tiki in Phoenix similarly expressed how the sheriff department’s discrimination led to PSOC among Latina/o immigrants:

“Since bad things are happening with our policies here, many people are coming together. So much is so bad – what our sheriff was doing here. Many people are making support groups and that is a good thing. And the people who already have [immigration] papers, well, they feel the same as those without papers. Because in past years of our life we had the same fears. All of us [with papers] the same as you [without papers]. And that is something that is happening thanks to the sheriff.”^{cvi}

Walter described the Latina/o immigrant community’s activism in both Baltimore and DC: *“When there is a march in Washington [DC], we always go advocate. ... So, others need to go and vote, to advocate for change. I miss work [for these protests]. ... We are so many millions of people that we should always be united in these*

⁸ At the time of the study, Donald Trump was running for president and much of his rhetoric and policy proposals were xenophobic; participants described hearing him and other politicians attacking them as Latina/o immigrants, sentiments that were amplified through television, print, and social media.

situations.”^{cvi} Alombra in Baltimore shared, “*I love these meetings ... the meetings give us strength.*”^{cix}

Quality of contact with Latina/o immigrants. The extent to which Latina/o immigrants’ interactions with other Latina/o immigrants were positive indirectly predicted the extent to which they maintained their cultures through increasing their psychological sense of community with the local Latina/o immigrant community. In other words, the more positive the experiences Latina/o immigrants had with other Latina/o immigrants, the more they experienced psychological sense of community with them, leading to increased cultural maintenance. The quality of contact with Latina/o immigrants did not explain cultural change beyond this indirect relationship.

Ana, a 32-year-old mother of two U.S.-born daughters, reported that being able to have contact with her parents who also immigrated from Mexico allowed her to maintain her customs because of the community they provided:

“We continue with the same customs of Mexico, not in exactly the same way, but I think if there is a good family, I think yes, you can maintain many of your customs – no matter where you are. And I do think I have been affected that much being out of Mexico, far from Mexico. My parents are citizens, but they live in Mexico. They do not want to live here [she chuckled sadly], but they come and they share our culture with my daughters. My daughters go there and my brother comes here. I am unaffected maybe because I have my family and I see them all of the time. So I think my [ability to maintain my culture] has not been affected so much from living here.”^{cx}

However, other participants did not have parents to aid in cultural maintenance. For many, positive contact with other Latina/o immigrants aided cultural maintenance due to a resulting sense of community. When asked what helped to maintain culture, Carlos, a young El Salvador-born man in Virginia replied, “*The people from our countries of origin helps us a lot. Other than that, everything else is*

like another world.”^{cxix} Vivo, a Mexico-born immigrant living in Albuquerque, echoed his sentiments: “I think what helps us maintain our culture is having lots of people from our country [here]. This helps us not lose ourselves – by staying close to Hispanic people.”^{cxii} Nacional, who immigrated during mid-adulthood, also expressed how immigrants from his country helped each other to maintain their culture over the past 16 years he had lived in Richmond:

“I remember that when I first arrived, I went to friends’ houses... What did I expect to find when I visited someone? A little Colombia. Inside, yes, it was this way – with porcelain figurines ... decorations, pictures... And you would expect that when someone came to visit you they would also find a little Colombia inside. ... If you arrived, ‘I have music!’, and bam, they would put on Colombian music. ... And on television, I have one channel, channel RCN. ... Yes, when someone recently arrives they want to maintain Colombian culture and so they bring it here, in their house, at least within those four walls.”^{cxiii}

Diesl, a Mexico-born man living in Phoenix, summed up how having positive contact with other Mexican and Latina/o immigrants helps to develop a strong, positive PSOC with the Latina/o immigrant community, which can culminate in cultural maintenance:

“We have many people from our country here. And that helps us to not lose our culture – we hang out with Hispanic people. And in this way – also because we have many of our people here – [there are Hispanic] restaurants, [Hispanic] festivals. And I think that help us to not end up losing our customs. ... We have enough people who are Hispanic. And that helps us to keep our customs, to not forget them.”^{cxiv}

Quality of contact with the receiving community. The quantitative data suggested that Latina/o immigrants’ interactions with receiving community members may predict the extent to which they maintained their culture indirectly by increasing their sense of community with other Latina/o immigrants. This effect was trending on

statistical significance and should be interpreted with caution. Notably, the qualitative data did not point to any relation.

Perceived threat. The extent to which Latina/o immigrants perceived receiving community members to be a threat to their cultures did not predict the extent to which they maintained their cultures. The qualitative data made it appear that the relation between perceived threat and cultural maintenance was mixed, thus potentially explaining why the relation was not statistically supported. From the qualitative data, it seemed that symbolic threat tended to lead participants to work to maintain their customs whereas realistic threat more often led them to renounce certain customs. For example, many participants saw the way in which children interacted with adults in the receiving community as a threat to their culture, sharing ways in which they then worked to make sure they maintain particular inter- and intra-familial customs with their children. Like many parents, Case Verde, who was quoted in the discussion of how symbolic threat led to less cultural change, also explained how she worked very hard to maintain certain family structures and have her children maintain their original customs. On the other hand, Mariana, a 26-year-old Colombia-born woman, who had immigrated to Maryland at age 20, described how the realistic threat of U.S.-borns to her wellbeing caused her to not maintain a social custom:

Mariana: *“I have a habit that I lost here. We, Colombians, we are very affectionate. [In Colombia], if I know someone when I greet them, I will give them a kiss on the cheek. And then I came here and for me it was something completely normal – if I knew someone I would hug them and give them a kiss – something like that, but a lot of people are very cold here. ... I had a problem with my supervisor. And obviously, with a boss, I would greet him with a hug or a kiss. ... I was always very friendly. I would tell him about my experiences [but] then I had a problem with sexual harassment. And from*

then on I would only greet someone with a handshake. [She made a gesture, shaking hands stiffly], 'How are you?' Everywhere. Only with Latinos [I will greet with a kiss], because I can be more –"

Aurelia: "Open?"

Mariana: "Yes. Because it caused a very, very big problem for me, problems that were not easily solved. I always had someone to escort me out of the business. I had to change my apartment. ... And it's just because of him, because of the customs I had, because of the way we live. Here, in my case, I had to get rid of ... the habit of being friendly with people. To hug them, give them a kiss on the cheek. That for me is so natural – in Colombia it is so natural. Here it is not. And so..."^{cxv}

In fact, five women across Maryland and Virginia shared stories of sexual harassment or uncomfortable experiences they had with receiving community members, which they tied to their greeting customs. All of these women discontinued this custom or only used it with other Latina/o immigrants as a result. Thus, it appeared that perceived threat had no statistically significant relation with cultural maintenance because its effect depended on the situation and the custom.

Restrictive public policies. The extent to which Latina/o immigrants had restrictive immigration-related public policies in their state did not predict the extent to which they maintained their culture in the quantitative model. Participants in the focus groups also did not recount many experiences that indicated policies measured quantitatively by the SIP considerably influenced their cultural maintenance. Nonetheless, participants described specific policies (particularly related to immigration status enforcement and education restrictions) as isolating them from the larger receiving community (see [Aim 2](#)). Their examples also demonstrated how such policies could be connected to their experiences of prejudice and discrimination, which was supported quantitatively (Spearman's $r = .31, p < .001$). As was previously

described, experiences of prejudice were associated with increased cultural maintenance due to a stronger sense of community with other Latina/o immigrants.

Similar to the cultural change model, it appeared that policies that were *not* state-level immigration-related policies (and thus not captured in the SIP) played a larger role in participants' cultural maintenance. Participants provided examples of many other national, state, and local policies impeding their abilities to maintain aspects of their cultures. For example, a couple of participants highlighted how national immigration policy and lengthy asylum or other legal status hearings kept them from maintaining customs. Aurelia shared one strong impact of being unauthorized:

“My mom died and I could not go! [said while crying hard] And that, well, alas, I'm tough, but that [she shook her head sadly], the blood of your family should always [be with you], and it couldn't always be like that. We could not go. I hope. I say 'one day.' But I want to go back! That's the most important thing. ... She died and I could not go see her. And I, like every Hispanic person, was always dreaming of [burying her] – whether it is a green cemetery, a grave, or something else. That's what has been the biggest thing here, that helplessness of being here. ... The most important thing for me now are my children and continuing here, moving forward, day by day, exceling in this country, but it is very difficult.”^{cxvi}

Additionally, across all sites, mothers and fathers lamented their inability to maintain some of their parenting customs related due to laws restricting certain practices, such as physical discipline. Not being able to discipline in preferred ways also kept parents from maintaining their family roles. Jeny explained:

“... You go through difficult experiences in which you cannot tell the children anything here, you cannot yell at them. [Imitating a child] 'I am going to tell the teacher and they can call 911 on you, and you can go to jail.' These are threats that make you, as a parent, say wow. Sometimes you see the difference in how they educate us in Mexico and here with the children, like, they are already threatening you at a young age. They say this to you, they say that – it is disrespect that sometimes leaves you like wow [she made a surprised and

sad facial expression, shaking her head]. ... This is the big difference that I sometimes see. You cannot really control the children with anything.”^{cxvii}

Relatedly, some participants spoke of how policies designed to protect elders prohibited them from maintaining their customs related to caring for elderly relatives.

Elizabeth: *“I had my mom here. My mom had Alzheimer's. So, since I was working and my husband also worked, the social worker at the hospital said that we were not fit to take care of my mom. What did they do? They put her in a nursing home. My mom cried day and night.”*

Karina: *“But didn't they ask you for permission or something?”*

Elizabeth: *“No, because as she was already elderly, they made her a ward of the state. So I had to fight the state. I had to go to court. I had to jump through so many hoops, I had to quit my job. Simply because they said I was not fit to take care of my mom. And my mom spent a month and a half in the nursing home, but that month and a half was not life for me because in our customs, we are not used to putting our elderly in a nursing home. ... It was a very difficult experience for me.”*^{cxviii}

Thus, it appeared that the policies not accounted for in the quantitative SIP scale actually played a more active role in how Latina/o immigrants were able to maintain their customs.

Summary. In all, a constellation of individual-, micro-, and macro-system factors helped to explain cultural maintenance. The more participants wanted to maintain their cultures, the more they did so, partially due to an increased sense of community with the Latina/o immigrant community. However, ideal cultural maintenance could not fully explain real cultural change, as other contextual factors impacted the degree to which cultural elements were maintained. The more participants perceived the receiving community wanting them to maintain their cultures, the more they did so, partially due to an increased sense of community with the Latina/o immigrant community. The more positive participants' contact with

Latina/o immigrants (and to some degree, also with receiving community members), the more they maintained their cultures, due to experiencing greater PSOC with the local Latina/o immigrant community. Moreover, the more prejudice participants experienced, the more they maintained their culture, due to experiencing a greater PSOC with the local Latina/o immigrant community. The perceived threat of the receiving community and the level of restrictiveness of state-level immigration-related public policies did not play a role in cultural maintenance in the quantitative model, though the qualitative data pointed to potentially complex relations of perceived threat and public policies that were washed out in the quantitative model. In all, this socio-ecological of cultural maintenance accounted for 42.0% of the variance in cultural maintenance. Analyses of focus group data pointed to a number of additional factors that may have accounted for some of the remaining variance in cultural maintenance (see [Novel Qualitative Findings](#)).

Novel Qualitative Findings Related to Cultural Change and Maintenance

Beyond the factors identified in the extant literature and tested quantitatively, a number of novel findings emerged from the qualitative data. Many of the factors that played a role in participants' cultural change and maintenance were related to their own personal characteristics, as well as resources available in their communities.

Personal characteristics. Across all sites and focus groups, when participants were able to change and maintain cultural customs in preferred ways, they were quick to attribute the success intra-personally. That is, consistent with the concept of the '*self-serving bias*', when participants were successful in either maintaining desired customs or adopting new desired customs, they tended to argue that it was because

they held specific characteristics that allowed for that success. Most often, participants attributed their successful cultural changes and adaptation in their new communities to their own open-mindedness. Chely, a 43-year-old who lived in New Mexico, contended:

“It seems like I am more from here than from there anyway because my thinking has always been very, very different from my peers in Mexico. We were the only Christians on the whole block or maybe in all of Mexico City. So from a very young age I learned that we needed to be more open to the world. For me it was actually more to defend what we were and why we were that way. When we got here, I think of all my siblings I was the one who adapted much better. It was easier for me than it was for them. ... I was the first generation to graduate from high school, the only one of my siblings who has gone to college. Then, the only one who married a gringo [a White, U.S.-born person], like my dad says.”^{cxix}

Participants also indicated that they had to be willing to work very hard to achieve their ideal cultural change and maintenance. Walter in Baltimore asserted, *“That’s all I can say because this country is wonderful. And that’s what it is for – to strive to work, because that is why you come, to strive to work. If you come with initiative, you can accomplish your goals and move forward.”^{cxix}* Pedro, a 48-year-old Mexico-born man who immigrated to Virginia in his early 40s also contended that it was this mindset and hard work that led to cultural change:

“The first thing I tried to do [when I immigrated] was learn the language. Well in Texas, I did not have any [English as a Second Language, ESL] schools near me – even though there were many Latinos. ... So I went to a library and started taking out books ... for ESL. When I arrived in this country, the first thing I asked was, ‘How can I do this? How can I do that? How can I get a car? How can I get license plates? How?’ You know, all of those things. Why? Because you have to adapt to these new customs; you have to adapt to the new place where you are a new community member.”^{cxix}

Language skills were an especially important characteristic for the majority of participants across the sites. While English language fluency is a cultural change

impacted by the aforementioned models, participants also noted how language skills impacted their experiences in their new communities. English played a role in the quality of contact they had with receiving community members, the prejudice and discrimination they faced, and the threat they felt from U.S.-born people. Diesl shared his experiences in Arizona:

“I have felt racism because of my language. ... [English] is my second language. Sometimes I do not understand [English speakers] or they do not understand me. And sometimes I am told things like, ‘What are you doing here?’ Or, ‘This is America. You have to learn to speak English.’ But [my children] grew up speaking English. Who is going to realize that they are not from here? Who will ask them for their [immigration] papers? No one. Because they can speak English well. For me it has always been the language. ... I still try to speak English, and if I do not understand or if you do not understand, then I say it again. And if you do not want to talk to me, then do not talk to me. I am sorry. This is how I have to try. But yes, the language is what matters especially when you do not yet have [immigration] papers. I know it's the language. When you speak English, to get your [immigration] papers in order, you can go and say, ‘I forgot this paper,’ and they will accept that. It is because of the language. The language is what counts. ... That's it. I always try to put a shield around myself, but I cannot [without language skills]. When I speak to them in Spanish and English, they will take what I say. For me [it is] the language. I have received racism because of my language.”^{cxxii}

Carlos provided an example of how English fluency improvements changed how he was treated and perceived as part of the community in Virginia:

“Unfortunately, yes, when you do not speak English, things are quite different. They discriminate against you like crazy. You go to Walmart and people do not treat you well. But when you speak English, it's like everything changes and you can make many friends – all is well. And people, they may have different views, but when you speak English, they seem to feel like, ‘Oh, he's one of us.’ And that happened to me when I was working. When a colleague of mine started to ask me, ‘Are you going to vote?’ And I said, ‘No, I cannot vote.’ And she asked, ‘Why?’ ‘Well, I'm not a citizen.’ And then she asked, ‘Why can't you vote if you speak English this well?’”^{cxxiii}

Finally, socioeconomic status was described as an important characteristic that allowed some participants to more readily make the cultural changes they desired. For

example, Tiki in Arizona described how having more education and some English language skills allowed her access to opportunities to make the cultural changes she wished, particularly related to her social roles in the United States. However, even with these characteristics and cultural changes, she did not feel treated equally as her U.S. counterparts:

“I work in a hospital [as a nurse]. And I try to be close to the Spanish people, most Hispanic people, who may be cleaning or making food – I treat them as if they are the same as me and everything. But then other people see [Hispanic people] like this [she gestured down, indicating lower power] and then the Americans who may already be nurses or something are seen like this [she gestured up, indicating greater power]. And someone like me is in the middle. ... You will always be Mexican even when you can speak English. For example, I learned to speak English in high school in Mexico. And as a woman – you know how we like to talk – I decided to go to school and I took the exam and passed. And I start grasping math, psychology. ... And the English I have, which is not very, very good, but it was enough because I was able to further myself and I could finish my bachelor’s degree here.”^{cxiv}

Interestingly, however, no relation between socioeconomic status (as measured by education level and annual household income) and ideal-to-real cultural change discrepancies and ideal-to-real cultural maintenance discrepancies were supported quantitatively.

Resources. In addition to personal characteristics, many participants also pointed to resources in their new communities that helped them to both maintain elements of their cultures as well as take on elements of their receiving communities’ cultures. Cony spoke of changes she had seen in Albuquerque: *“I believe that many organizations have grown since I got here, and they have been working with Hispanics and Latinos. ... I think we are organizing more and more, and I think that is something very, very important for us because we are here.”^{cxv}* The resources included: ESL classes; interpretation services; Spanish, English, and bilingual media;

religious institutions; support groups; provider networks; organizations that provide legal assistance; social services; schools, universities, and extracurricular activities; grocery stores and restaurants; places that provide for celebrations of culture; transportation services; and, technology. Each is discussed, in turn, below.

ESL classes. It likely comes as little surprise that English as a Second Language (ESL) services, be they classes or individual tutoring, were highlighted as important resources to aid acculturation. After all, English was the most frequently discussed cultural customs across all sites. Every participant spoke of how English fluency (or lack thereof) impacted them, and for many, it was the custom they most desired to adopt. As 70-year-old Gloris in New Mexico put it, *“If I master English very, very, very well, I am really serious that I will be completely happy here, because it is very uncomfortable being in a group where they are speaking English and you cannot participate in the discussion [because you don’t speak English]. I am striving to achieve this here with my tutor.”*^{xxxvi} Yara shared, *“I would love to speak English because, well, it feels [she sighed happily, seemingly communicating that she would feel comfortable]. ... And they tell me ‘Well, go to school!’ Yes, I have attended three years at Catholic Charities, and that’s the class I am taking.”*^{xxxvii}

Interpretation services. In addition to ESL services, participants shared the crucial role of having information provided to them in their native languages as they learned to navigate life in the United States. Interpretations services were highlighted in the context of most social and legal services – including medical appointments, educational services, social services, and in the judicial system. Hector in Arizona shared: *“When I got here I was not treated badly because I started school and I was*

in the third grade, so there was a lot of support. I had a translator who translated everything for me.”^{cxviii}

Spanish, English, and bilingual media. Multiple types of media were reportedly useful for immigrants’ cultural change and maintenance. Whereas media from their countries of origin helped participants to maintain their cultural customs, Spanish language media produced in their U.S. receiving communities helped Latina/o immigrants to gather important information targeted to Latina/o immigrants in their new communities. For example, participants in Richmond and Chesterfield, Virginia discussed the helpfulness of a radio show produced by the cultural liaison in the mayor’s office and participants in the Baltimore area spoke about Spanish-language newspapers. Moreover, participants across sites also highlighted how English language media, particularly when closed captioning was available in Spanish, helped them to not only learn English but also cultural customs. Speaking in Spanish, Angel in Phoenix shared:

“Watching movies [in English] helps a lot. When I started learning to speak English, I watched Sesame Street. ... When my friends who did not speak English come and say, ‘I need – help me find someone to show me how to speak English.’ I say, ‘Start with Sesame Street because you’re going learn how to say the words like you are a child, because you will learn well that way.’ And it helps because it is the basics. And read! I read a lot in English; it is rare that I read a book in Spanish. I like [reading in English] a lot because you are learning and I think that you never stop learning English. It is that which helped me a lot. ... [Angel then changed her language, speaking the next piece in English.] When I Google something – I’m always doing it in English, you know, I have to do it in English. [Then she switched back to Spanish] But I have to focus more on Spanish because sometimes the Spanish language has so much vocabulary.”^{cxvix}

When locally produced, this media also provided information about ways to get involved in their communities. Chiquita in Baltimore shared how local programming

was useful for reasons other than learning English: *“Television is what influences us to not only learn the language but also what helps us to learn the ways we can contribute.”*^{xxx}

Religious institutions. Moreover, participants across all sites discussed the importance of religious institutions in helping them to acculturate to their new communities. In fact, the most frequent first answer to the question ‘what helped you to adapt when you first arrived’ was ‘church’, as the vast majority of participants identified as Catholic and Christian. Religious institutions frequently helped participants make the cultural changes they wished through providing ESL courses (discussed above) and other programming. These institutions were also places that fostered the development of connections with receiving community members. When asked what helped them to adapt to their new community, Millonarios and Canela, a couple in their 60s who immigrated from Colombia to Virginia 15 years prior, shared their experience:

Millonarios: *“You know, here the only way I’ve found to help me adapt is through the church. The church has opened its doors to us. ... When we arrived here, we had a great pastor, an American, from my religion. And he approached us after mass. [He said], ‘I will wait for you in the white house.’ The white house was a tiny little coffeeshouse where they gave coffee and refreshments after mass – it was actually better than the mass. It was better than the mass.”*

Canela: *“And we were able to talk with everyone.”*

Millonarios: *“See? It is so important, and it was on the church level.”*^{xxxi}

Religious institutions also helped participants maintain elements of their culture through conducting masses in Spanish and providing community with other Latina/o immigrants. Carlos, a young El Salvador-born man in Virginia expressed,

“The church is something that does help us keep the culture of our countries. At Christmas time, well, you can go to church, and yes, this helps you to celebrate Christmas.”^{xxxii} Across sites, these individual interactions and the sense of place churches provided was echoed by the participants, as were the other services churches offered. Thor related:

“One of the things that helps me to [adapt] was spirituality. I became close to the church, feeling the spirituality, and seeing how God works in my life. Well, in the end, it led me to maintain many things. For example, ‘futbol’, soccer we call it. If there are Hispanics, we play soccer. ... The events in the church, like people have mentioned, Christmas. And something we also have are ESL classes. You go there and you feel at home, everyone is the same, [group members concurred] comfortable and all, like creating a community.”^{xxxiii}

Support groups. In addition, across the states, a number of different support groups were labeled as important resources for Latina/o immigrants to both maintain their cultures and make certain cultural changes. Support groups or ‘charlas’ as they were often called were usually fairly formal and organized by community leaders and/or mental health professionals. These groups provided space for Latina/o immigrants to share their experiences – positive and negative – with one another to help each other to navigate their new communities and to come together to make changes in the community as they saw fit. When first introducing herself to the group, Magdis highlighted the importance of Baltimore support groups to her acculturation process: *“Well, here I am still learning and going to ‘charlas’ and all of that. I’m doing well.”*^{xxxiv} Alfy highlighted how an innovative support group in Richmond allowed him to get involved in the Latina/o immigrant community and make change. *“Since I came here, my intention was to adapt ... and to be involved in the community. ... I have participated in other programs here, like Latino Leadership.*

Some people know me. And really, well, I have been interested to participate in the community, especially with Latinos. ”^{xxxv}

Provider networks. Culturally-sensitive and linguistically-appropriate provider networks, particularly in Maryland where provider networks have a relatively long and strong history, were also described as important to maintaining essential cultural customs when accessing services – for mental, physical, insurance, social, educational, and legal issues, among others – in a new community. Orquidea shared about one such network in Baltimore: *“There are many people who provide services to the Latino community, and there in the Latino Providers Network you can learn about it. ... They meet over there. Yes, you must be a member ... but it is worth knowing who supports Hispanics in this city and who provides Hispanic people help.* ”^{xxxvi} She then spoke of the importance of provider networks in Baltimore:

“Our community needs a lot of information, many relationships, and knowledge because those of us who work in the community, we know that yes, this organization and another organization exists. And sometimes people get stuck in certain ways, like stagnant in their lives because they have little information and they are afraid, because this country is not any of our countries of origin and so that brings us fear to try to navigate it alone. Especially when you have children, and you do not know where to go, where to get help and what to do.”^{xxxvii}

Organizations that provide legal assistance. Further, organizations that were able to provide legal information and counsel, including Know Your Rights classes, were instrumental for many participants’ transitions to the United States. Legal assistance was not only important in the immigration process (e.g., stay of deportation, visas, citizenship) but also to be able to both maintain and change cultural customs. Getting information about U.S. laws and protections allowed participants to engage in their new communities in the ways they desired and

maintain cultural customs. For example, when Aurelia recounted an experience of discrimination in a store when she was attempting to communicate in English with a clerk who refused to help her due to her thick accent, Orquidea counseled her:

Orquidea: *“There are some resources, such as CASA de Maryland. ... They have a class called ‘Know Your Rights.’ And if you know your rights, if you know that you can report it, you then can report it. If you know that person has a supervisor –”*

Aurelia: *“Yes, someone told me.”*

Orquidea: *“So you have to report it! And if the supervisor does not fix it favorably, well, you have other resources. Then the manager can also be called. Now those people at that level, they know that if a report is made, it can cause problems. That goes against the city. And then the city makes them pay a fine or they have to close. ... As a group, although we are from different countries, we need to know our rights, how to use them, when to use them, you know? And that is information given by ... CASA of Maryland.”^{xxxviii}*

Orquidea later continued to describe how powerful having this legal information was in the acculturation process:

“If you are in a place that gets federal funding, by law they have to provide you an interpreter in this country, they have to give all of the information in your language. ... And you can report them. And here everyone gets federal money, one way or another, even community organizations. CASA de Maryland shares that, and besides CASA de Maryland there is also the Esperanza Center. There are so many organizations here.”^{xxxix}

Social services. When services were able to provide information about customs for their particular communities and/or in the United States in general, participants felt better able to make cultural changes, particularly in the peripheral domain. For example, many groups talked about the needing social service government entities to explain expectations regarding child-rearing and corporal punishment, as they had concerns that their children could report them to the police for any action the child did not like and the children would be taken away. Pilimili of

Richmond contended that social service organizations allowed her to obtain the information she needed to acculturate: *“In this country there are many opportunities to learn. On the medical side, for example, we have health promoters that offer opportunities to learn about nutrition, to know, um, they have many things in their centers.”*^{cxl} Tana and Jesse in Albuquerque praised free business courses developed by their Chamber of Commerce to help immigrants learn the details of developing small businesses that met all peripheral domain custom expectations.

Tana: *“For example, we just finished a course in small business. We were taught things, shown how to get bank loans, how you do this, how you get a license.”*

Jesse: *“That's a good program.”*

Tana: *“It is not necessarily like that you have your business and they make it for you and everything. They help you to make it; they teach you what to do.”*

Jesse: *“I went to this program of the Chamber of Commerce and, yes, I was taught everything you have to do for your business very well.”*

Tana: *“It teaches you everything you need to know –”*

Jesse: *“If you are going to open a business here, they teach you how to open it, how to make your business what you want. ...”*

Tana: *“And the taxes.”*

Jesse: *“Paying taxes, yes. ... And they teach you how to get your license, how to create your mission.”*^{cxli}

Schools, universities, and extracurricular activities. Preschool, primary and secondary school, GED programs, colleges and universities, along with school-based extracurricular activities were frequently highlighted as key resources for participants to adopt receiving community customs. Whether it was through their children or their own enrolled in post-secondary education, participants explained that these

educational resources were not only a means to adopt the peripheral domain customs they desired (e.g., desired employment), but also provided valuable information about their new communities and helped to foster connections with receiving community members. Angel explained, *“I have my children in sports to interact with people from all different parts. That has helped me to integrate into the culture here. ... It is a process. And so yes, I think that has helped me more than anything ... being involved in school and sports, more than anything – Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, everything like that, everywhere in the community.”*^{cxlii}

Schools also helped participants maintain elements of their culture and share it with others. Many women in Maryland, in particular, discussed how both Baltimore ESL programs and their children’s schools allowed them to celebrate and share their culture with others. Cony happily shared, *“At school we have been allowed to have these celebrations, especially when there is Spanish Heritage month. In April we have a multicultural dinner, and all of us Hispanics bring food from our countries. Everyone brings what they want. And there we meet and we can share food with everyone.”*^{cxliii} Trancito, smiled widely, clearly elated, as she shared how her daughter’s elementary school helped her to maintain her culture:

“Before Thanksgiving the teacher says the parents can bring their dishes from their countries and share them as well. ... We don’t bring that much, just a little plate and together we do a buffet. And everyone from their countries [brings food] and we look at what has been put there; the food is shared. And it is so nice that the school puts this on. I like it because in the way you are able to share your tastes with others – they are shared. As my son says, ‘When are they going to do that? I love that, because there is everything there. I like the Mexican, Salvadoran, and Honduran tamales; I eat it all.’ ... It’s nice, because before there were only Americans there, but now since there are more Latinos in the schools, they do this, they share too. It is nice.”^{cxliv}

Moreover, people and programs within universities allowed some young people who had immigrated to the U.S. at a young age to learn about a culture they felt they had lost. One focus group discussion in New Mexico commended local college programs for aiding in cultural maintenance:

Super Biscochito: *“In college I learned about the Mexican Revolution, Pancho Villa, Emiliano Zapata, and Tata Diaz and [before that] I had known nothing, nothing of my own people.”*

Cony: *“This is awesome, because you're discovering your roots.”*

Mina: *“And where we are from.”*

Cony: *“And what we are exactly.”*

Julieta: *“And that's good because you can then pass that on to your children.”*

Vivo: *“Because really you grew, because from what I'm understanding about you –”*

Cony: *“Well, that you were neither from here, nor there.”*

Vivo: *“Because he lost his –”*

Cony: *“Identity.”*

Vivo: *“Identity, yes, as a person. And I say this because even I lost my identity.”*

Cony: *“And how good that he found [his identity].”*

Mina: *“And in Albuquerque!”*

Super Biscochito: *“Yes.”*

Mina: *“That's the most impressive thing!”^{cxlv}*

Choclo, who described himself as having challenges both maintaining his culture and taking on the customs he wished to gain in the United States, described how joining a

group at a university in the past year had allowed him to make great strides in both cultural change and maintenance:

“In the last year I have joined a group. ... It is a group where people of all different cultures, religions, denominations – non-denominational and atheists too – all get together. So I found a group, right? And these people go all over the place to do different activities, doing community activism, community service. I went to events to see and hear people talking about their experiences, their cultures. I realized that I was not the only person who had gone through this, who had suffered in this way. And gradually my mentality is changing. Where I had this hate for individuals and for the community that was rising [since I immigrated here], it is now falling. But it is still there. It's something I'm struggling with, but if I had not continued here, I would have not gone and I would not be part of that group. ... Where I [could] learn from other people, other cultures.”^{cxlvi}

Grocery stores and restaurants. Places that sold food products or prepared dishes from participants' countries of origin were described as useful in helping participants maintain their food customs. Because maintaining food customs was very important to many participants, the availability of applicable grocery stores and restaurants was frequently discussed in focus groups. For example, Tito QZ happily commented on the changes he had seen in Richmond, *“They started to open more and more Latin markets that allowed for the preparation of our food. ... Just in the last 8 years, there has been an importation of many Peruvian products even in big American supermarkets. ... There's everything. I think that this is important for a person to be happy, primarily.”^{cxlvii}*

Places that provide for celebrations of culture. Relatedly, locations in which participants were able to celebrate their culture with others from their country of origin as well as with other Latina/o immigrants and the broader receiving community were described joyously throughout the groups. Festivals, dance halls, events, and holidays all allowed for cultures to be maintained and celebrate. For example,

participants in a focus group in Albuquerque talked about local organizations that helped them to maintain their cultures and share them with their children, among others.

Mina: *“Where they teach Mexican dances, to learn certain cultural dances.”*

Cony: *“There is a school that teaches dance that is called ‘Baile, Baile’.”*

Mina: *“Yes, there are many places where they teach you, they help you to follow your culture.”*

Super Biscochito: *“And also just having fun with your community, the Latino communities, because we all go dancing together.”^{cxlvi}*

Karina, a 31-year-old Bolivia-born woman, also shared how important dance halls were for her in Baltimore:

“One way I maintain my culture here is through music and dancing. It helped me a lot when I discovered salsa dance halls. I also think it helps that there are people from other cultures who appreciate this. It was not only among Latinos. There were also Asians, Europeans, Americans – everyone united by the same music. I think when you feel free to maintain your culture and see that other cultures also appreciate [your customs], it helps you maintain them. I think it is more difficult to maintain your culture when you feel judged, when they look down on you for speaking Spanish, things like that.”^{cxli}

Transportation services. Public transit appeared to help participants make desired cultural changes. Participants provided examples of how public transit helped them become more involved in their receiving communities outside of their neighborhoods and interact with more U.S.-born people. Transit was also useful in helping participants get to the educational and employment opportunities they desired. Most frequently, participants lamented the lack of public transit, as they felt what did exist was insufficient for what they needed. Trancito explained, *“We were hired by a cleaning company. So we went to live in Odenton, Maryland, in a place where there were no buses. We had to leave when we were given a ride. We had to go*

to work when they would take us. And so it was very difficult to get out, to meet more people.”^{cl} Public transportation was especially important for unauthorized immigrants, particularly when state’s policies restricted them from obtaining a driver’s license. Cony in Richmond explained:

“Another thing that [affects us] is also transportation. If you do not have [immigration] documents, you do not have the opportunity to have a car, to drive. ... There are many things that you do not have access to as an [unauthorized] person, and you always have to find someone – someone who will do you a favor and take you, and you have to pay. ... I remember in 2005 in Chesterfield, at school, I remember that they began to give adult English classes. And I started there. I love to study, and I like to encourage people to study; so, for me, it was a beautiful opportunity. But sometimes, for the same reason that I could not drive, I couldn’t [attend]. Sometimes you do not have all of the opportunities to excel and be somebody.”^{cli}

Technology. Finally, technology – international calling and texting, email, videoconferencing, social media – that allowed participants to connect with friends and family in their countries of origin aided participants in maintaining their cultures. Luis in Arizona shared how technology had changed the extent to which immigrants were able to maintain their customs over the years:

“We are very fortunate now also with technology. ... I’ve heard from people who, for example, were immigrants in the ‘70s or something – even my sister, who immigrated in 2000, I believe – [At that time] you would never again hear from someone when they immigrated, as if they were dead or something, they just disappeared. ... But now with Facebook and all of the rest, we are in contact, we know that happens. We even have a group where, I don’t know, like if my nephew lost a tooth or something, we all know. So we are connected. The in-person connection is lacking, but there are more possibilities of preserving traditions.”^{clii}

And even when their immigration experiences were challenging, technology aided in the transition, as Julieta in New Mexico exemplified, *“It is very difficult to be here alone. So very difficult. You get used to it. Yes, you do, you become accustomed to it.*

At least the technology helps a little. We can actually see each other on the phone.^{cliii}

Information. While participants in every focus group labeled numerous resources that met their needs and helped them to adopt new customs as well as maintain their original customs, they also indicated that they frequently did not know about the resources or how to access them for quite some time after settling in the new community. In other words, the majority of the resources described above were *already available* across most sites and described as useful in cultural change and maintenance, but not all participants were aware of their existence. Indeed, focus group discussions often ended with a sort of ‘resource sharing’, in which participants who had been in the community longer and/or were more aware of available resources shared them with other participants. Hector in Arizona reported:

“I do not think I’ve seen a lot of [help] for immigrants to maintain their customs. But there is some help that I have seen – some support for Mexicans, but it is not easy to inform them because they are in a completely different place. There are some groups that do help to inform immigrants well. Let’s see what those groups can do to better reach immigrants – like share where English classes are taught, things like that. That’s all I’ve seen. There may be more that I do not know about.”^{cliv}

The same was true across sites. Tatiana, who came to New Mexico as a refugee from Venezuela lamented:

“There is no information. If you come and have an appointment here, you do not know in which institution your appointment is or where you are going to ask for your papers, where you can ask if there is any financial aid. So, no, there is nothing like this. Immigration just tells you, ‘Look, you need to come here and ask here.’ But there is no [information]. And so then you have to go to institutions like this, Catholic or Lutheran charities, to ask.”^{clv}

Canela in Virginia summed it up:

“It seems to me that what has been lacking in the U.S. community to help Latinos is communication. ... Because only later do you realize the amount of aid there is. ... I don’t know how they publicize it or make brochures – I don’t know all of the benefits that are there for the Latino community to enjoy. It isn’t that you need to ask for one, it is that they already exist and we do not know about them.”^{clvi}

Across focus groups, participants described that while Latina/o immigrants could band together as a community to help one another, there were often tensions among them and a lack of unity. Many participants indicated that people who had immigrated to the community earlier than others were not helpful and viewed them as ‘hoarding information’, refusing to share knowledge about resources that would benefit the newly arrived immigrants. As Vivo, a Mexican immigrant in New Mexico put it, *“Here people are egotistical about giving information and giving you help. There isn’t a lot of communication.”^{clvii}*

Notably, focus group participants who had lived in the communities longer did not appear to withhold information about available resources during or after the focus group discussions. Their open sharing of information was commended by focus group participants, some of whom also indicated that Latina/o immigrants were the ones to first give them information they needed to make the cultural changes and/or maintain their elements of their culture in the ways they desired. Mary, a Peru-born woman in Maryland, recounted, *“I went to a bus stop, I met someone – I noticed that she had magazines in Spanish and so I began conversing with her. And that is what happened to me. I began to open up and to inform myself, to go to different organizations and all of that, and also to share and help. Yes, we can, right? Yes we can.”^{clviii}* Similar to many, when asked what helped her to adapt to the community,

Paisa replied:

“For me it was basically my friends. My friends from my country [Colombia] who were also newcomers to Richmond or who had lived here longer. They are always asking one another, ‘Have you gone to that place?’ Or ‘In what area are the shops?’ Or, ‘In what area can you get books and school supplies for children?’ ‘Go there.’ So friends are a very important part in helping you to adapt and finding resources.”^{clix}

Moreover, many organizations in the community were working on outreach and helping their new Latina/o immigrant community members to find the resources they need. For example, both Richmond and Baltimore, which have relatively new Latina/o immigrant populations (as compared to Phoenix and Albuquerque, which have seen continued immigration from Latin American, and particularly Mexico, since the United States took possession of Arizona and New Mexico from Mexico in the 1800s), recently created departments and positions within the cities’ governments to support these new community members. Participants in both Richmond and Baltimore spoke of how these offices provided information about community resources that supported their adaption. Paisa in Richmond continued:

“Through some friends, I also found the Hispanic Association where [the cultural liaison in the mayor’s office] directed or worked with the Hispanic Association. They were a huge help, they helped us find many resources. They also gave us information about signing our children up for sports, things we should look for in schools, because we didn’t know that the schools have so many things available – you never know until somebody tells you, ‘You can get involved with this, the children can learn this. You can do that.’ Or you can become a volunteer ... or, like I have said about the markets ... I had never seen that markets would give gifts, that you only had to go to a church and register and they would give [school supplies] to you. I got a bag at the market, and I said, ‘I cannot believe it.’ It was something they did before the school year began and I went and took my children and each of them got a backpack with a notebook, pencils, crayons, and markers. And I said, ‘God, thank you!’”^{clx}

Summary. In sum, analyses of focus group data revealed a number of expected and emergent factors that appeared to play a role in real cultural change and

maintenance. Specifically, participants frequently attributed the ways in which they enacted culture to personal characteristics, such as open-mindedness, willingness to work on cultural change and maintenance, language skills, and socioeconomic statuses. Moreover, numerous resources that provided both tangible and intangible support seemed to aid in both cultural change and maintenance. The resources included: ESL classes; interpretation services; Spanish, English, and bilingual media; religious institutions; support groups; provider networks; organizations that provide legal assistance; social services; schools, universities, and extracurricular activities; grocery stores and restaurants; places that provide for celebrations of culture; transportation services; and, technology. While these resources were described as incredibly valuable by participants who were aware of them in their communities, information about the resources' existence and how to access them was reported to be limited. Such lack of information may impede individuals from using those resources to change and/or maintain their cultures in preferred ways.

Aim 4: Wellbeing Path Analysis

Finally, to understand the impact of ideal and real cultural change and maintenance discrepancies on wellbeing, I used path analysis. The hypothesized model (see [Figure 16](#)) explained the data just as well as the fully recursive model [$Q = 0.99$; $\chi^2(2, N = 438) = 4.83, ns$]. Thus, the recursive model was rejected and the hypothesized model and the relations within it are discussed below. Generally, hypothesized relations were statistically supported. Ideal-to-real cultural change discrepancies predicted wellbeing both directly and indirectly through acculturative stress with the receiving community. Ideal-to-real cultural maintenance discrepancies

significantly predicted wellbeing directly, and also predicted acculturative stress with the Latina/o immigrant community, though this acculturative stress did not predict wellbeing (see [Table 25](#) and [Table 26](#)).⁹ In all, the set of predictors controlled for 20.8% of the variance in wellbeing [$F(4, 433) = 28.43, p < .001, f^2 = 0.26$].

Table 25

Wellbeing Path Analysis Test Statistics of Direct Effects in Hypothesized Model

	Acculturative Stress: Receiving Community		Acculturative Stress: Latina/o Imm. Comm.		Wellbeing	
	<i>t</i> (<i>p</i>)	Partial <i>r</i>	<i>t</i> (<i>p</i>)	Partial <i>r</i>	<i>t</i> (<i>p</i>)	Partial <i>r</i>
Ideal-to-Real Cultural Change Discrepancies	2.53 (<i>p</i> = .012)	.12	—		- 5.52 (<i>p</i> < .001)	- .26
Ideal-to-Real Cultural Maintenance Discrepancies	—		2.46 (<i>p</i> = .014)	.12	- 2.57 (<i>p</i> = .011)	- .12
Acculturative Stress: Receiving Community	—		—		- 7.26 (<i>p</i> < .001)	- .33
Acculturative Stress: Latina/o Imm. Community	—		—		1.79 (<i>p</i> = .074)	.09

Table 26

Wellbeing Path Analysis Test Statistics of Indirect Effects in Hypothesized Model

	Through Acculturative Stress: Receiving Community		Through Acculturative Stress: Latina/o Immigrant Comm.	
	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Ideal-to-Real Cultural Change Discrepancies	- 2.37	.009	—	
Ideal-to-Real Cultural Maintenance Discrepancies	—		1.37	.085

⁹ I use causal language throughout these results to reflect the hypotheses tested and to share the participants' words and meanings in the ways in which they conveyed them. All of the data collected are cross-sectional, and so causal connections are only theorized and are empirically correlational. Future research may reveal additional pathways and bidirectional relations between factors.

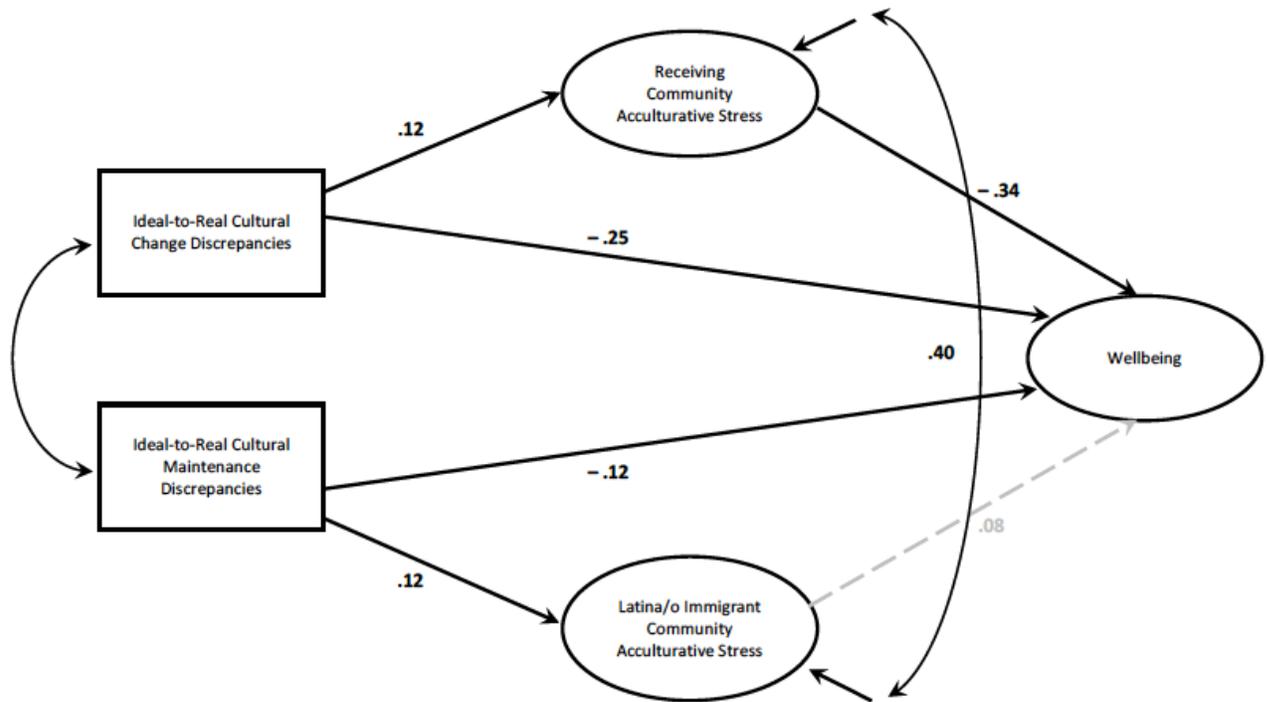


Figure 15. Hypothesized wellbeing path model with standardized path coefficients

Figure notes: Black, solid lines denote statistically significant path at the .05 level; gray dashed lines denote paths tested, but not significant at the .05 level.

Receiving community acculturative stress. The extent to which Latina/o immigrants experienced acculturative stress in the receiving community negatively predicted their wellbeing. In other words, the more acculturative stress Latina/o immigrants experienced, the poorer their wellbeing. Across all focus groups, many participants described some level of acculturative stress related to the receiving community that appeared associated with negative wellbeing. Julieta in New Mexico was in tears as she described what seemed to be depression, which she believed she developed from acculturative stress:

“It has been very difficult. But I have to learn to know where I am, and yes, because of this, I became sick. I have seen that how my body got sick because

of this. I am, I was sad. I could not, nor did I even want to, pick up my daughter. I could not even start the car. I could not do anything. My body blocked everything. But I cannot be sick anymore. I need to move. I need to move forward.^{clxi}

Latina/o immigrant community acculturative stress. The extent to which Latina/o immigrants experienced acculturative stress related to the Latina/o immigrant community did not significantly predict their wellbeing. This may be due to a floor effect, as scores on this subscale were very low ($M = 16.29$, $SD = 6.03$, Median = 15; 75% of sample had a score of 18 or below on a scale of 11 to 55, as compared to the receiving community subscale: $M = 32.32$, $SD = 13.55$ on a scale of 14 to 70). In the focus groups participants also reported much more stress related to the receiving community (136 separate instances, reported in all sites and all focus groups) than they did the Latina/o immigrant community (42 instances, reported in all sites, but not all focus groups).

Relation of the two types of acculturative stress. The residuals of both types of acculturative stress were related in the quantitative model, and results from the focus groups illustrated their statistical relation. Participants who reported more receiving community-related acculturative stress in the survey measures were also more likely to report more immigrant community-related acculturative stress. In the focus groups, this also seemed the case, with those participants who endorsed more acculturative stress related to the receiving community also sharing some degree of acculturative stress related to the Latina/o immigrant community. Some participants expressed this sentiment as about being between two worlds – not fully at home in the U.S., but also not fully at home in their immigrant communities or in their countries of origin. Carlos Kent, a Salvadoran immigrant in Virginia shared that he did not feel

like he belonged in the U.S., but “*when I went to El Salvador, yes I felt, in part, that I didn’t belong. ... People there, they knew that I was not from there, that I was not from El Salvador, even though I was born there, but no.*”^{clxii} Ñata echoed the sentiment:

“I partially identify with the Americans, but at the same time, I do not always feel, like, American enough. And sometimes ... I do not feel Peruvian enough. Like, they tell me, ‘... You have an accent when you speak Spanish. You talk like an American. You, like, do not talk like a Peruvian.’ ... But my teachers tell me, ‘Oh, when you speak [in English], I cannot understand you because you have a Spanish accent.’”^{clxiii}

Ideal-to-real cultural change discrepancies. The extent to which Latina/o immigrants made the cultural changes they wished to make positively predicted their wellbeing, both directly and indirectly through their level of acculturative stress related to the receiving community. In other words, the closer Latina/o immigrants were to adopting new cultural customs in preferred ways, the better their wellbeing, partially due to a lower level of acculturative stress related to the receiving community. Likewise, the further Latina/o immigrants were from adopting new cultural customs in preferred ways, the poorer their wellbeing, partially due to a greater level of acculturative stress related to the receiving community. These statistical relations were illustrated time and again in the qualitative data.

Most focus group participants shared instances in which their expectations were not met. For example, Alfy, who had emigrated from Mexico to Virginia at age 18, explained how his expectations for cultural change were not met when he immigrated:

“I am from a small town and most people come [to the U.S.] by crossing the border. So, in my mind, that’s how I had it planned: Cross the border. ... Until I arrived here, I realized that I automatically truncated my goals, my

dreams, in such a way. [It was] a very intense experience, very filled with fear. ... Arriving here, I saw that it wasn't how society had said. I thought that you got here and automatically saw money. ... It wasn't like that. ^{”clxiv}

Alfy described challenges in securing the employment and work schedule he desired and making changes to his family economy in ways he considered to be part of U.S. culture (e.g., having extra spending money, being able to buy a house). As Alfy expressed above, the inability to make cultural changes in desired ways frequently led to poor wellbeing, partially from acculturative stress. Leidy, a 23-year-old woman also living Virginia, shared how she felt tricked moving to the United States:

“The nanny agencies started to go to my university to tell us like, ‘Go to the U.S., this is your opportunity.’ ... Being in Colombia, you believe the idea that it’s marvelous to come as a nanny... Later you realize [the reality]. ... My difficulties started there. For me it was difficult to adapt. ... It’s a job that doesn’t satisfy the expectations that I had in Colombia. At first it was very hard. I cried many times. I regretted [immigrating].” ^{”clxv}

Diesl, who immigrated to Arizona in his 20s similarly described his experience:

“It was a really drastic change. I never considered that I didn’t know that language and I thought it would be easy to learn it. I thought it would be easy to find a good job. ... I arrived here and began to get up at 4 in the morning, without knowing the language and working straight for 13 hours. To this day of course I haven’t achieved my dreams. These are things I struggle with. I came without thinking of how difficult it would be to adapt. It was really hard for me.” ^{”clxvi}

In another example, Choclo, who immigrated to Arizona in his teens, described how challenging it was to make the cultural changes he wanted to make in the intermediate domain – to form relationships with receiving community members – when he immigrated, driving his loneliness and poor wellbeing. He shared the difficult experiences he had in Phoenix as a teen:

“I became very depressed because people did not understand me. I could not make friends. I lived in an area that was more or less a rich area and there were many people, like in the park, but nobody wanted to play with me

because there's a bubble [he waves his arms around his body, signaling the separation he felt from receiving community members]. ... I didn't speak English. I did not even know how to say 'hi', so I just sat there saying 'Play?' you know, like trying to teach them but they just ignored me. So I started to stay home and watch soap operas. And I would hug the dog, crying. ^{”clxvii}

He later went on to describe how watching his mother have difficulties making the changes she wished to make in peripheral domains played a role in poor wellbeing:

“Why am I in this country? Why haven't I returned [to Peru]? But we already made the effort, you know? We spent so much money to come to this country legally. My mother left her career – she had a good job. And then she came here to mop the floor [he said disgustedly], to clean the floors every day crying. My mom went to the university and she was told that she could not study. My aunts and uncles had told her, ‘You can come here to study for your Master’s.’ That’s wasn’t true. She had to return to [community college]. ^{”clxviii}

His mother persevered despite these obstacles, he continued, ultimately succeeding in making some of the changes she desired:

“She went to community college to learn English. From there she went to Arizona State University and there she got her Master’s and now she's doing her doctorate. No one wanted to hire her – one, because she has an accent and two because she has no experience in this country. And still she is studying. I do not know how. She is very strong. ^{”clxix}

In fact, many participants were able to make the cultural changes they wished to make, which in turn was related to better wellbeing, partially due to less acculturative stress. Tiki in Arizona recounted, *“For me it was very important that I could go to school, that I could have a job that maybe makes me tired but that I enjoy. ... It changes you a lot when you feel successful, when you have a dream that your children will study and that you reach a certain economic level, and thank God we have done that.* ^{”clxx} Alfy, quoted earlier, shared that while he was not able to make the cultural changes he desired when he first immigrated, eventually he was able to do so, and this – at least in part – impacted his wellbeing.

"I noted a new word every day, every day in a notebook and worked this way on my English, on my English, on my English. I made mistakes when I talked, but I was learning, word by word, word by word. ... [Learning English] gave me courage, it encouraged me, it gave me self-esteem. ... That's good and so I like to share that with people. That's why I'm here, giving this testimony, hoping that this will help someone, and that's why I come here to the Sacred Heart Center because they are so involved in these kind of programs that help the Hispanic community. Sometimes I get down on myself. I say, 'Oh, I haven't done much in life because I should be able to tell someone that I triumphed. If not, I am no one.' I am a carpenter still, but at the same time, even though I have continued working in the same way, today I have a small carpentry business from what I learned here – framing."^{clxxi}

Ideal-to-real cultural maintenance discrepancies. The extent to which Latina/o immigrants maintained their cultures in the ways they wished positively predicted their wellbeing. In other words, the closer Latina/o immigrants were to maintaining their cultures in preferred ways, the better their wellbeing. Likewise, the further Latina/o immigrants were from maintaining their cultures in preferred ways, the poorer their wellbeing. While ideal-to-real cultural maintenance discrepancies did predict increased acculturative stress related to the Latina/o immigrant community, this acculturative stress did not significantly predict wellbeing. Again, this may be due to a floor effect. On average, participants reported much lower levels of acculturative stress related to the Latina/o immigrant community than they did related to the receiving community.

As discussed in [Aim 1](#), overall participants were better able to maintain their customs in preferred ways than they were able to make preferred cultural changes. However, across all sites (as also reported above) participants still described challenges to maintaining their desired customs. For example, Canela, a Colombia-born woman who immigrated to Virginia in her 40s, described how it was difficult to maintain her leisure activities in the ways she desired:

“It was a very big change because over there – well, not from what I worked as, but because of the very different way of life. [Over there] we had memberships to a club, we had a country home. ... We were used to spending the weekends in our country home. And when I arrived here I worked the entire month because we had to work. For me that was horrible, because I was out all day at work and I left at night, and where do you go on the weekends? Our entertainment was to go to Walmart on Sundays.”^{clxxii}

Carlos, a 26-year-old El Salvador-born man who immigrated to Virginia at the age of 12 echoed her sentiments: *“It was a bit of a difficult transition – the language, the climate. ... You feel lonely, because you're used to playing outside. And here the communities are separated – it seems as if ...”* *“There aren't even sidewalks [between neighborhoods],”* Pilimili interjected and group members chuckled in affirmation. *“That's right, and it's boring. At Christmas it's super boring. It was like, well, it's Christmas, but not really, because it's a normal bedtime.”* Carlos then chuckled and other group members nodded their heads, laughing in agreement about holiday custom differences. He then continued on, sharing the impact of his challenges maintaining culture, *“And, the schools are very different here. For two months I had headaches and stomachaches, and I think that's from the stress.”^{clxxiii}*

Holidays were particularly challenging times for many of the participants, as their lack of ability to maintain traditions was especially salient during that time. Vivo in New Mexico described how the holidays brought her pain: *“I try to maintain my culture, but for example, Independence Day is completely different here. And Easter – it's incomparable. When I saw what they did here, I cried from sadness.”^{clxxiv}*

Similarly, Mariana in Maryland described the sadness that arose from the difficulty of maintaining cultural practices over the holidays: *“My first Christmas here I was alone and the only friends I had were Jewish. So obviously they didn't celebrate. On*

Christmas Eve I went to bed at like 9 at night crying. ... This is the time to cry. ^{”clxxv}

Music, an 18-year-old Venezuela-born woman living in Virginia also lamented her inability to maintain customs around the holidays: *“My family, we have nothing here. Like Christmas, it's like very sad, because you see all the cousins and aunts and uncles all celebrating in Venezuela. Although it is horrible there, they are always happy. And here, even as you try to be a family ... and to have your family close to you, you can't. ... So we left so much there.* ^{”clxxvi}

Nevertheless, as was true for cultural change, many participants across all sites were able to maintain their cultures in desired ways, which in turn was related to better wellbeing, as Ana exemplified:

“We stayed in Arizona for three years. There I was married, there my first daughter was born. Then when she was three months we moved over here [to New Mexico]. And since then we have lived here in Albuquerque. We have felt so comfortable here because it is more similar to Mexico. It was not so much of a change. And in Arizona, yes, it was such a strong, violent culture shock. We lived in a small town called Peson, which is one and a half hours from Phoenix. There they did not speak any Spanish. So, in this way, there were no resources for people who speak Spanish. But when we got here everything changed. It was all very different. Here my second daughter was born. I have two girls and they know perfectly well who they are. They call themselves Mexican-Americans. ... Yes, I like that they go to Mexico, they know where we are from, how we live, how people live there. ^{”clxxvii}

Summary. The better participants were able to adopt new cultural customs and maintain previous cultural customs in desired ways, the better their wellbeing, in part due to experiencing less acculturative stress. However, participants experienced greater stress related to the receiving community than the Latina/o immigrant community, and only acculturative stress related to the receiving community influenced wellbeing.

Chapter 4: Discussion

This research demonstrates the power of the interactions human beings have with their contexts, and the importance of considering the person, the environment, and the person-environment interaction as we go about conducting research and designing interventions. Neither individuals nor their contexts alone can account for acculturation; rather, it seems to be their reciprocal interactions and mutual shaping of one another that lead to cultural change and cultural maintenance. Likewise, neither individuals nor their contexts alone can account for life outcomes; rather it seems to be their degree of fit and congruence with one another (i.e., person-environment fit) that is associated with decreased stress and improved multidimensional wellbeing.

The results of this study lend support for socio-ecological models of acculturation and help to describe the complex relation between acculturation and wellbeing. The aims of this research were to (a) apply the Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM; Navas et al., 2005) to describe acculturation around the United States, (b) test two socio-ecological models of acculturation – one of cultural change and one of cultural maintenance, and (c) test a person-environment fit model of acculturation and wellbeing. Consequently, in this paper I have characterized Latina/o immigrants' ideal and real acculturation orientations across their central, intermediate, and peripheral life domains in distinct regions of the United States. I then described the ways in which factors at the individual, micro-, and macro-system levels influenced the elements of culture Latina/o immigrants currently ascribed to, valued, and/or practiced (i.e., their 'real' acculturation orientations), both directly and indirectly through intergroup anxiety and psychological sense of community with

Latina/o immigrant and receiving communities. Finally, I discussed how the data demonstrated that the divergence of real acculturation from ideal acculturation negatively impacts Latina/o immigrants' wellbeing, in part due to increased acculturative stress. Below, I unpack each of these findings, describe how they fit into the current literature, and present their potential implications.

Acculturation Across Life Domains in the United States

The results of this study suggest that while, on the whole, acculturation looks very similar for Latina/o immigrants across distinct geographic regions of the United States, Latina/o immigrants desire to – and do – acculturate differently in varying life domains. When analyzed at the level of life domain, acculturation also looks differently across the United States, particularly related to peripheral domain customs.

This research demonstrates that Latina/o immigrants wish to adopt more of their receiving communities' cultures in peripheral (e.g., work, home economics, political and social welfare systems) and intermediate (e.g., social relationships, friendships) life domains than in central (e.g., family relationships, religion, principles, values) life domains. They appear to also adopt more receiving community customs in peripheral domains than in other life domains. The degree to which Latina/o immigrants wish to make – and do make – cultural changes across life domains in the United States aligns well with the ways in which immigrants in Western Europe (where the RAEM model was previously tested) have reported wishing to make – and reportedly have made – cultural changes in their receiving communities (e.g., Navas et al., 2006; Mancini & Bottura, 2014).

Despite adopting more cultural changes in peripheral domains, the data suggest that Latina/o immigrants still experience more difficulties adopting preferred customs in peripheral and intermediate domains than in central life domains. These differences may be attributed to several factors. First, central domain cultural changes are perhaps more easily controlled by individuals. For example, Latina/o immigrants may more easily practice their desired religious customs or adopt their preferred values because they do not necessarily need others to help enact those cultural changes. Second, there are likely less frequent or imposing barriers to central domain cultural changes. In contrast, Latina/o immigrants need others to welcome their cultural changes related to social relationships and employment, for example, as those customs necessarily require the cooperation of others. Third, as Latina/o immigrants desire more changes in peripheral and intermediate domains, they have more changes to make. Thus, even though they make more changes in comparison to central domains, due to desiring more changes, they are not able to achieve them as well.

Moreover, it appears that Latina/o immigrants wish to – and do – maintain their cultures in central life domains more than they do in intermediate life domains, and they wish to maintain their cultures more in intermediate life domains than in peripheral life domains. Despite not desiring to maintain their cultures as much in peripheral and intermediate life domains, Latina/o immigrants still appear to have more challenges maintaining those customs than they do with maintaining their central domain customs. The degree to which Latina/o immigrants wish to maintain their cultures across life domains in the United States also aligns well with the ways in which immigrants have reported wishing to maintain – and have maintained – their

cultural customs in Western Europe (e.g., Navas et al., 2006; Mancini & Bottura, 2014). Similar to difficulties in peripheral and intermediate cultural change, described above, it appears that Latina/o immigrants may have more control in maintaining central domain customs than peripheral or intermediate domain customs because fewer inter- or extra-personal impact their retention.

These findings have important implications for intervention targets. Because Latina/o immigrants appear better able to change and maintain their cultures in preferred ways in central domains, more attention should be given to supporting cultural change and maintenance in intermediate and peripheral life domains. For example, programs that enhance relationships among immigrants and receiving community members should be bolstered along with ones that assist Latina/o immigrants in finding and having opportunities to socialize with one another. Programs that help Latina/o immigrants to utilize their previous degrees and continue their careers in the United States should be explored, in addition to educational and employment opportunities that help Latina/o immigrants to make changes they desire (discussed further below). The results from this study also suggest that it is more challenging for participants from South America and Central America to maintain their preferred customs in their new communities than those from Mexico, likely in part due to fewer immigrants from their countries of origin residing in their new communities. Thus, more attention should likely be given to smaller immigrant groups within communities, with enhanced programming to facilitate preferred cultural maintenance.

While the RAEM has great utility in helping us to understand how people enact culture in different parts of their lives, there are limitations to a domain-based model. First, this study demonstrates that it is challenging to fit certain customs into singular life domains. For example, not unexpectedly, participants in this study described their language use across life domains. Many other cultural elements fit across life domains, such as music, food, and dance, as well as holiday traditions and celebrations. Moreover, certain cultural elements involved central domain customs that were enacted in peripheral or intermediate domains; that is, the domains interacted. Consequently, qualitative methods that allow for a granular analysis of the cultural elements that make up life domains would likely be beneficial. From these analyses, quantitative measures of cultural elements can be developed, and cluster analyses can be conducted to empirically examine how cultural elements cluster to form distinct domains beyond the current theoretical framework. It may be that there are simply some cultural elements that cannot be restricted to particular life domains, and thus perhaps a ‘cross domain’ category that includes customs such as language use should be included in the model. Finally, a domain-based model may call attention to visible and concrete elements of culture (e.g., practices), potentially at the expense of less overt components (e.g., cultural schemas, identifications).

While overall, ideal and real cultural change and maintenance appear quite similar across states, there are multiple differences in peripheral domains across states, suggesting that, again, context may play a larger role in peripheral domain acculturation. Because Arizona and New Mexico are much more similar to each other in terms of demographics and geographic location (as are Virginia and Maryland) and

the level of restrictive policies are a primary similarity between Virginia and Arizona (as well as New Mexico and Maryland), and given the pattern of results, differences may be at least partially attributable to state-level immigration-related policies.

Specifically, it appears more challenging for Latina/o immigrants in Arizona, and to some degree Virginia, to make changes in preferred ways, particularly in peripheral domains. While Arizona and Virginia participants reported taking on more of their receiving communities' customs related to work/employment, home economics, and political, governmental, and social systems, they were less able to take on these customs in preferred ways than participants in New Mexico and Maryland.

Participants in New Mexico showed a stronger desire to – and reportedly did – maintain their customs related to work/employment, home economics, and political, governmental, and social systems than participants in Arizona and Virginia. In this way, Latina/o immigrants in Virginia and Arizona may feel more 'forced' to take on particular customs than participants in New Mexico, and to some extent, Maryland. Given that the divergence of real acculturation from ideal acculturation negatively impacts wellbeing, it may be important to address these policies. While perhaps the policies are useful in encouraging cultural change, they may have the unfortunate side effect of forcing immigrants to make changes they don't desire, harming their wellbeing.

Socio-Ecological Models of Acculturation

Consistent with newer literature, this study demonstrates that people are not always able to enact culture in preferred ways; that is, acculturation is not the result of mere desire. On its own, ideal cultural change only controlled for 15.4% of the

variance in real cultural change. And, while on its own, ideal cultural maintenance controlled for more of the variance in real cultural maintenance (28.0%), it still left nearly three-quarters of the variance in cultural maintenance unexplained. This study is the first to test and find empirical support for a set of individual and contextual variables that influence cultural change and maintenance. These socio-ecological models of cultural change and maintenance were able to explain approximately 45% and 42% of their variance respectively.

Both proposed intermediary factors – psychological sense of community (PSOC) and intergroup anxiety – help explain how individual and contextual factors influence acculturation. While the theoretical literatures on related concepts, such as social cohesion (Sonn & Fisher, 1996) and social identity (Fiske, 2004; Obst & White 2005) have connected PSOC to similar cultural identifications, values, and practices, this is the first study, to my knowledge, to empirically demonstrate that PSOC with both relational and territorial communities is associated with acculturation to those communities. Similarly, although it is easy to extrapolate a relation between intergroup anxiety and acculturation based on theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2014), this is also the first study, to my knowledge, to empirically demonstrate that intergroup anxiety impedes acculturation. In thinking of how to best go about enhancing cultural change and maintenance, it might be best to work to enhance Latina/o immigrants' PSOC with both territorial (e.g., receiving) and relational (e.g., Latina/o immigrant) communities. Below I discuss the numerous ways in which we could influence acculturation by addressing key factors in these models.

First, it is important to note that ideal cultural change and maintenance did help lead to real cultural change and maintenance, in part due to their association with a more positive PSOC with their respective communities. Thus, it seems that the more Latina/o immigrants want to make cultural changes and/or to maintain cultural customs, the more they develop a stronger sense of community with receiving and local Latina/o immigrant communities; this, in turn, helps them to change and maintain their cultures, respectively. Implied in this finding is that it may be possible to impact PSOC and real acculturation through shaping ideal acculturation. Notably, however, it is possible that this relation is bidirectional; that is, PSOC may predict ideal acculturation. In other words, current levels of PSOC may impact how immigrants recall their desired acculturation orientations upon arriving in the United States. Longitudinal research is needed to determine the directionality of this relation.

The results indicate that receiving communities' preferences for cultural change and maintenance also lead Latina/o immigrants to change and maintain their cultures in those ways, partially because they impact their PSOC with the receiving and the local Latina/o immigrant communities, respectively. According to the qualitative data, it seems that many of the receiving community members' preferences for such cultural change and/or maintenance are viewed as positive by Latina/o immigrants – particularly if they align with the change and/or maintenance Latina/o immigrants already desire to make. However, some of the receiving communities' preferences for cultural change and maintenance are apparently unwelcome, seen as demands for compliance. For example, focus group participants reported feeling forced to change how they parented and what language they spoke;

neither of which was always welcome. However, other participants (particularly those who had lived in the United States since childhood) also spoke about how U.S.-born receiving community members desire for them to maintain certain customs – such as speaking Spanish or celebrating in particular ways – made them feel excluded and different.

Consequently, it is important to explore the quality of these preferences for individual immigrants in order to understand their implications. Are immigrants' opinions about the receiving communities' preferences solely attributable to individual differences or can we predict who desires which preferences? Future research is needed to better entangle these relations. For now, practitioners should consider how to aid immigrants to become involved in receiving communities and other relational micro-communities whose members' acculturative preferences match immigrants' own acculturative preferences. Similarly, practitioners should consider how to help receiving communities be more aligned with immigrants' acculturative preferences. These implications echo the intergroup relations outcomes detailed in the Interactive Acculturation Model (Bourhis et al., 1997) and the Concordance Model of Acculturation (Piontkowski, Rohmann, & Florack, 2002).

Relatedly, how positive Latina/o immigrants' contact is with U.S.-born receiving community members and local Latina/o immigrants influences the degree to which they change and maintain their cultures, respectively. Importantly, the data suggest that this relation is explained by the enhanced PSOC immigrants experience when they have positive contact with community members. An extensive body of research has demonstrated that optimal contact occurs when individuals share equal

status, engage in cooperative activities for a common goal, and are supported by policies (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Consequently, communities should identify ways in which positive contact among Latina/o immigrants and receiving community members can be fostered. This study's data suggest that immigrants value both learning about cultures from others and sharing their cultures with others, so programs that foster cross-cultural learning may be especially useful in this goal (e.g., 'language exchange' / 'conversation partners' programs in which participants not only learn a new language, but also teach their language to a partner).

Positive contact with U.S.-born receiving community members also appears to decrease Latina/o immigrants' intergroup anxiety, leading to more cultural change, which aligns well with the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954). Interestingly, while the contact hypothesis suggests that ideal contact for decreased intergroup anxiety must take place between two people of equal status (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Validic, 1998), the data from this research suggest that positive contact also can take place between people of varying status (e.g., boss-employee, teacher-student) and still help to lessen intergroup anxiety. More research is needed to better understand if equal status relationships between Latina/o immigrants and U.S.-born receiving community members may be even more impactful in lessening Latina/o immigrants' intergroup anxiety, as Dovidio et al.'s research and the contact hypothesis might suggest.

The relation between positive contact and cultural change may be bidirectional; immigrants who have made more cultural changes to align with the receiving community may ultimately experience more positive contact with receiving community members. Participants' descriptions of their experiences provided

evidence of a reciprocal relation. For example, participants reported that speaking English allowed them to better interact with receiving community members (i.e., positive contact), to be more confident and less fearful of interactions (i.e., less intergroup anxiety), and to feel like they were an influential part of the community (i.e., enhanced PSOC). Because these data are cross-sectional, it is impossible to empirically determine the direction of relations and thus additional longitudinal research is needed.

The data also lend support for the hypothesis that the more Latina/o immigrants feel their wellbeing and/or culture is threatened by the receiving community, the less likely they are to make cultural changes, due to experiencing more intergroup anxiety and less PSOC with them. Interestingly, the hypothesis that Latina/o immigrants would maintain more of their cultures as a result of this perceived threat was not supported by the data. Based on the qualitative findings, it is possible that perceived threats impact cultural maintenance in complex ways that wash out when tested in the combined quantitative model; certain types of threat might lead to increased or decreased maintenance and this might further depend on the individual. This lack of statistical support also aligns well with bidimensional models of acculturation, which suggest that just because immigrants are less likely to make cultural changes as a result of threat does not imply that they are more likely to maintain their cultures. In this way, perceived threat might impact the development of marginalization (i.e., the renouncement of both the cultures of origin and residence). Marginalization has been associated with poor psychological wellbeing outcomes, including depression, anxiety, and even suicide (Breslau, 2007; Hovey, 2000).

Consequently, addressing perceived threat may be an important area of further research to determine appropriate interventions. Some threats will likely necessitate structural changes. For example, the risk of deportation (a realistic threat) will remain high for unauthorized immigrants until immigration policy changes are made. However, other threats can potentially be dealt with intra- and interpersonally. For example, there is preliminary evidence that psychotherapeutic interventions may help individuals decrease their perception of symbolic threats (i.e., threats to one's culture; Birtel & Crisp, 2015).

In this study, prejudice appears to have the most complex relation with acculturation. As hypothesized, the data demonstrate that the more Latina/o immigrants experience prejudice from receiving community members, the more they maintain their cultures. This is partially explained by Latina/o immigrants developing stronger PSOC with their local Latina/o immigrant communities in the face of prejudice, consistent with previous literature (e.g., Pretty et al., 2006). In the cultural change model, prejudice had a more complicated relation. While, overall, the quantitative data suggest that experiencing more prejudice leads to less cultural change (in part due to increased intergroup anxiety), in the absence of threat, prejudice leads to increased PSOC with receiving community members. While prejudice and perceived threat are significantly correlated (i.e., when Latina/o immigrants experience prejudice they are also more likely to feel threatened by the receiving community and vice versa) it also appears that some Latina/o immigrants may not connect prejudice with perceived threat. In those cases, Latina/o immigrants may be able to find M-PSOC (Brotsky, Loomis, & Marx, 2002) with receiving sub-

communities that do not engage in prejudice and discrimination by separating the larger local receiving community into smaller relational and territorial communities. Consequently, while working to decrease receiving community members' prejudices, it is likely important to simultaneously help Latina/o immigrants to find sub-communities in which they can develop M-PSOC.

A reciprocal relation between PSOC and prejudice and discrimination may explain the counterintuitive relation as well. For example, Latina/o immigrants who have formed a stronger sense of community with their receiving communities may experience more prejudice and discrimination because they have more opportunity to witness it. In other words, Latina/o immigrants who remain in 'ethnic enclaves' and never form a PSOC with the larger receiving community may experience less prejudice and discrimination because they remain separated from the community. Additional research is needed to examine these possibilities.

Immigration-related policies also appeared to play a complex role in acculturation. Contrary to what was hypothesized, the quantitative data suggest that Latina/o immigrants living in states with more restrictive immigration-related public policies make more cultural changes; however, they do not appear to be doing so in preferred ways. While the qualitative data do not fully align with the quantitative model – as participants did share examples of how restrictive policies kept them from cultural change – the qualitative data also present some new hypotheses as to why the policies considered in this study are associated with overall cultural change in the quantitative model.

First, some restrictive immigration-related policies may force Latina/o immigrants (or at the very least feel forced) to make particular cultural changes even when they do not desire them. For example, E-verify policies were cited as reasons why participants experienced changes in their work customs. Relatedly, immigration status enforcement policies were cited as reasons why participants changed how they interacted in their receiving communities – taking on certain U.S. customs to ‘not cause any trouble’. Second, some immigration-related policies may not be enacted at all, or enacted in unintended ways. For example, certain supportive policies – such as in-state tuition and higher education funding for unauthorized immigrants who have lived in the state for a certain period of time – were reportedly not always implemented despite being the law. Clearly, if they are not implemented, these supportive higher education policies cannot help Latina/o immigrants to make the cultural changes that the policies are intended (or at least assumed) to promote. On the other hand, certain restrictive policies – such as driving restrictions for unauthorized immigrants – were also not always enforced by police officers. Although the policies seem restrictive, if not implemented, they do not restrict immigrants from making cultural changes. Third, (not surprisingly) there is great confusion about what policies do and do not exist due to the turbulent nature of policy enactment at the state and local levels. Indeed, a number of state policies changed from dissertation proposal to defense (only a 1.5-year period). Consequently, Latina/o immigrants’ *beliefs* about the restrictiveness of state and local laws may play a more impactful role in the degree to which the policies lead to cultural change. More research is needed to flesh out and test these hypotheses.

Relatedly, the quantitative data do not support a relation between restrictive state-level immigration-related policies and cultural maintenance. The qualitative data suggest that national immigration policies may more strongly impede Latina/o immigrants' abilities to maintain their cultures than any state-level policies. Findings also indicate that policies not directly related to immigration – such as child and elder care laws – may actually play a more impactful role in Latina/o immigrants' cultural maintenance. Thus, it seems important to consider how policies that may not be related to immigration, but play a role in both private and public life, influence acculturation.

While the a priori socio-ecological models of acculturation developed from the literature explained nearly half of the variance in both cultural change and maintenance in this study, just over half of their variance remains unexplained. The qualitative findings suggest that personal characteristics – such as one's mindset and open-mindedness, willingness to 'work' on enacting culture, language skills, and socioeconomic status – may influence cultural change and maintenance. Moreover, a set of community resources – ranging from educational services to bilingual media, social services to support groups, grocery stores to nightlife, transportation to technology – further appear to help Latina/o immigrants change and maintain their cultures in preferred ways. Resources that came both from receiving community members, such as ESL classes, and ones that came from Latina/o immigrants, such as restaurants, were seen as equally valuable. Oftentimes, these resources do involve both immigrants and receiving community members. For example, '*Charlas*' in Baltimore is a peer support group for Latina/o immigrants that is financially

supported by and housed in Johns Hopkins's Centro SOL program. The 'Latino Leadership Group' in Richmond is a peer support group that is financially supported by and housed in the Sacred Heart Center. Aligned with mutual support / aid societies that have been around in this country since the early twentieth century, it appears that providing resources and a more formal structure to naturally occurring peer support (i.e., from other Latina/o immigrants) can help individuals to make the changes they desire (Rappaport, 1987).

While these resources were reported by some to be readily available, knowledge of their existence or how to access them was not apparent to many study participants across sites, likely impeding their impact. Although this is a common issue for many community resources, both Latina/o immigrants and receiving community members that provide acculturative resources likely need to continue to find better ways of reaching their target clients and consumers. Qualitative data suggest that finding resources is especially challenging for recently arrived immigrants, so identifying points of contact with the newest community members may be most useful. For authorized immigrants, this could take the form of providing information about the receiving community's resources when an immigrant applies for a visa. Forming and maintaining relationships with key stakeholders and respected community leaders, being situated in community settings to increase visibility, and making sure to consider word-of-mouth in any outreach campaigns may also be especially important, given that many participants found out about resources through other Latina/o immigrants.

In sum, numerous individual and contextual factors appear to influence Latina/o immigrants' cultural change and maintenance in the United States. While the aforementioned models and the relations between factors are complex and in need of future research, the models also point to numerous change points. It may thus be possible to help Latina/o immigrants acculturate in ways that they desire through shaping some aspects of their experiences in their new communities.

Person-Environment Fit Model of Acculturation and Wellbeing

Finally, this research demonstrates the importance of person-environment fit in the wellbeing of Latina/o immigrants. In this study, the degree to which Latina/o immigrants were able to enact culture in desired ways and their related acculturative stress accounted for just over 20% of the variance in their self-reported wellbeing in the quantitative model. The qualitative findings further illustrate the importance of being able to achieve one's ideal acculturation orientation. When Latina/o immigrants are able to enact cultural customs in ideal ways – in part explained by the aforementioned socio-ecological factors – the better their self-reported wellbeing, partially due to experiencing less acculturative stress because their communities better support their desires (i.e., person-environment fit). Wellbeing is associated with an array of important outcomes for individuals and their communities at large – better mental and physical health, fewer physical and mental health problems, more meaningful relationships, better work productivity, fewer days missed of work, longer lives, lower risk of suicide (Keyes, 2005, 2007; Keyes et al., 2012; Keyes, Dhingra, & Simoes, 2010; Keyes & Grzywacz, 2005; Keyes & Simoes, 2012). And, Latina/o immigrants make up a substantial portion of our country (United States Census

Bureau, 2010). Thus, improving Latina/o immigrants' abilities to acculturate in preferred ways may be important in enhancing the wellness of our nation.

Moreover, the results of this study suggest that the degree to which Latina/o immigrants are unable to make preferred cultural changes decreases their wellbeing, partially due to increased acculturative stress related to the receiving community. Similarly, the degree to which they are unable to maintain their cultures in preferred ways also decreases their wellbeing, but surprisingly not through acculturative stress related to the Latina/o immigrant community. It is hypothesized that this may be due to a floor effect, and that this type of acculturative stress might actually be more apparent in 1.5 and 2nd generation immigrants than 1st generation immigrants. Nonetheless, it is important to note that the direction of the relation between Latina/o immigrant community-related acculturative stress and wellbeing is positive. Thus, while not statistically significant, there is some trending support for this type of acculturative stress paradoxically *increasing* wellbeing, rather than negatively impacting it (as was predicted). This type of acculturative stress might actually lead to growth and thus help improve wellbeing. Due to the limited quantitative evidence in this study and lack of empirical evidence in the field, this relation should still be treated with extreme caution. Future research is needed to determine whether this relation exists before its implications are delineated.

Limitations

There are a number of limitations in this study. First, while the mixed methods study design allowed a more comprehensive account of the phenomena, it was limited in its ability to determine causation. The study sought to understand Latina/o

immigrants' experiences in the world, rather than manipulating them within a laboratory; consequently, temporal precedence could not be established and any theorized 'causes' that were supported by the data are only empirically correlational. Moreover, while this study's methods presented many advantages, including the in-depth analysis and interpretative presentation of data, all of these narratives are socio-culturally situated representations of experiences, rather than representations of the phenomena themselves (Dyson & Genishi, 2005; Stake, 1995). The quantitative aspects of this study presented specific disadvantages, such as the lack of explanation participants could give for each of their responses, potentially influencing the validity and confidence in the results. A mixed methods approach was utilized so that each method helped to compensate for the other's weaknesses, providing a better account of the phenomena under study.

The sampling method also had its limitations. Rather than using random selection, this study used stratified snowball sampling to locate the participants. This was chosen because random sampling would have presented numerous obstacles, especially for recruiting unauthorized immigrants. Because of the sampling method, representativeness of the sample cannot be guaranteed and it is possible that initial participants recruited subsequent participants who share similar characteristics and traits to them. To address this limitation, participants were recruited in more than just snowball sampling. They were recruited from a variety of locations – and not just those where Latina/o immigrants were thought to congregate – and participants were directed to recruit others who had disparate experiences. However, more women than men chose to participate in the project and thus are somewhat overrepresented (see

[Table 9](#)). Latina/o immigrants are a diverse group and the countries of origin that the group encompasses varied across the sites. Consequently, while the participants matched the demographics of their respective sites, there were marked differences across sites. Participants ‘opted in’ to the focus groups following the survey; thus, it is possible those who had the strongest feelings about the topics, one way or the other, chose to participate in the focus groups. Notably, focus groups in Arizona were smaller than other sites, perhaps due to restrictive immigration policies and/or an ‘anti-immigrant’ climate that may have caused fear of participating. While the groups were held at an immigrants’ rights organization in anticipation of this, the turnout was depressed by cancellations and no-shows. We did have enough participants to hold each group, however, and every discussion was fruitful.

Efforts were also made to recruit a wide array of participants with unique and shared experiences so that the sample better reflected the diversity of Latina/o immigrants living in the United States. To help improve comparisons, however, participants were recruited from similar sites (metropolitan areas of large cities) within each state. Due to this and other aforementioned sampling limitations, it is not possible to generalize these findings as typical of all Latina/o immigrants in Albuquerque, Baltimore, Richmond, and Phoenix, let alone across their respective states or the country as a whole. Nonetheless, the experiences of these participants, grounded in their contexts, are representative of their own lived experiences. As such, their experiences represent real variability and validity. Future research is necessary to see if theory gleaned from this study holds true for other Latina/o immigrants living in the United States.

Although the best methods and measures available for this study were selected for data collection, they were not ideal. As is true of all self-report measures, the scales and their scores were approximations of the constructs under study and not the constructs themselves. Many of the constructs this research sought to capture existed at higher ecological levels but were measured at the individual level, and thus reflect the individual's perception and/or experience of those macrosystem, mesosystem, and microsystem constructs rather than the construct themselves. The I COPPE (used to measure wellbeing), was used for the first time with a Latina/o immigrant population and translated into Spanish for the purposes of this study. Despite strong psychometrics in this study, pilot-testing, back translations, and the success of this measure in other populations, it is possible that the I COPPE did not measure wellbeing as well in this population as in others. On two subscales – Spanish Competency Pressures and Pressure Against Acculturation – of the MASI (used to measure acculturative stress related to the Latina/o immigrant community) participants had very low scores, likely creating a floor effect.

Moreover, my positionality and knowledge, and that of my research assistants, might have influenced individuals' responses and behaviors during the focus groups and in the surveys, as the participants, from knowing who we were, likely made assumptions about our purpose. Participants might have also altered their responses in order to appear more socially desirable, particularly in the focus groups. A few approaches were taken to minimize the possibility of data alteration. First, a mixed research team consisting of both bilingual non-immigrants and bilingual 1st and 2nd generation Latina/o immigrants was used to try to balance insider and outsider

perspectives and participants' responses. At least one 1st generation Latina/o immigrant research assistant was present at every focus group. Second, a waiver of written consent was requested and granted so that participants could participate anonymously in either aspect of the project (i.e., surveys, focus groups). Third, the research team was trained in community research and qualitative research methods in general, and recruiting and conducting research with Latina/o immigrants and unauthorized immigrants in particular. Research team members partnered with a diverse set of community organizations to recruit participants, focus groups were held in secure and familiar locations, and time was spent building rapport and answering questions about the project prior to survey administration. Research team members were trained to provide supportive, non-evaluative feedback so as to not encourage or discourage particular responses.

Participants were required to recall their past perspectives in order to report on their 'ideal' acculturation preferences when they first came to the United States. Their perceptions might not have been completely accurate, perhaps a result of recall/response bias (i.e., an error caused by differences in the accuracy/completeness of participants' recollections). Notably, the longer participants had resided in the United States, the more they remembered desiring to make cultural changes. While it is possible that immigrants two decades ago desired to make more cultural changes than immigrants who immigrated in the past couple of years (i.e., a cohort effect), this is also a sign that recall/response bias may have played a role in participants' responses. For example, their memories might not be as clear, given the amount of time that had passed. Or, their memories might have been impacted by the

recognition of changes that they ultimately needed to make to live the lives they wanted, and so in hindsight they believed they desired those changes at the time. In the focus groups, lead-up prompts and questions were given to help participants recall their immigration experiences and first year in the United States in order to help them more accurately report on their acculturation preferences at the time of immigration. For example, before being asked about the cultural changes they desired to make, participants were prompted, “To begin, I would like you to think back to when you first came to the United States. Think about why you came, who you came with, and what you thought life would be like for you...” (see [Appendix E](#) and [Appendix F](#) for additional details).

Focus groups also have their limitations. While a guided discussion provided a very useful method of studying these concepts, it is possible that participants’ responses were impacted by others’ and divergent viewpoints were stifled (e.g., groupthink, social desirability bias). As previously mentioned, at least one non-immigrant (myself) and one 1st generation Latina/o immigrant were present at each focus group. Participants were told that there were no right or wrong answers and all questions asked were open-ended, aside from clarifying questions. I provided only non-evaluative feedback (e.g., “thank you for sharing that story”, “it sounds like...”), and directly queried for divergent viewpoints and experiences (e.g., “has anyone had a different experience?” “I’d like to hear if anyone has a different viewpoint”). Time was given for each participant to speak at the beginning and end of every group, and less talkative participants were directly asked if they wished to share their stories and perspectives. Participants were also provided with paper to write any thoughts they

did not wish to share aloud, and were asked at the end of the group if there was anything that should have been asked that wasn't and if they had anything else they wished to share. Focus group participants gave every indication that they were open and forthcoming in their responses, providing both positive and negative experiences and both agreeing and disagreeing with each other.

There are also analytic limitations. Regarding the quantitative modeling, path analysis is only able to support or fail to support the plausibility of the specified hypotheses. Given that multiple bodies of literature were coalesced to create what appear to be the first contextual models of acculturation, it is possible that other path models would better explain this data. Because quantitative data collection was collected a priori, the path analyses could also not take into account emergent themes that arose in the focus groups if quantitative data had not been collected on that theme.

Regarding the qualitative analyses, coding stayed close to the data in order to allow for new themes to emerge, but was notably impacted by the sensitizing concepts under study (i.e., the research that informed the development of this study, my knowledge of extant literature; Blumer, 1969). A team approach was taken to code and analyze the data. Though a team approach was preferred so that team members brought their own experiences and expertise to the analyses (rather than it being only my own perspectives and expertise shaping the analyses), the analyses were still potentially influenced by who conducted them. Coding the data independently and discussing convergence and divergence as a team, along with seeking feedback on preliminary findings from key informants and community

members, appeared to allow for the development of richer and better-vetted themes. While a saturation of themes was reached in this study, it is possible that other themes may arise in other settings with different research teams and different participants. Additional data collection and analyses may also have uncovered additional themes. More research is needed to assess the transferability of these themes. Finally, focus group data were near universally collected in Spanish, and thus transcribed and analyzed in Spanish, but translated into English for the purpose of this document. While great care was taken to ensure that translations stayed as close to the original text and meaning as possible, some degree of loss of the tenor and nuance is unavoidable. Readers of Spanish are encouraged to refer to [Appendix N](#) to see the data in their unaltered form.

Finally, with more than 200 definitions of culture in extant literature (Lonner, 1994), the way in which I broadly defined culture in this study – as the identifications, practices, and values held by people, related to relational, local, and/or national cultures – and the way in which I explored cultural customs across life domains may not reflect narrower definitions. Although the line between cultural customs and other aspects of life is thin, I sought to accurately present aspects of culture as perceived and explained by participants.

In spite of these limitations, this study has multiple strengths. Namely, this is the first study outside of Western Europe to apply the Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM; Navas et al., 2005). In this way, it is the first to describe ‘real’ and ‘ideal’ acculturation orientations across central, intermediate, and peripheral domains among Latina/o immigrants in four locations in the United States.

It is also one of the first studies to attempt to develop a model of Latina/o immigrant acculturation and wellbeing within a person-environment fit framework. In this way, I believe it is the first research project in the United States to directly compare experiences of Latina/o immigrants across contexts to explain their acculturation and wellbeing. Finally, the multiple methods used to conduct this study are a primary strength. Mixed methods in the study aid in the development of a more comprehensive account of acculturation and wellbeing, better explain the findings, and better illustrate the findings in a way that makes them more understandable, useful, and applicable to a wider audience. In short, the primary strength of qualitative methods (a rich, contextual understanding) has been combined with a major strength of quantitative research (statistically explaining relations among variables that, due to a larger sample, might be more generalizable to the broader population). In this way, this study's methods have helped to enhance our understanding of Latina/o immigrants' experiences, acculturation, and wellbeing across diverse sites, and increase confidence in this understanding.

Future Directions

Given that the research questions asked and answered through this study are new in the field, each of the conclusions and their implications needs to be furthered examined through rigorous mixed methods research. Below, I touch on some of the implications that I believe are especially in need of future study.

This is the first study, to my knowledge, to hypothesize and test contextual models of acculturation, including both cultural change and maintenance. While this study sets important groundwork in the development of theories of acculturation by

considering cultural change and maintenance across all domains of life, this study also revealed that ideal and real cultural change and maintenance can differ by life domain. Consequently, it will be important to examine whether contextual models of cultural change and maintenance differ across life domains (e.g., models of central, intermediate, and peripheral domain cultural change and maintenance).

Next, a number of factors implicated in cultural change and maintenance especially need further attention:

Notably, this study made the assumption that all immigrants who would identify with the socio-cultural-ethnic terms, ‘Latina/o’, ‘Hispanic’, and/or ‘Chicana/o’, would identify as part of that group of immigrants, and thus – based on the assumptions of intergroup anxiety – could not experience intergroup anxiety with them. However, the focus group discussions made it clear that some participants (e.g., Choclo, the Peru-born man living in Phoenix) had renounced their membership as ‘Latina/o, Hispanic, and/or Chicana/o immigrants’ and did experience anxiety when imagining needing to or actually interacting with Latina/o, Hispanic, and/or Chicana/o immigrants. Thus, it might be useful to measure intergroup anxiety related to Latina/o immigrants and test if it helps to explain cultural maintenance in the ways that intergroup anxiety related to receiving community members helps to explain cultural change.

This study also revealed that while the receiving community’s apparent preferences for cultural change and maintenance did impact the degree to which Latina/o immigrants changed and maintained their cultural customs, Latina/o immigrants viewed the preferences in mixed ways. At times, these preferences were

viewed as open invitations for Latina/o immigrants to acculturate in ways they desired. However, at other times, these preferences were viewed as demands for compliance in certain cultural customs that Latina/o immigrants did not desire. It seems that it may be the alignment between the receiving community's preferences and their own ideal acculturation that predicted Latina/o immigrants' views of those preferences. More research is needed to distinguish between which of the receiving communities' preferences lead to desired cultural change and maintenance and which require acculturation in undesired ways.

This study also found evidence that public policies impact Latina/o immigrants' acculturation in complex ways. While overall immigrants living in states with restrictive immigration-related public policies appear to adopt more cultural customs of their receiving communities, the mechanism by which these policies impact cultural change is unclear. Moreover, several additional factors (e.g., implementation and knowledge of policies) seem to impact this relation. While these policies do not appear to impact cultural maintenance, additional immigration policies at the national level, along with policies not directly linked to immigration, seem to impede cultural maintenance. Thus, the complicated relation between public policies and acculturation deserves further investigation.

This study also discovered a complex relation between prejudice, sense of community, and cultural change. Whereas a greater level of prejudice, overall, was related to a poorer sense of community with the receiving community and less cultural change, when perceived threat was accounted for, prejudice was associated

with a stronger sense of community with the receiving community. More research is needed to understand the mechanism behind this relation.

Regarding the relation between ideal-to-real acculturation discrepancies and wellbeing, this research found support for the hypothesis that the further Latina/o immigrants are from enacting culture in preferred ways, the poorer their wellbeing. However, the quantitative models could only examine the quantity and degree of differences rather than their quality. In the focus groups, it became apparent that not being able to enact certain customs in preferred ways was far more distressing to participants than not being able to enact other customs. Future research should consider the quality of these differences rather than their sheer quantity or degree of difference, as certain acculturation discrepancies may be more impactful than others.

Relatedly, research is needed to better understand the role acculturative stress related to the Latina/o immigrant community plays in wellbeing. Although not statistically significant, there was some trending support for this type of acculturative stress paradoxically increasing wellbeing, rather than negatively impacting it. Future research is needed to determine whether this relation indeed exists to determine the implications of such a revelation.

Finally, in order to better develop a contextual model of acculturation, this study should be replicated in different contexts. For example, sites with diverse immigration policies, population densities, histories of immigration, differing immigrant populations, and proportions of immigrants to the U.S.-born population would allow for further development and testing of a socio-ecological model of acculturation. Future research should explore ways of measuring constructs at the

levels in which they exist rather than relying on individual's self-reported perceptions of and experiences with the constructs. Longitudinal designs – in which ideal cultural change and maintenance are measured at time of immigration or shortly thereafter and real cultural change, along with the factors tested in the quantitative models and newly identified from the qualitative data, are measured over time – should be invoked in order to better understand changes in acculturation over time.

Concluding Remarks

This study is the first of its kind to examine real and ideal acculturation across life domains (as outlined by the RAEM; Navas et al., 2005) in the United States. It begins to answer two important questions not yet answered by the model: (1) *Why* would ideal acculturation differ from real acculturation? and (2) *What impact* does the divergence of real acculturation from ideal acculturation have on wellbeing? In considering the results of this study, it is important to remember that they represent a moment in time. Acculturation is a process – something requiring continual navigation – and not a static outcome, aligned with Chirkov's (2009) description of acculturation. Chiquita in Maryland put it this way: *"I thought it would be easy, but it has been really painful. ... It has cost me a lot to adapt to here. Even though I am still not accustomed [to this culture], I do want to be able to move forward. I want to stay here and value myself for me and have this impetus to keep trying."*^{clxxviii} Given that the process is continually negotiated, there are multiple ways in which experiences can be shaped over time in order to support ideal acculturation.

This research found support for socio-ecological models of cultural change and maintenance that explained real acculturation better than mere desire. While

numerous contextual factors influenced both cultural change and maintenance, it is important to remember that Latina/o immigrants were always active participants in the acculturation process, with their personal characteristics and goals interacting with their environments to influence their cultural change and maintenance. And, as they became members of their receiving communities, they, in turn, worked to shape their communities. Speaking about the Latina/o immigrant community in Albuquerque, Mantequilla contended:

“We have succeeded because we have made our own businesses. Now there are street signs in Spanish and before there were not even translators in hospitals. Many have made the decision to go to school. We have taken ESL courses, and we have tried to apply what we know to share it with others here. I like Albuquerque a lot because we do not see ourselves as strangers; we see each other as family. We share music, painting, art. We talk about politics and sports. We have suffered a lot too because we have had politicians who have treated us poorly ... But let's not forget how important we are together in the political struggle. ... We have changed all that. We have created leaders and activists for immigrant rights. And I think we have a lot of power when we unite.”^{clxxix}

Indeed, many participants were able to change and maintain their cultures in ideal ways as they fit their environments well, promoting their wellbeing. Rebeca in Virginia concluded:

“I did not know what I was going to face here. I did not speak English, I knew nothing. For us and for me personally it has been a blessing ... because my daughters have grown peacefully in this country. ... They have had many opportunities. We are well and I am happy here. ... The least I can do for this country is to stay and contribute to its growth also as part of the society. ... I am also a part of here and I feel this sense of belonging – I belong here and I feel useful, I feel active, I feel happy.”^{clxxx}

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Appendix A: State-level Immigration-related Policies (SIP) in 2015

Policy	New Mexico	Arizona	Maryland	Virginia
Immigration Status Inquiry/Enforcement				
In Community	Moderately Restrictive Requires law enforcement to report arrestees who cannot prove legal residence to federal immigration authorities	Severely Restrictive Requires law enforcement to check immigration status when there is suspicion that a person is unlawfully present in the U.S.	Not Restrictive No state legislation exists.	Severely Restrictive Allows law enforcement to check the immigration status of anyone they stop for any reason (without arrest); runs all arrestees through a federal database to check for their immigration status
In custody	Moderately Restrictive Requires State Department of Corrections to cooperate with federal authorities to enforce immigration law; some counties restrict cooperation to serious charges (e.g., felonies)	Severely Restrictive Requires the state Department of Corrections to cooperate directly with federal authorities to enforce immigration law	Minimally Restrictive The governor and nine county sheriffs only honor requests by ICE to hold immigrants for deportation when charged with a felony, three misdemeanors, or a 'serious' misdemeanor	Severely Restrictive Requires the state Department of Corrections to cooperate directly with federal authorities to enforce immigration law
Employment				
Employers	Not Restrictive No state legislation exists	Severely Restrictive Prohibits employers from knowingly employing unauthorized workers (penalties include permanent loss of business licensure)	Not Restrictive No state legislation exists	Not Restrictive No state legislation exists
E-Verify	Not Restrictive No state requirement exists	Severely Restrictive Requires that all employers use E-Verify	Not Restrictive No state requirement exists	Moderately Restrictive Requires that all state agencies use E-Verify
Employees	Not Restrictive No state legislation exists	Severely Restrictive Criminalizes unauthorized immigrants' application or solicitation for work	Not Restrictive No state legislation exists	Not Restrictive No state legislation exists

Policy	New Mexico	Arizona	Maryland	Virginia
Driver's License / State Identification				
	Not Restrictive Allows unauthorized immigrants to get a state driver's license or state ID	Severely Restrictive Does not issue to unauthorized immigrants; requires applicants to provide original state ID card for proof of legal residence in the U.S.	Minimally Restrictive Allows unauthorized immigrants to get a state driver's license or state ID with proof of age and identity; proof of Maryland income tax filing for preceding 2 years; proof of Maryland residency. An appointment is required.	Severely Restrictive Does not issue to unauthorized immigrants; requires applicants to provide documents establishing U.S. citizenship or legal residence
Higher Education				
Enrollment	Not Restrictive No laws prohibit unauthorized immigrants	Not Restrictive No laws prohibit unauthorized immigrants	Not Restrictive No laws prohibit unauthorized immigrants	Not Restrictive No laws prohibit unauthorized immigrants
Tuition	Not Restrictive Allows unauthorized immigrants to pay in-state tuition	Severely Restrictive Prohibits state schools from offering in-state tuition to unauthorized immigrants	Not Restrictive Allows unauthorized immigrants to pay in-state tuition	Minimally Restrictive Neither allows for nor explicitly prohibits unauthorized immigrants from paying in-state tuition; allows DACA recipients to pay in-state tuition
Aid	Not Restrictive Provides state financial aid to DACA recipients	Severely Restrictive No state aid is available to DACA recipients	Severely Restrictive No state aid is available to DACA recipients	Severely Restrictive No state aid is available to DACA recipients
Voter Identification				
	Not Restrictive No state-mandated voter identification requirement exists.	Severely Restrictive Requires voters to present a photo ID or two non-photo forms of identification	Not Restrictive No state-mandated voter identification requirement exists.	Moderately Restrictive Requires voters to present a non-photo form of identification

Policy	New Mexico	Arizona	Maryland	Virginia
Housing	Not Restrictive No state law exists	Minimally Restrictive No state laws ban renting to unauthorized immigrants, but there are a few local level ordinances	Not Restrictive No state law exists	Not Restrictive No state law exists
Public Benefits				
Program Exists	Minimally Restrictive Has a state-level program that provides cash assistance to lawfully present poor immigrant families;	Minimally Restrictive Has a state-level program that provides cash assistance to lawfully present poor immigrant families.	Minimally Restrictive Has a state-level program that provides cash assistance to lawfully present poor immigrant families	Severely Restrictive No program exists.
Requirements for Enrollment	Minimally Restrictive Enrollment in programs requires documentation of lawful status; Documentation not checked through SAVE.	Severely Restrictive Requires immigrants to sign a statement saying they are legally present and checks their immigration status with SAVE; if found to be lying, they can be prosecuted.	Minimally Restrictive Enrollment in programs requires documentation of lawful status; Documentation not checked through SAVE.	Severely Restrictive Requires immigrants to sign a statement saying they are legally present and checks their immigration status with SAVE; if found to be lying, they can be prosecuted.

Note: Levels of restriction are in relation to federal policy and represent restriction above and beyond federal policy.

Appendix B: Community Partners

Site	Community Partner	Description of Partner	Extent of Involvement
Arizona	AIRS AZ (formerly Refugee and Immigrant Relief Center)	The agency provides social, economic and educational services to refugees in Maricopa County. The programs "provide recently arrived refugees and legal immigrants with housing, food and clothing, and translation as needed, as well as English language instruction, job training, employment assistance, immigration and other referral services."	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach and partnering organizations.
Arizona	ASU Programs of Study (Transborder Studies, Language Studies, Chicano Studies)	These are all undergraduate and graduate programs at Arizona State University that attract many Latina/o immigrants as students, faculty, and staff.	Organization advertised the project through emails and/or flyers; research team members shared information about the project with students and professors in the departments.
Arizona	ASU Student Organizations (Including Organization de la Lengua Espanola, Sigma Delta Pi, SILC Attachés, SPAGrad, Los Diablos)	These are all undergraduate and graduate student organizations at Arizona State University that attract many Latina/o immigrant members.	Organization advertised the project through flyers and/or emails; in some cases, research team members shared information about the project at organization meetings.
Arizona	AZ Workers' Rights Center {AIAWJ}	AIAWJ "challenges workplace injustice by collaborating with, educating, and mobilizing working people, providing direct services and assistance, developing leadership, and advocating for just labor policy and practice. Through strategic collaborative efforts, [they] strive to develop political consciousness and civic engagement for a worker friendly Arizona."	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach.
Arizona	Chicanos Por La Causa (CPLC)	CPLC assists "families in Southwest Arizona understand the immigration laws and their rights under current laws." In addition to legal services, they work in the areas of economic development, education, social services, housing development, and community development.	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach; organization advertised the project through flyers and emails; organization shared information about the project at community meetings and invited people to participate.

Arizona	DREAMzone	DREAMzone is a support network for undocumented students in higher education in the Phoenix area.	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach; organization advertised the project through flyers.
Arizona	Food City Tamale Festival	"The two-day event celebrates the Mexican culinary tradition of making tamales in a casual and free setting." The festival is held annually and attracts many Latina/o immigrants as event go-ers and vendors.	Research team members shared information about the project at the festival and interested people could participate at the festival or take information to complete the survey at home.
Arizona	Friendly House	They are a multi-service organization, with wide ranging programs. Their "efforts have resulted in building resilient communities that are helping to spur economic development, stabilize neighborhoods and revitalize [their] city."	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach and partnering organizations.
Arizona	Fuente Missions	Fuente Missions aims to "serve and inform the immigrant community in Arizona about matters of immigration and immigrants' rights." They provide information and referrals from their office.	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach; advertised the project through flyers; research team members shared information about the project with clients and invited them to participate in the survey while in the waiting room.
Arizona	Meet-Up Groups (AZ Latino Professionals, Amigos y Amigas en Phoenix, Latinas en Phoenix)	Meet-ups are groups of people organized around certain topics or activities.	Organizations advertised the project through emails and posts, inviting participants to participate in the online survey.
Arizona	Puente Arizona	Puente is a grassroots migrant justice organization. They "develop, educate, and empower migrant communities to protect and defend [their] families and ourselves. ... [They] build a community of inclusion and resistance with [their] programs."	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach and advertised the project through flyers; research team members shared information about the project during meetings and invited members to participate in person or at home via the paper or online surveys; organization hosted three focus groups.

Arizona	Si Se Puede	The foundation "primarily serves low-income, predominately minority communities throughout the Cities of Chandler and Phoenix. The students who participate in its programs are children and young adults between the ages of 6 to 18, who attend Title 1 schools and reside in at-risk neighborhoods within the Cities of Chandler and Phoenix. SSP values diversity and makes all its programs available to all residents in the communities it serves."	Research team members shared information about the project during soccer tournaments; invited people to participate in person or at home via online surveys.
Arizona	St. Vincent de Paul (SVdP)	SVdP is "dedicated to feeding, clothing, housing and healing individuals and families in our community who have nowhere else to turn for help. As important, SVdP provides meaningful opportunities for volunteers to serve their neighbors in need with love and compassion."	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach events.
Arizona	Wesley Community Center	The community center "programs, services, and activities for primarily Hispanic families through its Family/Youth Services and the Amigos Center in west Phoenix." The community center also provides after-school/summer programs; fitness, nutrition, sewing, and gardening classes; and emergency food assistance.	Organization advertised the project through flyers; research team members shared information about the project during the organization's events and ESL classes.
Arizona	World Hunger Education, Advocacy & Training (WHEAT)	WHEAT "educates, advocates, motivates and empowers individuals to action in the fight against hunger." They aim to "increase the understanding, sensitivity and opportunity for change in the fight against hunger amongst groups and individuals [and]encourage active participation by these individuals in the legislative process, direct service and funding support."	Organization advertised the project through flyers.
Maryland	Adelante Familia	Adelante Familia is "a bilingual program at the House of Ruth Maryland dedicated to the eradication of intimate partner violence in the Latino community." They serve Spanish-speaking immigrants in Baltimore and do outreach and treatment in a predominantly Latina/o immigrant neighborhood.	Organization advertised the project through flyers; facilitator shared information about the project after support groups; organization kept paper surveys in the waiting room with the secretary for people to complete if interested; organization hosted one focus group.

Maryland	CASA de Maryland	CASA de Maryland is an organization that aims to "create a more just society by building power and improving the quality of life in low-income immigrant communities."	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach and partnering organizations.
Maryland	Center for Salud/Health and Opportunities for Latinos (Centro SOL)	Centro SOL's mission "is to promote equity in health and opportunity for Latinos by advancing clinical care, research, education, and advocacy at Johns Hopkins and beyond in active partnership with our Latino neighbors." They provide a variety of services, including support groups, youth programs, and wellness activities.	Research team members shared information about the project after support groups and interested members could take the survey online or take paper surveys home to complete; research team members also shared information about the project at a sponsored community event and interested people could take the survey at the event.
Maryland	Centro de la Comunidad	Centro's vision is "to promote the continued successful participation of the Hispanic community in the social, economic, and political life of the greater Baltimore Metropolitan region." They provide referrals for a variety of issues, including employment, education, ESL classes, and physical and behavioral health care services.	Organization advertised the project through flyers; research team members were present in the office to share information about the project to people who were waiting for appointments and invite them to participate at the center or at home; organization hosted two focus groups.
Maryland	Community English Language Services & Basic Skills Classes at Baltimore City Community College (BCCC)	This program, through BCCC, offers "a variety of English as a Second Language curricula to meet the diverse language needs of both Maryland residents and international students. Services include English language instruction for immigrants and international students seeking preparation for additional academic study; basic English language skills development for immigrants, refugees, and asylees; specialized programs for refugees and asylees; and citizenship preparation."	Research team members shared information about the project with ESL students and students could participate in the survey during class or at home.
Maryland	Creative Alliance	The Creative Alliance "builds communities by bringing together artists and audiences from diverse backgrounds to experience spectacular arts and education programs and engage in the creative process." They "provide support to area artists, promote Baltimore as a center for	Organization advertised the project through flyers; research team members shared information about the project at varied community events and interested people could

		creative production, act as a positive force in our community, and advocate for cultural expression rooted in a sense of place." They host a variety of events, some of which are catered towards the Latina/o immigrant community and held in Spanish.	participate in-person or take information to complete the survey at home.
Maryland	Education Based Latino Outreach (EBLO)	EBLO is an education and cultural organization that serves Latina/o immigrants through English and Spanish classes, after-school and Saturday school programs, and cultural activities.	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach; organization advertised the project through flyers; research team members shared information about the project with parents of students enrolled in after-school and Saturday school programs and parents could complete surveys in person or at home.
Maryland	Esperanza Center	Religiously-affiliated organization which provides a variety of services and referrals, including ESL classes, healthcare, and low-cost immigration legal services.	Organization advertised the project through flyers; research team members shared information about the project in ESL classes and students could opt to participate after class; research team members also were present in the office to share information about the project before and after appointments.
Maryland	Featherstone Foundation	The foundation aims to "bridge the opportunity divide among the Latino and underserved communities to achieve self-sufficiency, economic empowerment and stronger communities." They provide a variety of programs, including computer and financial literacy courses taught in Spanish.	Organization advertised the project through flyers and shared information about the project during computer literacy classes, inviting participants to participate in the survey after the class.
Maryland	Friends of Patterson Park	This organization "works to ensure [Patterson Park's] vitality as a treasured green space and encourages use and appreciation by neighbors, visitors, and future generations" They have a Hispanic liaison who coordinates several Spanish-speaking events and activities, including soccer tournaments and zumba.	Researchers shared information about the project during a neighborhood festival and during zumba classes; team members invited people to participate in person or at home via both paper and online surveys.

Maryland	Latino Providers Network	Network of organizations and service providers who serve the Latina/o immigrant community in the Baltimore area.	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach and partnering organizations.
Maryland	Maryland Department of Human Resources, Constituent Services Office (CSO)	The CSO "functions as the Department of Human Resources' customer service center by providing information about programs and facilitating access to its services. Customers communicate with office staff through ... telephone contacts, e-mails, walk-in visits, correspondence, community outreach, and referrals from other agencies and political officials." They have a Hispanic liaison who works with the Latina/o immigrant community.	Hispanic liaison advertised the project through emails and flyers.
Maryland	Maryland Hispanic Chamber of Commerce	The chamber aims to "promote the establishment, growth, prosperity and retention of Hispanic businesses, and those entities, and persons that support them in the State of Maryland."	Organization advertised the project through emails, flyers, and an online blog post.
Maryland	Mayor's Office of Immigrant and Multicultural Affairs	The mayor's office is "working to increase immigration to the area and increase economic opportunity, economic growth and community wellbeing."	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach and partnering organizations.
Maryland	PERUSA Productions	Small LLC in the Baltimore area that produces Peruvian festivals and events.	Research team members shared information about the project at a Peruvian festival and interested people could participate at the festival or take information to complete the survey at home.
Maryland	Southeast Baltimore Early Head Start (SEEHS)	SEEHS is a "comprehensive program that offers an intensive set of core services to pregnant women and children up to age three." They provide a number of services, including family literacy programming, GED and ESL classes, health education, computer literacy courses, case management, and referral services.	Organization advertised the project through flyers; research team members shared information about the project in ESL classes for parents and those interested were able complete surveys during class; research team members also were present in the office to share information about the project during pick-up and drop-off for Headstart parents not involved in the ESL program.

Maryland	Southeast Community Development Corporation (Southeast CDC)	The Southeast CDC "promotes healthy, dynamic and diverse communities throughout Southeast Baltimore." They coordinate neighborhood programs and community school programs, aid with housing and development, and host community events.	Organization advertised the project through flyers; research team members shared information about the project during a neighborhood festival and invited people to participate at the festival or at home via the online survey.
Maryland	Spanish-Speaking Health Leaders of MD	Network of health-related organizations and service providers who serve the Spanish-speaking immigrant community in the Baltimore area.	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach and partnering organizations.
Maryland	St. Joseph's Catholic Parish	Church in Cockeysville, with Latina/o young adult groups in which people from across the Baltimore metro and county areas participate.	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach and advertised the project through flyers; the secretary kept paper surveys in the fellowship hall for interested members.
Maryland	St. Matthew's Immigration Outreach Service Center (IOSC)	Service center for immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers; provide referrals for "adjustment of status, citizenship, political asylum, social services, education, employment, housing, financial assistance, and health care." They host health screenings, tutoring, job counseling, immigration seminars, and support groups.	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach; organization advertised the project through flyers.
Maryland	Strong City Baltimore	Strong City "works to reinforce the pillars of vibrant urban living: safe streets, desirable and diverse housing stock, quality public schools, a robust and educated workforce, and a deep sense of civic engagement." They provide many interconnected programs and services, including adult education and ESL classes.	Research team members shared information about the project with ESL students and students could participate in the survey during class or at home.
Maryland	The Hispanic Clinic	A clinic at Johns Hopkins that provides comprehensive health services to Spanish-speaking people.	Organization advertised the project through flyers.
Maryland	University of Baltimore Diversity Club	The club offers extracurricular activities for University of Baltimore students who identify as ethnic and/or racial minorities.	Organization advertised the project through emails to members and flyers.
New Mexico	Albuquerque Hispan@ Chamber of Commerce	The chamber promotes economic development and provides "business and workforce education with an emphasis on the Hispanic and Small Business Community in Albuquerque."	Organization advertised the project through flyers; research team members shared information about the

			project in business classes and students could opt to participate before, during, or after class.
New Mexico	Casa Savila	A bilingual center "devoted to the recovery and healing of individuals, families, and communities suffering from emotional and psychological distress." Their "goal is to improve the mental health of our community through prevention and by ensuring access to linguistically and culturally appropriate, quality mental health services."	Organization advertised the project through flyers.
New Mexico	Catholic Charities of Albuquerque	Catholic Charities is a non-profit, religiously-affiliated organization that holds both citizenship and ESL classes for primarily Spanish-speaking immigrants.	Organization advertised the project through flyers; research team members shared information about the project in ESL and citizenship classes and students could opt to participate before, during, or after class; organization hosted two focus groups.
New Mexico	El Centro de Igualdad y Derechos	A "grassroots, Latino immigrant led organization based in Central New Mexico that works with Latino immigrant communities and allies to defend, strengthen, and advance the rights of our community." They utilize "multiple strategies to impact social change including community organizing, leadership development, policy advocacy, strategic communications, and civic engagement ... to advance the rights of the Latino immigrant community and low-wage workers ... in Albuquerque."	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach; organization advertised the project through flyers.
New Mexico	El Centro de la Raza	The center is part of the University of New Mexico, designed to support Latina/o students. They "provide tools for self-determination, personal responsibility and resiliency of Raza students." They "support the transformation of students through knowledge and skills, while challenging systems to achieve social justice. In engaging the community, El Centro continues the legacy of advocacy, holistic support and partnerships."	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach; organization advertised the project through flyers.

New Mexico	HEP GED Program	Federally funded program through the University of New Mexico that provides people with migratory or seasonal farm working backgrounds the opportunity to obtain their GED. They offer "intensive preparatory instruction, tutoring, and supportive services." And, "upon successful completion of the program, UNM HEP provides assistance for placement into a post-secondary institution, career position, or military service."	Organization advertised the project through flyers; research team members shared information about the project in GED preparation classes and students could opt to participate after class.
New Mexico	MANA de Albuquerque	MANA is a non-profit organization committed to creating a community of informed and active Latinas working together to support all Latinos. Their mission is "to empower Latinas through leadership development, community service, and advocacy."	Organization advertised the project through emails and flyers.
New Mexico	One Hope Centro de Vida	A bilingual health center that is religiously affiliated and aims to "improve the total health of our community by partnering with our neighbors to provide affordable healthcare, follow-up, education and spiritual guidance in a friendly and welcoming environment." They host a clinics along with health promotion and prevention activities and case management services.	Organization advertised the project through flyers.
New Mexico	Organizers in the Land of Enchantment (OLÉ)	OLÉ is a non-profit that uses grassroots organizing within the local community of working families in New Mexico. They aim to "strengthen communities through social advocacy and economic reform, using issue-based campaigns and electoral engagement to ensure that working families are playing a critical role in shaping New Mexico's future with a united voice."	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach; organization advertised the project through flyers; organization shared information about the project at community meetings and invited people to participate; organization hosted one focus group.
New Mexico	Partnership for Community Action (PCA)	PCA "focuses on critical community issues like education, economic sustainability, wellness and immigrant rights. Through raising awareness and advocacy opportunities, [they] support people and families to become strong leaders in their neighborhoods and in New Mexico."	Organization advertised project through flyers; research team members shared information about the project in a community meeting and interested people could participate during or after the meeting.

New Mexico	Somos Un Pueblo Unido	Somos is a statewide community-based and immigrant-led organization that promotes worker and racial justice. Somos "offers community education about rights and remedies, forges leadership opportunities for immigrants and low-wage workers, provides legal services to wage theft victims, engages Latinos in the political and electoral process, leads and supports grassroots campaigns for local and national policies that strengthen our communities."	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach and research in the community.
New Mexico	SouthWest Organizing Project (SWOP)	SWOP seeks "to redefine power relationships by bringing together the collective action, talents, and resources of the people within our communities. They "work primarily in low-income communities of color to gain community control of our land and resources."	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach.
New Mexico	UNM Community Engagement Center & DREAM Team	The center aims "to better mobilize resources and assets in the community and UNM to address community identified needs through research, policy initiatives, teaching, and service ... to nurture the leadership of the next generation of civically minded youth of color from local neighborhoods for community capacity building." The DREAM Team is a project within the CEC that "provides information about recent immigration policies and strengthens support services for immigrant youth and families."	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach and research in the community.
Virginia	Chesterfield County Multicultural Liaison	Chesterfield County is outside of Richmond and "welcomes those from other countries who decide to make this their new home." The "multicultural liaison assists and educates the county's growing diverse population, as well as English-speaking residents who may need assistance with obtaining county services, programs, activities and benefits."	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach; organization advertised the project through flyers, emails, and bulletins; organization shared information about the project at community meetings and invited people to participate.
Virginia	Hispanic American Sports Academy (HASA)	HASA holds an annual festival in Chesterfield County that attracts many Latina/o immigrants, particularly Dominicans.	Research team members shared information about the project at the festival and interested people could participate in person or take information to complete the survey at home.

Virginia	Hispanic Chamber of Commerce	The mission of the chamber is "to provide the Hispanic community with education and information to successfully integrate themselves into the Commonwealth of Virginia." They provide "information and resources that lead to the economic and social well-being of Latinos throughout their integration into the community and culture, which includes education, legal services, podcasts, business and employment assistance, information and referrals"	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach; organization advertised the project through flyers.
Virginia	Imagine Festival	This is an annual festival "highlighting Richmond's diverse community and promoting safety." It attracts many diverse community members, including Latina/o immigrants.	Research team members had a booth and shared information about the project at the festival. Interested people could participate in person or take information to complete the survey at home.
Virginia	Latino Student Association at VCU	This is a student association at VCU that attracts many Latina/o immigrant members.	Organization advertised the project through their newsletter and flyers; research team members shared information about the project with members at meetings who could participate in the project in person or at home via online surveys.
Virginia	Radio Poder 1380 AM, Selecta 1320 AM	These are radio stations in the Richmond area that host Spanish-language programming.	Research team members participated in radio show interviews to discuss the project and to invite listeners to participate at home via online surveys.
Virginia	Refugee and Immigration Services	The religiously affiliated organization provides "information and referrals, immigration counseling, interpretation/translation services, and cross-cultural education for immigrants."	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach; organization advertised the project through flyers.
Virginia	Richmond Office of Multicultural Affairs	The office "increases access to city and community-based services, and promotes information, education, and civic participation in order to improve the quality of life of diverse cultural and linguistic communities."	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach; organization advertised the project through flyers, emails, and bulletins and at community meetings; organization invited people to participate.

Virginia	Sacred Heart Center (SHC)	SHC's mission is to "create a hub for the Hispanic/Latino community in Richmond that opens opportunities for economic and social integration, self-realization, and community leadership." They provide ESL classes, a leadership group, GED classes, basic needs (food pantry), and have a worker-owned cooperative for indigineous women.	Organization advertised the project through flyers; research team members shared information about the project in ESL classes and students could opt to participate before, during, or after class; research team members also shared the project with the leadership group and members could opt to participate in the survey after the group; organization hosted two focus groups.
Virginia	Sacred Heart Church	A church in the Richmond area with Spanish-language church services.	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach; organization advertised the project through flyers; receptionist shared information about the project with parishioners.
Virginia	Soccer Leagues (Richmond Kickers Tournament; Liga Copa Libertadores; Central Virginia Soccer Association)	These are various soccer leagues around the Richmond area in which many Latina/o immigrants and their children participate.	Research team members shared information about the project during soccer tournaments and invited people to participate in person or at home via online surveys.
Virginia	St. Augustine Church	A church in the Richmond area with Spanish-language church services.	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach; organization advertised the project through flyers.
Virginia	St. John Church	A church in the Richmond area with Spanish-language church services.	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach; organization advertised the project through flyers and word-of-mouth in church.
Virginia	The Bridge Community Development Corporation	The Bridge aims to "improve lives by reducing socio-economic barriers with the creation of strategic collaborations throughout Richmond." They host several programs, including ESL and citizenship classes.	Organization advertised the project through flyers.

Virginia	Virginia Coalition of Latino Organizations (VACOLAO)	VACOLAO is a coalition of organizations that work to empower Latina/o immigrants.	Key informant; organization shared information about outreach and partnering organizations.
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Appendix C: Sample Survey in English

Thanks for your interest in the project.

Please answer these questions so that we can make sure you are eligible and give you the correct survey.

What state do you live in?

- Arizona
- Maryland
- New Mexico
- Virginia
- Other

Where were you born?

- | | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> Argentina | <input type="radio"/> Ecuador | <input type="radio"/> Paraguay |
| <input type="radio"/> Bolivia | <input type="radio"/> El Salvador | <input type="radio"/> Peru |
| <input type="radio"/> Chile | <input type="radio"/> Guatemala | <input type="radio"/> Uruguay |
| <input type="radio"/> Colombia | <input type="radio"/> Honduras | <input type="radio"/> Venezuela |
| <input type="radio"/> Costa Rica | <input type="radio"/> Mexico | <input type="radio"/> Other |
| <input type="radio"/> Cuba | <input type="radio"/> Nicaragua | |
| <input type="radio"/> Dominican Republic | <input type="radio"/> Panama | |

How old are you? _____

What name do you prefer to use for your ethnic/cultural group?

- Latina/o
- Hispanic
- Chicana/o

Please note that the following survey uses the term 'Latina/o'. Surveys used the ethnic/cultural group that participants selected.

When you first arrived in the United States, to what extent did you **want** to adopt **U.S. / 'American'** culture:

	Not At All	A Little	Some-what	Quite	A Lot
In your work (pace of work, hours spent working, work environment, time off, unemployment)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your spending habits and home economics (products you purchase, type of food you eat, how you spend and save money, how you manage what you have)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In the political and government system (how governments are selected, how governments work, your own political participation, the laws)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In the social welfare system (education, health, and social services)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your friendships and social relationships (ways you have fun, what your relationships are like, where you spend time, how you use leisure time)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your family relationships (ways of relating to your spouse/ partner, children, your elders, division of roles and functions in the family)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your religious beliefs and customs (your beliefs, practices, fulfillment of your religious obligations/requirements)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your values?	<input type="radio"/>				

When you first arrived in the United States, to what extent did you **want** to maintain your **original** culture:

	Not At All	A Little	Some-what	Quite	A Lot
In your work (pace of work, hours spent working, work environment, time off, unemployment)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your spending habits and home economics (products you purchase, type of food you eat, how you spend and save money, how you manage what you have)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In the political and government system (how governments are selected, how governments work, your own political participation, the laws)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In the social welfare system (education, health, and social services)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your friendships and social relationships (ways you have fun, what your relationships are like, where you spend time, how you use leisure time)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your family relationships (ways of relating to your spouse/ partner, children, your elders, division of roles and functions in the family)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your religious beliefs and customs (your beliefs, practices, fulfillment of your religious obligations/requirements)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your values?	<input type="radio"/>				

To what extent have you adopted **U.S. / 'American'** culture:

	Not At All	A Little	Some-what	Quite	A Lot
In your work (pace of work, hours spent working, work environment, time off, unemployment)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your spending habits and home economics (products you purchase, type of food you eat, how you spend and save money, how you manage what you have)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In the political and government system (how governments are selected, how governments work, your own political participation, the laws)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In the social welfare system (education, health, and social services)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your friendships and social relationships (ways you have fun, what your relationships are like, where you spend time, how you use leisure time)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your family relationships (ways of relating to your spouse/ partner, children, your elders, division of roles and functions in the family)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your religious beliefs and customs (your beliefs, practices, fulfillment of your religious obligations/requirements)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your values?	<input type="radio"/>				

To what extent have you maintained your **original** culture:

	Not At All	A Little	Some-what	Quite	A Lot
In your work (pace of work, hours spent working, work environment, time off, unemployment)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your spending habits and home economics (products you purchase, type of food you eat, how you spend and save money, how you manage what you have)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In the political and government system (how governments are selected, how governments work, your own political participation, the laws)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In the social welfare system (education, health, and social services)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your friendships and social relationships (ways you have fun, what your relationships are like, where you spend time, how you use leisure time)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your family relationships (ways of relating to your spouse/ partner, children, your elders, division of roles and functions in the family)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your religious beliefs and customs (your beliefs, practices, fulfillment of your religious obligations/requirements)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your values?	<input type="radio"/>				

To what extent do people in the United States **want** you to adopt **U.S. / 'American'** culture:

	Not At All	A Little	Some-what	Quite	A Lot
In your work (pace of work, hours spent working, work environment, time off, unemployment)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your spending habits and home economics (products you purchase, type of food you eat, how you spend and save money, how you manage what you have)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In the political and government system (how governments are selected, how governments work, your own political participation, the laws)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In the social welfare system (education, health, and social services)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your friendships and social relationships (ways you have fun, what your relationships are like, where you spend time, how you use leisure time)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your family relationships (ways of relating to your spouse/ partner, children, your elders, division of roles and functions in the family)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your religious beliefs and customs (your beliefs, practices, fulfillment of your religious obligations/requirements)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your values?	<input type="radio"/>				

To what extent do people in the United States **want** you to maintain your **original** culture:

	Not At All	A Little	Some-what	Quite	A Lot
In your work (pace of work, hours spent working, work environment, time off, unemployment)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your spending habits and home economics (products you purchase, type of food you eat, how you spend and save money, how you manage what you have)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In the political and government system (how governments are selected, how governments work, your own political participation, the laws)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In the social welfare system (education, health, and social services)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your friendships and social relationships (ways you have fun, what your relationships are like, where you spend time, how you use leisure time)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your family relationships (ways of relating to your spouse/ partner, children, your elders, division of roles and functions in the family)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your religious beliefs and customs (your beliefs, practices, fulfillment of your religious obligations/requirements)?	<input type="radio"/>				
In your values?	<input type="radio"/>				

On the scale below, the number **10 represents the best** your life can be. The number **0 represents the worst** your life can be. On which number do you stand **now** when it comes to:

	Worst										Best
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
The best possible life for you?	<input type="radio"/>										
Relationships with important people in your life?	<input type="radio"/>										
The community where you live?	<input type="radio"/>										
Your main occupation (employed, self-employed, volunteer, stay at home)?	<input type="radio"/>										
Your physical health and wellness?	<input type="radio"/>										
Your emotional and psychological well-being?	<input type="radio"/>										
Your economic situation?	<input type="radio"/>										

Below are events that some people experience.

If you have not experienced the event in the past 3 months, please indicate “not applicable”.

If you have experienced the event in the past 3 months, please rate its stressfulness.

	Not At All Stressful				Extremely Stressful	Not Applicable
	1	2	3	4	5	
I <u>don't</u> speak Spanish or <u>don't</u> speak it well.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
I <u>don't</u> speak English or <u>don't</u> speak it well.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
It bothers me when people pressure me to assimilate to the U.S. / 'American' ways of doing things.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
It bothers me when people don't respect my Latina/o values.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
I <u>don't</u> feel accepted by U.S.-born Americans.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
I have a hard time understanding others when they speak Spanish.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
I have a hard time understanding others when they speak English.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
I feel uncomfortable when others expect me to know U.S. / 'American' ways of doing things.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Since I <u>don't</u> speak Spanish well, people have treated me rudely or unfairly.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Since I <u>don't</u> speak English well, people have treated me rudely or unfairly.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
I have been discriminated against because I have <i>difficulty</i> speaking Spanish.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
I have been discriminated against because I have <i>difficulty</i> speaking English.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				

	Not At All Stressful 1	2	3	4	Extremely Stressful 5	Not Applicable
I have had conflicts with others because I prefer U.S. / 'American' customs over Latina/o ones.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel uncomfortable being around people who <i>only</i> speak Spanish.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel uncomfortable being around people who <i>only</i> speak English.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It bothers me when people assume that I speak Spanish.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It bothers me that I speak English with an accent.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
People look down upon me if I practice Latina/o customs.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
People look down upon me if I practice U.S. / 'American' customs.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel uncomfortable because my family members don't know Latina/o ways of doing things.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel pressure to learn Spanish.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel pressure to learn English.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel uncomfortable when I have to choose between Latina/o and U.S. / 'American' ways of doing things.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel uncomfortable when others expect me to know Latina/o ways of doing things.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Because of my cultural background, I have a hard time fitting in with U.S.-born Americans.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

The following questions refer to the **local Latina/o immigrant community**. How well does each of the following statements represent how you *feel* about the **local Latina/o immigrant community**?

	Not At All	Some- what	Mostly	Completely
I get important needs of mine met because I am part of this community.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Community members and I value the same things.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This community has been successful in getting the needs of its members met.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being a member of this community makes me feel good.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When I have a problem, I can talk about it with members of this community.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People in this community have similar needs, priorities, and goals.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I can trust people in this community.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

<i>(Local Latina/o Immigrant Community)</i>	Not At All	Somewhat	Mostly	Completely
I can recognize most of the members of this community.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Most community members know me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This community has symbols and expressions of membership such as clothes, signs, art, architecture, logos, landmarks, and flags that people can recognize.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I put a lot of time and effort into being part of this community.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being a member of this community is a part of my identity.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Fitting into this community is important to me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This community can influence other communities.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I care about what other community members think of me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I have influence over what this community is like.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If there is a problem in this community, members can get it solved.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This community has good leaders.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is very important to me to be a part of this community.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am with other community members a lot and enjoy being with them.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I expect to be a part of this community for a long time.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Members of this community have shared important events together, such as holidays, celebrations, or disasters.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel hopeful about the future of this community.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Members of this community care about each other.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

The following questions refer to the **local U.S. / 'American' community**. How well does each of the following statements represent how you *feel* about the **local U.S. / 'American' community**?

	Not At All	Somewhat	Mostly	Completely
I get important needs of mine met because I am part of this community.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Community members and I value the same things.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This community has been successful in getting the needs of its members met.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being a member of this community makes me feel good.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When I have a problem, I can talk about it with members of this community.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People in this community have similar needs, priorities, and goals.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I can trust people in this community.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

<i>(Local U.S. / 'American' Community)</i>	Not At All	Somewhat	Mostly	Completely
I can recognize most of the members of this community.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Most community members know me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This community has symbols and expressions of membership such as clothes, signs, art, architecture, logos, landmarks, and flags that people can recognize.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I put a lot of time and effort into being part of this community.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being a member of this community is a part of my identity.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Fitting into this community is important to me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This community can influence other communities.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I care about what other community members think of me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I have influence over what this community is like.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If there is a problem in this community, members can get it solved.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This community has good leaders.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is very important to me to be a part of this community.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am with other community members a lot and enjoy being with them.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I expect to be a part of this community for a long time.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Members of this community have shared important events together, such as holidays, celebrations, or disasters.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel hopeful about the future of this community.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Members of this community care about each other.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

The following items are emotions people sometimes feel when interacting with others. On a scale of 1 to 10, please rate how much you usually feel the emotions when interacting with **U.S.-born Americans**.

	Not At All	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Extremely
Uncertain	<input type="radio"/>									
Confident	<input type="radio"/>									
Worried	<input type="radio"/>									
Trusting	<input type="radio"/>									
Awkward	<input type="radio"/>									
Anxious	<input type="radio"/>									
Safe	<input type="radio"/>									
Threatened	<input type="radio"/>									
Friendly	<input type="radio"/>									
Nervous	<input type="radio"/>									
Comfortable	<input type="radio"/>									
At Ease	<input type="radio"/>									

Below are some situations you may have faced in the United States. Please indicate how often you have experienced the following in the United States. If you have never had the opportunity to experience one of the situations (for example, you have never applied for a loan), please select "n/a".

	Never	Several Times a Year	Several Times a Month	Several Times a Week	Several Times a Day	N/A
I have been discriminated, treated with disrespect, or ignored in public settings because I am a Latina/o immigrant.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Because I am a Latina/o immigrant, I have been refused housing.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Because I am a Latina/o immigrant, I have been turned down for loans.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Because I am a Latina/o immigrant, I have been stopped, ignored, or harassed by the police.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Because I am a Latina/o immigrant, I have been accused of shoplifting.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
I have been discriminated against, made to feel uncomfortable, or ignored because of my Spanish accent or because I don't speak English well.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
I have been called names or stereotyped because I am a Latina/o immigrant.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
I have heard negative comments about Latina/o immigrants.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
I have been treated with disrespect because I am a Latina/o immigrant.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Because I am a Latina/o immigrant, I have witnessed racism towards loved ones and friends.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Because I am a Latina/o immigrant, I have been made to feel alienated or like an outcast in the U.S. community	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
I have experienced that people who are not Latina/o immigrants feel threatened or angry when Latina/o cultural pride is expressed.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
I have experienced that Latina/o immigrants are perceived as a threat when they socialize with other Latina/o immigrants.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
I have been physically assaulted because I am a Latina/o immigrant.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
I have been blamed for U.S. problems or told to go back to my country because I am a Latina/o immigrant.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Because I am a Latina/o immigrant, people assume that I do not have legal status in this country.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
I have experienced that Latina/o immigrants who have more ethnic features experience more racism.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
I have experienced that Latina/o immigrants who look white are seen as an exception.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Some-what Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Some-what Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
U.S.-born Americans and Latina/o immigrants have very different values.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
U.S.-born Americans have no right to think they have better values than Latina/o immigrants.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
U.S.-born Americans want their rights to be put ahead of the rights of Latina/o immigrants.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
U.S.-born Americans don't understand the way Latina/o immigrants view the world.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
U.S.-born Americans do not value the rights granted in this country as much as Latina/o immigrants do.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
U.S.-born Americans and Latina/o immigrants have different family values.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
U.S.-born Americans don't value the traditions of their group as much as Latina/o immigrants do.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
U.S.-born Americans regard themselves as morally superior to Latina/o immigrants	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The values of U.S.-born Americans regarding work are different from those of Latina/o immigrants	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Most U.S.-born Americans will never understand what Latina/o immigrants are like.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
U.S.-born Americans should not try to impose their values on Latina/o immigrants.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Latina/o immigrants do not get as much respect from U.S.-born Americans as they deserve.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
U.S.-born Americans hold too many positions of power and responsibility in this country.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
U.S.-born Americans dominate society more than they should.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When U.S.-born Americans are in positions of authority, they discriminate against Latina/o immigrants when making hiring decisions.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Education benefits U.S.-born Americans over Latina/o immigrants more than it should.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
U.S.-born Americans have more economic power than they deserve in this country.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
U.S.-born Americans make it harder for Latina/o immigrants to get into good schools.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
U.S.-born Americans make it harder for Latina/o immigrants to get good grades.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
U.S.-born Americans make it harder for Latina/o immigrants to get good jobs.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Many companies believe U.S.-born Americans are more qualified than Latina/o immigrants.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
U.S.-born Americans have more political power than they deserve in this country.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
U.S.-born Americans make it harder for Latina/o immigrants to have a good quality of life.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The legal system lets U.S.-born Americans get away with more than Latina/o immigrants.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Please describe your contact with **U.S.-born Americans**:

	How much contact do you have?					<i>(Answer only if you have had contact)</i> How positive or negative is your contact?				
	None		Some		Very Frequent	Very Negative		Neutral		Very Positive
As friends	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
As neighbors	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
As school or work colleagues	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In public places	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Please describe your contact with **Latina/o immigrants**:

	How much contact do you have?					<i>(Answer only if you have had contact)</i> How positive or negative is your contact?				
	None		Some		Very Frequent	Very Negative		Neutral		Very Positive
As friends	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
As neighbors	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
As school or work colleagues	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In public places	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Below are five statements that you may agree or disagree with.
Please indicate your agreement with each item.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
In most ways my life is close to my ideal.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The conditions of my life are excellent.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am satisfied with my life.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*You are almost to the end of the survey. We just have a few more questions for you!
Remember, your responses are confidential.*

How did you find out about this project?

- From a research team member
- From a friend who took the survey
- From a friend who did NOT take the survey
- From a family member who took the survey
- From a family member who did NOT take the survey
- From an organization
- Online (including website, social media)
- Other (please describe): _____

What is your zip code? _____

Outside of the United States, where have you spent the most time?

- Argentina
- Ecuador
- Paraguay
- Bolivia
- El Salvador
- Peru
- Chile
- Guatemala
- Uruguay
- Colombia
- Honduras
- Venezuela
- Costa Rica
- Mexico
- Other (please specify): _____
- Cuba
- Nicaragua
- _____
- Dominican Republic
- Panama

Please indicate your primary reason(s) for immigrating to the United States. *(Select all that apply)*

- Economics
- War
- Get services (doctor)
- Education
- Political instability
- Natural disaster (earthquake, hurricane)
- Employment
- Join family
- Better quality of life
- Crime
- Leave family
- Other reasons (please specify): _____
- Safety
- Join friends
- _____
- _____

How old were you when you immigrated to the United States? _____ years old

How do you describe your gender?

- Woman
- Transgender
- Man
- Genderqueer or non-binary
- I identify as _____

Please indicate who lives with you currently. *(Check all that apply)*

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Spouse or partner | <input type="checkbox"/> Grandparents |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Child(ren) | <input type="checkbox"/> Other extended family |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Parent(s) and/or parent(s)-in-law | <input type="checkbox"/> Friends |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Siblings | <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Aunts, uncles, and/or cousins | _____ |

Please indicate who else in your family lives in the United States. *(Check all that apply)*

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Spouse or partner | <input type="checkbox"/> Aunts, uncles, and/or cousins |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Child(ren) | <input type="checkbox"/> Grandparents |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Parent(s) and/or parent(s)-in-law | <input type="checkbox"/> Other extended family |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Siblings | <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____ |

Please indicate who else in your family lives your country of origin. *(Check all that apply)*

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Spouse or partner | <input type="checkbox"/> Aunts, uncles, and/or cousins |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Child(ren) | <input type="checkbox"/> Grandparents |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Parent(s) and/or parent(s)-in-law | <input type="checkbox"/> Other extended family |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Siblings | <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____ |

Approximately how much money does your household make?

\$ _____ per week *Circle one* month year

How many people depend on this income (including yourself)? _____

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="radio"/> No formal education | <input type="radio"/> Associates degree or vocational/technical school (2 years) |
| <input type="radio"/> Primary school to 8 th grade | <input type="radio"/> Bachelor's degree |
| <input type="radio"/> Some high school, no diploma | <input type="radio"/> Master's degree |
| <input type="radio"/> High school diploma or GED | <input type="radio"/> Professional degree |
| <input type="radio"/> Some college | <input type="radio"/> Doctoral degree |

What is your current employment status?

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> Self-employed | <input type="radio"/> Homemaker |
| <input type="radio"/> Employed full-time (30+ hours/week) | <input type="radio"/> Student |
| <input type="radio"/> Employed part-time (< 30 hours/week) | <input type="radio"/> Retired |
| <input type="radio"/> Unemployed, not looking for work | <input type="radio"/> Unable to work |
| <input type="radio"/> Unemployed, looking for work | <input type="radio"/> Other: _____ |

You mentioned that you identify as Latina/o. How would you describe your race? *(Check all that apply)*

- American Indian and/or Alaska Native
- Asian
- Black and/or African American
- Native Hawaiian and/or Other Pacific Islander
- White and/or Caucasian
- Other: _____

When you first entered the United States, what immigration status did you have? *Your responses are confidential.*

- Temporary stay permit (business visa, visitor's visa, student visa, diplomatic visa)
- Permanent stay permit (family- or employer-sponsored visa, 'green card')
- Other type of permit (special immigrant juvenile status, temporary protected status, refugee, asylee)
- No permit or authorized immigration status
- Other: _____
- Prefer not to answer

What immigration status do you currently have? *Your responses are confidential.*

- U.S. citizenship
- Current or renewed temporary stay permit (business visa, visitor's visa, student visa, diplomatic visa)
- Expired temporary stay permit
- Permanent stay permit (family- or employer-sponsored visa, 'green card')
- Other type of permit (special immigrant juvenile status, temporary protected status, refugee, asylee)
- No permit or authorized immigration status
- Other: _____
- Prefer not to answer

Thank you for completing this survey. Is there anything else you would like to share?

Would you like to be entered into a raffle for one of the twelve \$30 Visa gift cards and the grand prize of one \$100 Visa gift card?

Your contact information will be kept confidential and is not linked to your survey responses.

First Name and Last Initial ("Carlos J." "Meli T"): _____

IMPORTANT: *This does NOT need to be your real name, but you should choose a name you will remember, because if you win the gift card, it will be sent to the address and name you write here.*

Address _____

Address 2 _____

City _____

State _____

Postal Code _____

Email _____

Telephone _____

In the winter we will be meeting with a group of people in your community about some of the topics in the survey. You will be compensated \$25 in cash for your time.

Would you be interested in participating?

If you select "yes" we will contact you via phone and/or email. *Again, your participation is confidential.*

Yes

No

Thank you for your time!

Appendix D: Sample Survey in Spanish

Gracias por su interés en el proyecto.

Por favor, conteste estas preguntas para que podemos asegurar que usted califica y le demos la encuesta correcta.

¿En qué estado vive usted?

- Arizona
- Maryland
- Nuevo México
- Virginia
- Otro

¿Dónde nació Ud.?

- | | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> Argentina | <input type="radio"/> Ecuador | <input type="radio"/> Paraguay |
| <input type="radio"/> Bolivia | <input type="radio"/> El Salvador | <input type="radio"/> Perú |
| <input type="radio"/> Chile | <input type="radio"/> Guatemala | <input type="radio"/> Uruguay |
| <input type="radio"/> Colombia | <input type="radio"/> Honduras | <input type="radio"/> Venezuela |
| <input type="radio"/> Costa Rica | <input type="radio"/> México | <input type="radio"/> Otro |
| <input type="radio"/> Cuba | <input type="radio"/> Nicaragua | |
| <input type="radio"/> República Dominicana | <input type="radio"/> Panamá | |

¿Cuántos años tiene Ud.? _____

¿Qué nombre desea utilizar usted para su grupo étnico/cultural?

- Latina/o
- Hispana/o
- Chicana/o

Please note that the following survey uses the term 'Latina/o'. Surveys used the ethnic/cultural group that participants selected.

Quando Ud. **llegó** en los Estados Unidos, ¿en qué grado **le gustaría adoptar o practicar** las costumbres de la cultura **estadounidense / 'americana'**, en relación con los siguientes aspectos?

	Nada	Poco	Algo	Bastante	Mucho
Formas de trabajar (incluyendo ritmo de trabajo, horario, condiciones laborales, desempleo, eventualidad)	<input type="radio"/>				
Hábitos de consumo y economía doméstica (incluyendo productos que compran, tipo de comida que consumen, economía familiar–dinero que gastan y ahorran, forma de administrar lo que tienen)	<input type="radio"/>				
Sistema político y de gobierno (incluyendo forma en que se eligen los gobiernos, forma en que funcionan, participación política, leyes)	<input type="radio"/>				
Sistema de bienestar social (incluyendo educación, sanidad y servicios sociales)	<input type="radio"/>				
Relaciones sociales (incluyendo forma de relacionarse, lugares habituales de relación social, uso del tiempo libre y formas de divertirse)	<input type="radio"/>				
Relaciones familiares (incluyendo forma de relacionarse con la pareja, hijos/a, las personas mayores de la familia, reparto de roles o funciones)	<input type="radio"/>				
Creencias y prácticas religiosas (incluyendo creencias, prácticas y cumplimiento personal de obligaciones o prohibiciones religiosas)	<input type="radio"/>				
Valores	<input type="radio"/>				

Quando Ud. **llegó** en los Estados Unidos, ¿en qué grado **le gustaría mantener** las costumbres de su cultura de **origen**, en relación con los siguientes aspectos?

	Nada	Poco	Algo	Bastante	Mucho
Formas de trabajar (incluyendo ritmo de trabajo, horario, condiciones laborales, desempleo, eventualidad)	<input type="radio"/>				
Hábitos de consumo y economía doméstica (incluyendo productos que compran, tipo de comida que consumen, economía familiar–dinero que gastan y ahorran, forma de administrar lo que tienen)	<input type="radio"/>				
Sistema político y de gobierno (incluyendo forma en que se eligen los gobiernos, forma en que funcionan, participación política, leyes)	<input type="radio"/>				
Sistema de bienestar social (incluyendo educación, sanidad y servicios sociales)	<input type="radio"/>				
Relaciones sociales (incluyendo forma de relacionarse, lugares habituales de relación social, uso del tiempo libre y formas de divertirse)	<input type="radio"/>				
Relaciones familiares (incluyendo forma de relacionarse con la pareja, hijos/a, las personas mayores de la familia, reparto de roles o funciones)	<input type="radio"/>				
Creencias y prácticas religiosas (incluyendo creencias, prácticas y cumplimiento personal de obligaciones o prohibiciones religiosas)	<input type="radio"/>				
Valores	<input type="radio"/>				

¿En qué grado **ha adoptado** o **practica** Ud. las costumbres de la cultura **estadounidense / 'americana'**, en relación con los siguientes aspectos?

	Nada	Poco	Algo	Bastante	Mucho
Formas de trabajar (incluyendo ritmo de trabajo, horario, condiciones laborales, desempleo, eventualidad)	<input type="radio"/>				
Hábitos de consumo y economía doméstica (incluyendo productos que compran, tipo de comida que consumen, economía familiar–dinero que gastan y ahorran, forma de administrar lo que tienen)	<input type="radio"/>				
Sistema político y de gobierno (incluyendo forma en que se eligen los gobiernos, forma en que funcionan, participación política, leyes)	<input type="radio"/>				
Sistema de bienestar social (incluyendo educación, sanidad y servicios sociales)	<input type="radio"/>				
Relaciones sociales (incluyendo forma de relacionarse, lugares habituales de relación social, uso del tiempo libre y formas de divertirse)	<input type="radio"/>				
Relaciones familiares (incluyendo forma de relacionarse con la pareja, hijos/a, las personas mayores de la familia, reparto de roles o funciones)	<input type="radio"/>				
Creencias y prácticas religiosas (incluyendo creencias, prácticas y cumplimiento personal de obligaciones o prohibiciones religiosas)	<input type="radio"/>				
Valores	<input type="radio"/>				

¿En qué grado **mantiene** Ud. **actualmente** las costumbres de su **cultura de origen**, en relación con los siguientes aspectos?

	Nada	Poco	Algo	Bastante	Mucho
Formas de trabajar (incluyendo ritmo de trabajo, horario, condiciones laborales, desempleo, eventualidad)	<input type="radio"/>				
Hábitos de consumo y economía doméstica (incluyendo productos que compran, tipo de comida que consumen, economía familiar–dinero que gastan y ahorran, forma de administrar lo que tienen)	<input type="radio"/>				
Sistema político y de gobierno (incluyendo forma en que se eligen los gobiernos, forma en que funcionan, participación política, leyes)	<input type="radio"/>				
Sistema de bienestar social (incluyendo educación, sanidad y servicios sociales)	<input type="radio"/>				
Relaciones sociales (incluyendo forma de relacionarse, lugares habituales de relación social, uso del tiempo libre y formas de divertirse)	<input type="radio"/>				
Relaciones familiares (incluyendo forma de relacionarse con la pareja, hijos/a, las personas mayores de la familia, reparto de roles o funciones)	<input type="radio"/>				
Creencias y prácticas religiosas (incluyendo creencias, prácticas y cumplimiento personal de obligaciones o prohibiciones religiosas)	<input type="radio"/>				
Valores	<input type="radio"/>				

¿En qué grado **desean** los estadounidenses / 'americanos' que Ud. adopte o practique las costumbres de la **cultura estadounidense / 'americana'**, en relación con los siguientes aspectos?

	Nada	Poco	Algo	Bastante	Mucho
Formas de trabajar (incluyendo ritmo de trabajo, horario, condiciones laborales, desempleo, eventualidad)	<input type="radio"/>				
Hábitos de consumo y economía doméstica (incluyendo productos que compran, tipo de comida que consumen, economía familiar–dinero que gastan y ahorran, forma de administrar lo que tienen)	<input type="radio"/>				
Sistema político y de gobierno (incluyendo forma en que se eligen los gobiernos, forma en que funcionan, participación política, leyes)	<input type="radio"/>				
Sistema de bienestar social (incluyendo educación, sanidad y servicios sociales)	<input type="radio"/>				
Relaciones sociales (incluyendo forma de relacionarse, lugares habituales de relación social, uso del tiempo libre y formas de divertirse)	<input type="radio"/>				
Relaciones familiares (incluyendo forma de relacionarse con la pareja, hijos/a, las personas mayores de la familia, reparto de roles o funciones)	<input type="radio"/>				
Creencias y prácticas religiosas (incluyendo creencias, prácticas y cumplimiento personal de obligaciones o prohibiciones religiosas)	<input type="radio"/>				
Valores	<input type="radio"/>				

¿En qué grado **desean** los estadounidenses / 'americanos' que Ud. mantenga las costumbres de **su cultura de origen**, en relación con los siguientes aspectos?

	Nada	Poco	Algo	Bastante	Mucho
Formas de trabajar (incluyendo ritmo de trabajo, horario, condiciones laborales, desempleo, eventualidad)	<input type="radio"/>				
Hábitos de consumo y economía doméstica (incluyendo productos que compran, tipo de comida que consumen, economía familiar–dinero que gastan y ahorran, forma de administrar lo que tienen)	<input type="radio"/>				
Sistema político y de gobierno (incluyendo forma en que se eligen los gobiernos, forma en que funcionan, participación política, leyes)	<input type="radio"/>				
Sistema de bienestar social (incluyendo educación, sanidad y servicios sociales)	<input type="radio"/>				
Relaciones sociales (incluyendo forma de relacionarse, lugares habituales de relación social, uso del tiempo libre y formas de divertirse)	<input type="radio"/>				
Relaciones familiares (incluyendo forma de relacionarse con la pareja, hijos/a, las personas mayores de la familia, reparto de roles o funciones)	<input type="radio"/>				
Creencias y prácticas religiosas (incluyendo creencias, prácticas y cumplimiento personal de obligaciones o prohibiciones religiosas)	<input type="radio"/>				
Valores	<input type="radio"/>				

En la siguiente escala del 0 al 10, el número 10 representa la máxima satisfacción personal.

El número 0 representa la mínima satisfacción personal.

¿Qué número describe su situación actual cuando se tratan los siguientes aspectos?

	Mínima 0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Máxima 10
La mejor vida posible para usted	<input type="radio"/>										
Las relaciones con las personas importantes en su vida	<input type="radio"/>										
La comunidad donde usted vive	<input type="radio"/>										
Su principal ocupación (empleado, trabajador(a) independiente, voluntaria/o, ama/o de casa)	<input type="radio"/>										
Su salud física y el bienestar	<input type="radio"/>										
Su bienestar emocional y psicológico	<input type="radio"/>										
Su situación económica	<input type="radio"/>										

Abajo hay una lista de situaciones que quizás usted haya experimentado. Si no ha experimentado la situación en los últimos 3 meses, ponga "no se aplica". Si ha experimentado la situación en los últimos 3 meses ponga el número que mejor representa CUÁNTO ESTRÉS ha tenido en esa situación.

	Nada de estrés	2	3	4	Muchísimo estrés	No se aplica
No hablo español o no lo hablo bien.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
No hablo inglés o no lo hablo bien.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Me molesta cuando la gente me presiona a asimilar al modo estadounidense/'americano' de hacer las cosas.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Me molesta cuando la gente no respeta mis valores latinos .	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
No me siento aceptado por estadounidenses/'americanos' .	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Tengo dificultad entendiendo a la gente cuando habla español .	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Tengo dificultad entendiendo a la gente cuando habla inglés .	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Me siento incómodo cuando otros esperan que yo sepa el modo estadounidense/'americano' de hacer las cosas.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Como no hablo bien el español , la gente me ha tratado rudamente o injustamente.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Como no hablo bien el inglés , la gente me ha tratado rudamente o injustamente.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
He sido discriminado porque tengo dificultad hablando español .	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
He sido discriminado porque tengo dificultad hablando inglés .	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				

	Nada de estrés	2	3	4	Muchísimo estrés	No se aplica
He tenido conflictos con otros porque prefiero las costumbres estadounidenses/'americanos' sobre las costumbres latinas .	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Me siento incómodo con gente que <i>sólo</i> habla español .	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Me siento incómodo con gente que <i>sólo</i> habla inglés .	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Me molesta cuando la gente asume que hablo español .	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Me molesta que hablo inglés con un acento.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
La gente me mira mal si practico costumbres latinas .	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
La gente me mira mal si practico costumbres estadounidenses/'americanos' .	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Me siento incómodo/a porque mi familia no sabe los modos latinos de hacer las cosas.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Me siento presionado al aprender español .	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Me siento presionado al aprender inglés .	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Me siento incómodo cuando tengo que <i>escoger entre</i> los modos latinos y los modos estadounidenses/ 'americanos' de hacer las cosas.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Me siento incómodo cuando otros esperan que yo sepa el modo latino de hacer las cosas.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Por mi origen cultural, tengo <i>dificultad</i> relacionando con estadounidenses/'americanos' .	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				

Las siguientes preguntas se refieren a la comunidad local de **inmigrantes latina/os**. ¿Cómo se reflejan las siguientes frases en cuanto a lo que usted **siente** sobre la comunidad local de **inmigrantes latina/os**?

	Para Nada	Un Tanto	Mucho	Completa- mente
Consigo satisfacer mis necesidades importantes porque soy parte de esta comunidad.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Los miembros de la comunidad y yo valoremos las mismas cosas.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Esta comunidad ha sido exitosa en satisfacer las necesidades de sus miembros.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ser miembro de esta comunidad me hace sentir bien.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Cuando tengo un problema, puedo platicarlo con los miembros de esta comunidad.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Las personas en esta comunidad tienen necesidades, prioridades y metas similares.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Puedo confiar en las personas de esta comunidad.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

<i>(La Comunidad Local de Inmigrantes Latina/os)</i>	Para Nada	Un Tanto	Mucho	Completa-mente
Puedo reconocer a la mayoría de los miembros de esta comunidad.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
La mayoría de los miembros de la comunidad me conocen.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Esta comunidad tiene símbolos y expresiones de membresía tales como artículos de ropa, arte, signos, arquitectura, logotipos, puntos de referencia y banderas que la gente puede reconocer.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pongo mucho tiempo y esfuerzo en esta comunidad.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ser miembro de esta comunidad es una parte de mi identidad.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sentir que pertenezco en esta comunidad es importante para mí.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Esta comunidad puede influenciar a otras comunidades.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Me importa lo que otros miembros de la comunidad piensen de mí.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tengo influencia sobre cómo es la comunidad.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Si hay un problema en esta comunidad, los miembros lo pueden resolver.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Esta comunidad tiene buenos líderes.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Es muy importante para mí ser parte de esta comunidad.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Paso mucho tiempo con otros miembros de la comunidad y disfruto mucho de estar con ellos.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Espero ser parte de esta comunidad por mucho tiempo.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Los miembros de esta comunidad han compartido eventos importantes juntos, tales como días de fiesta, celebraciones o desastres.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Siento esperanza sobre el futuro de esta comunidad.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Los miembros de esta comunidad se preocupan los unos por los otros.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Las siguientes preguntas se refieren a la comunidad **estadounidense/‘americana’** local. ¿Cómo se reflejan las siguientes frases en cuanto a lo que usted **siente** sobre la comunidad **estadounidense/‘americana’** local?

	Para Nada	Un Tanto	Mucho	Completa-mente
Consigo satisfacer mis necesidades importantes porque soy parte de esta comunidad.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Los miembros de la comunidad y yo valoremos las mismas cosas.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Esta comunidad ha sido exitosa en satisfacer las necesidades de sus miembros.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ser miembro de esta comunidad me hace sentir bien.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Cuando tengo un problema, puedo platicarlo con los miembros de esta comunidad.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Las personas en esta comunidad tienen necesidades, prioridades y metas similares.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Puedo confiar en las personas de esta comunidad.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<i>(La Comunidad de Inmigrantes Latina/os Local)</i>	Para Nada	Un Tanto	Mucho	Completa-mente
Puedo reconocer a la mayoría de los miembros de esta comunidad.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
La mayoría de los miembros de la comunidad me conocen.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Esta comunidad tiene símbolos y expresiones de membresía tales como artículos de ropa, arte, signos, arquitectura, logotipos, puntos de referencia y banderas que la gente puede reconocer.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pongo mucho tiempo y esfuerzo en esta comunidad.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ser miembro de esta comunidad es una parte de mi identidad.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sentir que pertenezco en esta comunidad es importante para mí.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Esta comunidad puede influenciar a otras comunidades.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Me importa lo que otros miembros de la comunidad piensen de mí.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tengo influencia sobre cómo es la comunidad.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Si hay un problema en esta comunidad, los miembros lo pueden resolver.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Esta comunidad tiene buenos líderes.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Es muy importante para mí ser parte de esta comunidad.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Paso mucho tiempo con otros miembros de la comunidad y disfruto mucho de estar con ellos.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Espero ser parte de esta comunidad por mucho tiempo.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Los miembros de esta comunidad han compartido eventos importantes juntos, tales como días de fiesta, celebraciones o desastres.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Siento esperanza sobre el futuro de esta comunidad.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Los miembros de esta comunidad se preocupan los unos por los otros.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

<i>(La Comunidad de Inmigrantes Latina/os Local)</i>	Para Nada	Un Tanto	Mucho	Completamente
Puedo reconocer a la mayoría de los miembros de esta comunidad.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
La mayoría de los miembros de la comunidad me conocen.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Esta comunidad tiene símbolos y expresiones de membresía tales como artículos de ropa, arte, signos, arquitectura, logotipos, puntos de referencia y banderas que la gente puede reconocer.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pongo mucho tiempo y esfuerzo en esta comunidad.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ser miembro de esta comunidad es una parte de mi identidad.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sentir que pertenezco en esta comunidad es importante para mí.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Esta comunidad puede influenciar a otras comunidades.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Me importa lo que otros miembros de la comunidad piensen de mí.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tengo influencia sobre cómo es la comunidad.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Si hay un problema en esta comunidad, los miembros lo pueden resolver.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Esta comunidad tiene buenos líderes.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Es muy importante para mí ser parte de esta comunidad.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Paso mucho tiempo con otros miembros de la comunidad y disfruto mucho de estar con ellos.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Espero ser parte de esta comunidad por mucho tiempo.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Los miembros de esta comunidad han compartido eventos importantes juntos, tales como días de fiesta, celebraciones o desastres.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Siento esperanza sobre el futuro de esta comunidad.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Los miembros de esta comunidad se preocupan los unos por los otros.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Las siguientes palabras son emociones que a veces la gente siente en interacciones con los demás. En la escala de 1 a 10, por favor califica a la cantidad de cada emoción que Ud. siente usualmente en interacciones con **los estadounidenses / 'americanos'**.

	Para Nada	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Muchísimo
Desconcertado	<input type="radio"/>									
Cómodo	<input type="radio"/>									
Preocupado	<input type="radio"/>									
Confiado	<input type="radio"/>									
Extraño	<input type="radio"/>									
Ansioso	<input type="radio"/>									
Seguro	<input type="radio"/>									
Amenazado	<input type="radio"/>									
Amigable	<input type="radio"/>									
Tenso	<input type="radio"/>									
Confortable	<input type="radio"/>									
A gusto	<input type="radio"/>									

A continuación se presentan algunas situaciones que tal vez Ud. haya enfrentado en los Estados Unidos. Por favor, indique la frecuencia con que Ud. ha experimentado las siguientes situaciones en los Estados Unidos. Si usted nunca ha tenido la oportunidad de experimentar una de las situaciones (por ejemplo, usted nunca ha solicitado un préstamo), seleccione "no se aplica".

	Nunca	Varias veces al año	Varias veces al mes	Varias veces por semana	Varias veces al día	No se aplica
He sido discriminado, ignorado, o me han faltado al respeto en sitios públicos por ser un(a) inmigrante latina/o.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Por ser un(a) inmigrante latina/o, me han negado vivienda.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Por ser un(a) inmigrante latina/o, me han negado préstamos.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Por ser un(a) inmigrante latina/o, he estado detenido, ignorado, o acosado por la policía.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Por ser un(a) inmigrante latina/o, me han acusado de ratería/hurto.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sentí discriminación, me sentí incómodo, o me sentí que no me hicieron caso a causa de mi acento o porque no hablo inglés.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Me han llamado nombres despreciativos o hecho sentir como un estereotipo por ser un(a) inmigrante latina/o.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
He escuchado comentarios negativos sobre inmigrantes latina/os.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Me han tratado con falta de respeto por ser un(a) inmigrante latina/o.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Por ser un(a) inmigrante latina/o, puedo atestiguar de racismo hacia mis familiares y amistades.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Por ser un(a) inmigrante latina/o, me han hecho sentir enajenado en la comunidad estadounidense / 'americana'.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
He sentido que las personas que no son inmigrantes latina/os se sienten amenazadas o se enojan al ver las expresiones de orgullo de la cultura latina.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
He sentido que los inmigrantes latinos son percibidos como una amenaza cuando se reúnen con otros inmigrantes latina/os.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Me han asaltado físicamente por ser un(a) inmigrante latina/o.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Me han culpado a mí por problemas estadounidenses o me han dicho que regrese a mi país por ser un(a) inmigrante latina/o.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Por ser un(a) inmigrante latina/o, algunas personas suponen que no soy legal en este país.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
He experimentado que los inmigrantes latinos que tienen más características étnicas padecen más discriminación.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
He experimentado que los inmigrantes latinos que parecen más blancos son vistos como la excepción.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Por favor, indique en qué medida está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con las siguientes afirmaciones.

	Muy en des-acuerdo	En des-acuerdo	Algo de des-acuerdo	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	Algo de acuerdo	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
Los estadounidenses y los inmigrantes latinos tienen valores muy diferentes.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Los estadounidenses no tienen derecho a pensar que tienen valores mejores que los inmigrantes latinos.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Los estadounidenses quieren que sus derechos sean puestos por delante de los derechos de los inmigrantes latinos.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Los estadounidenses no entienden la forma en que los inmigrantes latinos ven el mundo.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Los estadounidenses no valoran los derechos concedidos en este país tanto como los inmigrantes latinos.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Los estadounidenses y los inmigrantes latinos tienen diferentes valores de la familia.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Los estadounidenses no valoran las tradiciones de su grupo tanto como los inmigrantes latinos.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Los estadounidenses consideran a sí mismos como moralmente superior a los inmigrantes latinos.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Los valores de los estadounidenses en relación con el trabajo son diferentes de los de los inmigrantes latinos.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
La mayoría de los estadounidenses nunca va a entender los inmigrantes latinos.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Los estadounidenses no deben tratar de imponer sus valores en los inmigrantes latinos.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Los inmigrantes latinos no reciben tanto respeto como se merecen de los estadounidenses.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Los estadounidenses tienen demasiados puestos de poder y responsabilidad en este país.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Los estadounidenses dominan la sociedad más que deben.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Cuando los estadounidenses se encuentran en posiciones de autoridad, discriminan a los inmigrantes latinos cuando se toman decisiones de trabajo o contratación.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Educación beneficia a los estadounidenses más que los inmigrantes latinos.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Los estadounidenses tienen más poder económico de lo que merecen en este país.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Debido a los estadounidenses, es más difícil para los inmigrantes latinos a entrar en buenas escuelas.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Debido a los estadounidenses, es más difícil para los inmigrantes latinos a obtener buenas calificaciones.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Debido a los estadounidenses, es más difícil para los inmigrantes latinos a conseguir buenos empleos.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Muchas empresas creen que los estadounidenses son más calificados que los inmigrantes latinos.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Los estadounidenses tienen más poder político que se merecen en este país.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Debido a los estadounidenses es más difícil para los inmigrantes latinos a obtener una buena calidad de vida.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
El sistema legal permite que los estadounidenses se salen con más que los inmigrantes latinos.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Por favor describa su contacto con **los estadounidenses ('americanos' nacidos en los Estados Unidos)**:

	¿Cuánto contacto?					<i>(Responda sólo si ha tenido contacto)</i> ¿Cómo positivo o negativo es el contacto?				
	Nada	Algo	Muy frecuente	Muy negativo	Neutral	Muy positivo				
Como amigos	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>					
Como vecinos	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>					
Como colegas de la escuela o del trabajo	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>					
En lugares públicos	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>					

Por favor describa su contacto con **inmigrantes latina/os**.

	¿Cuánto contacto?					<i>(Responda sólo si ha tenido contacto)</i> ¿Cómo positivo o negativo es el contacto?				
	Nada	Algo	Muy frecuente	Muy negativo	Neutral	Muy positivo				
Como amigos	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>					
Como vecinos	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>					
Como colegas de la escuela o del trabajo	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>					
En lugares públicos	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>					

Más abajo hay cinco afirmaciones con las que usted puede estar de acuerdo o en desacuerdo.

Por favor, indique su grado de acuerdo con cada una.

	Completamente en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Más bien en desacuerdo	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	Más bien de acuerdo	De acuerdo	Completamente de acuerdo
En la mayoría de las cosas, mi vida está cerca de mi ideal.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Las condiciones de vida son excelentes.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Estoy satisfecho con mi vida.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Hasta ahora, he conseguido las cosas que para mí son importantes en la vida.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Si volviese a nacer, no cambiaría casi nada de mi vida.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*Usted está casi al final de la encuesta. ¡Sólo tenemos unas preguntas más!
Recuerde, sus respuestas son confidenciales.*

¿Cómo se enteró de este proyecto?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="radio"/> A partir de un miembro del grupo del proyecto | <input type="radio"/> A partir de un miembro de la familia que NO participó en la encuesta |
| <input type="radio"/> A partir de un amigo que participó en la encuesta | <input type="radio"/> A partir de una organización |
| <input type="radio"/> A partir de un amigo que NO participó en la encuesta | <input type="radio"/> A partir del internet (página web, redes sociales) |
| <input type="radio"/> A partir de un miembro de la familia que participó en la encuesta | <input type="radio"/> A partir de algo diferente (describa):
_____ |

¿Cuál es su código postal? _____

Fuera de los Estados Unidos, ¿dónde ha pasado Ud. la mayor parte del tiempo?

- | | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Argentina | <input type="radio"/> Ecuador | <input type="radio"/> Paraguay |
| <input type="radio"/> Bolivia | <input type="radio"/> El Salvador | <input type="radio"/> Perú |
| <input type="radio"/> Chile | <input type="radio"/> Guatemala | <input type="radio"/> Uruguay |
| <input type="radio"/> Colombia | <input type="radio"/> Honduras | <input type="radio"/> Venezuela |
| <input type="radio"/> Costa Rica | <input type="radio"/> México | <input type="radio"/> Otro (<i>especificar</i>):
_____ |
| <input type="radio"/> Cuba | <input type="radio"/> Nicaragua | |
| <input type="radio"/> República Dominicana | <input type="radio"/> Panamá | |

Por favor, indique la(s) razón(es) principal(es) para inmigrar a los Estados Unidos. (*Seleccione todas las que apliquen*)

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> La economía | <input type="checkbox"/> Guerra | <input type="checkbox"/> Obtener servicios (médico) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Educación | <input type="checkbox"/> Inestabilidad política | <input type="checkbox"/> Desastres naturales (terremotos, huracanes) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Empleo | <input type="checkbox"/> Reunirse con familia | <input type="checkbox"/> Mejor calidad de vida |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Crimen | <input type="checkbox"/> Dejar familia | <input type="checkbox"/> Otros motivos (<i>especificar</i>):

_____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Seguridad | <input type="checkbox"/> Reunirse con amigos | |

¿Qué edad tenía Ud. cuando inmigró a los Estados Unidos? _____ años

¿Cómo describe Ud. su género?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="radio"/> Mujer | <input type="radio"/> Transgénero |
| <input type="radio"/> Hombre | <input type="radio"/> Genderqueer o no binario |
| <input type="radio"/> Me identifico como: _____ | |

Por favor, indique quién vive con usted. (Seleccione todas las que apliquen)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cónyuge o pareja | <input type="checkbox"/> Abuela/o(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Niña/o(s) | <input type="checkbox"/> Familia extendida |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Padre(s) y/o suegra/o(s) | <input type="checkbox"/> Amiga/o(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hermana/o(s) | <input type="checkbox"/> Otra(s) persona(s) (especificar): |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tía/o(s) y/o prima/o(s) | _____ |

Por favor, indique quién más en su familia vive en los Estados Unidos. (Seleccione todas las que apliquen)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cónyuge o pareja | <input type="checkbox"/> Tía/o(s) y/o prima/o(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Niña/o(s) | <input type="checkbox"/> Abuela/o(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Padre(s) y/o suegra/o(s) | <input type="checkbox"/> Familia extendida |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hermana/o(s) | |

Indique quién más en su familia vive actualmente en su país de origen. (Seleccione todas las que apliquen)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cónyuge o pareja | <input type="checkbox"/> Tía/o(s) y/o prima/o(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Niña/o(s) | <input type="checkbox"/> Abuela/o(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Padre(s) y/o suegra/o(s) | <input type="checkbox"/> Familia extendida |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hermana/o(s) | |

¿Aproximadamente cuánto dinero gana su familia?

Circule uno

\$ _____ por semana mes año

¿Cuántas personas dependen de este ingreso (incluido usted)? _____

¿Cuál es su mayor nivel de educación?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="radio"/> Sin educación formal | <input type="radio"/> Diploma de asociado o escuela vocacional/técnica |
| <input type="radio"/> La escuela primaria - octavo grado | <input type="radio"/> Licenciatura / bachillerato |
| <input type="radio"/> Algunos estudios secundarios, sin diploma | <input type="radio"/> Maestría |
| <input type="radio"/> Diploma de escuela secundaria o GED | <input type="radio"/> Título profesional |
| <input type="radio"/> Algunos estudios universitarios, sin título | <input type="radio"/> Doctorado |

¿Cuál es su situación laboral actual?

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Trabajador(a) independiente | <input type="radio"/> Ama/o de casa |
| <input type="radio"/> Empleado a tiempo completo
(> 30 horas/semana) | <input type="radio"/> Estudiante |
| <input type="radio"/> Empleado a tiempo parcial
(< 30 horas / semana) | <input type="radio"/> Jubilado |
| <input type="radio"/> Desempleado, NO en busca de trabajo | <input type="radio"/> Incapaz de trabajar |
| <input type="radio"/> Desempleado, en busca de trabajo | <input type="radio"/> Otro: _____ |

Usted mencionó que se identifica como latina/o. ¿Cómo describe su(s) raza(s)? (Seleccione todas las que apliquen)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Amerindio o nativo de Alaska | <input type="checkbox"/> Polinesios, maoríes o isleños del Pacífico |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Asiático | <input type="checkbox"/> Blanca y/o de raza caucásica |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Negro o afroamericano | <input type="checkbox"/> Otro: _____ |

La primera vez que entró a los Estados Unidos, ¿qué estatus migratorio tuvo? *Sus respuestas son confidenciales.*

- Permiso de estancia temporal (visa de negocios, visa de visitante, visa de estudiante, visa diplomática)
- Permiso de residencia permanente (visa patrocinada por la familia o el empleador, 'green card')
- Otro tipo de permiso (estado de inmigrante juvenil especial, estatus de protección temporal, refugiado, asilado)
- Sin permiso o estatus migratorio autorizado
- Otro: _____
- Prefiero no responder

¿Qué estatus migratorio tiene usted ahora? *Sus respuestas son confidenciales.*

- La ciudadanía de EE.UU.
- Permiso de estancia temporal actual o renovado (visa de negocios, visitante, estudiante, diplomática)
- Permiso de estancia temporal caducado
- Permiso de residencia permanente (visa patrocinada por la familia o el empleador, 'green card')
- Otro tipo de permiso (estado de inmigrante juvenil especial, estatus de protección temporal, refugiado, asilado)
- Sin permiso o estatus migratorio autorizado
- Otro: _____
- Prefiero no responder

Gracias por completar esta encuesta. ¿Hay algo más que le gustaría compartir?

Gracias por dedicarle su tiempo a esta encuesta

¿Le gustaría participar en la rifa para ganar una de las doce tarjetas de regalo Visa por un valor de \$30 y el gran premio de una tarjeta de regalo Visa por valor de \$100?

Su información de contacto se mantendrá confidencial y no está vinculado a sus respuestas a la encuesta.

Nombre que desea ser llamado ("Carlos J.", "Meli T."): _____

IMPORTANTE: Esto NO tiene que ser su nombre real, pero usted debe elegir un nombre que recordará, porque si gana la tarjeta de regalo, será enviado a la dirección y el nombre se escribe aquí.

Dirección _____

Dirección 2 _____

Ciudad _____

Estado _____

Código postal _____

Correo electrónico _____

Teléfono _____

En el invierno, nos reuniremos con un grupo de personas en su comunidad para hablar sobre algunos de los temas en la encuesta. Usted será compensado \$25 por su tiempo.

¿Estaría interesado en participar?

Si indica "sí" nos pondremos en contacto con usted por teléfono y/o correo electrónico.

Una vez más, su participación es confidencial.

Sí

No

Gracias por dedicarle su tiempo a esta encuesta.

Appendix E: Focus Group Start List of Questions – English

Hello and welcome. Thank you so much for coming here today. My name is Sara Buckingham and I am a graduate student at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County. I will be leading our conversation today. This is _____, a (graduate/undergraduate) student at _____. _____ will be taking notes for us.

We are so glad that you chose to join our conversation today. As we have talked about over the phone and you wrote in the surveys back in the fall, we are hoping to learn about some of your hopes when you first came to the United States and what your experiences have been like. We want to know how you envisioned yourself taking on U.S. or ‘American’ culture and how you wanted to hold onto your original culture. We want to talk about whether you have been able to do those things, and what impact that has had on your life. Our hope is to learn from you so we know some of the things that are working well for you and what can be changed in your community to improve your experiences and the experiences of other immigrants.

We will be audio taping this focus group for our own internal use only. After our conversation, we will write down everything that has been said (without your names or any other information someone could use to identify you) and then will delete the audio. We will not share the audio tape with anyone outside of our team. [Will complete informed consent and give gift cards]

We have a couple of policies to help our conversation go smoothly.

- For confidentiality, we will be using first names only. You may choose to use your true first name or make up one. Your name will not be shared with anyone. Please write the name you would like to be called on the name tag in front of you.
- Please do not share what people say in this room outside of here without their permission. This kind of conversation can only work if everyone here shares their experiences openly and agrees to respect the privacy of others.
- There are no wrong answers. If your point of view is different from another participant’s, please share it with the group. We need to hear it!
- Please do not have side conversations. I want to hear from all of you. If there is something you would like to share while someone else is speaking, you can write it on the notepad in front of you so that you do not forget it.
- It is my job to direct our conversation, so I may ask us to move to different topics after a while. We have a limited amount of time together, and I want to respect your time. If you would like to chat with each other or me after our conversation, I will be glad to stay.

Let’s get to know each other. My name is Sara and I am a graduate student who lives in Maryland. I study psychology. I have never immigrated, but have lived, worked, and studied in a lot of different places around the world. I have also worked with a lot of immigrants in the United States and have gotten to see what immigration has been like for them. I am looking forward to learning from you today. [Research assistant will introduce self.] Do you have any questions before we begin? Let’s get started. I am turning on the audio recorder.

1. To begin, I would like you to think back to when you first came to the United States. Think about why you came, who you came with, and what you thought life would be like for you.

In what ways did you want to adopt U.S. / 'American' culture?

In what ways did you want to maintain your original culture?

- a. How did you imagine taking on parts of U.S. / 'American' culture? How did you imagine holding onto parts of your original culture?
 - i. At home? In your relationships? In public?
 - b. Can you describe what you wanted your typical day to be like?
 - c. How did you want to identify? Tell me what you wanted life to be like as _____.
 - d. Whom did you want to spend time with?
 - e. Were there particular U.S. / 'American' values you wanted to adopt? Were there particular values of your original culture you wanted to keep?
-
2. Now I want you to think about the way life is for you today. Has there been a time or event when you were not able to adopt U.S. / 'American' culture in the way you wanted? Tell me about it.
 - a. What were you not able to do?
 - i. How come? What seemed to prevent you from doing what you wanted?
 - b. How do you feel about it?
 - i. Has it created any stress for you? Has it impacted you in any way?
-
3. Has there been a time or event when you were not able to maintain your original culture in the way you wanted? Tell me about it.
 - a. What were you not able to do?
 - i. How come? What seemed to prevent you from doing what you wanted?
 - b. How did you feel about it?
 - i. Has it created any stress for you? Has it impacted you in any way?

Now I would like to hear if there are ways that you have done what you wanted.

4. Has there been a time or event when you adopted U.S. / 'American' culture in the way you wanted? Tell me about it.
 - a. What were you able to do?
 - i. How come? What seemed to help you do what you wanted?
 - b. How did you feel about it? Has it impacted you in any way?

5. Has there been a time or event when you have been able to hold onto your original culture in the way you wanted? Tell me about it.
 - a. What were you able to do?
 - i. How come? What seemed to help you do what you wanted?
 - b. How did you feel about it? Has it impacted you in any way?

6. Is there anything else you would like to share with us?

Thank you again for your time and for this wonderful conversation. I have learned so much from you today. Please contact me via phone or email if you have any follow-up questions or comments.

Appendix F: Focus Group Start List of Questions – Spanish

Bienvenidos. Muchas gracias por venir aquí hoy. Mi nombre es Sara Buckingham y soy una estudiante de posgrado en la Universidad de Maryland, Baltimore County. Voy a dirigir nuestra conversación. Ella se llama _____ y es estudiante de _____. Va a tomar notas para nosotros.

Nos alegramos de que todos ustedes eligieron participar en esta conversación. Como ya hemos hablado por teléfono, el propósito de la conversación es hablar de sus experiencias como inmigrantes en _____. Queremos conocer sus esperanzas cuando llegaron en los Estados Unidos y cómo fueron sus experiencias. Queremos saber la forma en que querían adoptar la cultura estadounidense o ‘americana’ y cómo querían mantener sus culturas de origen. También queremos hablar de si han sido capaz de hacer esto y cómo les afectó. Queremos aprender de ustedes así que podemos saber que va bien para ustedes y lo que podemos cambiar en la comunidad para mejorar sus experiencias y las experiencias de otros inmigrantes.

Vamos a grabar el audio de nuestra conversación sólo para nuestro propio uso interno. Después de nuestra conversación, vamos a escribir todo lo que han dicho (sin cualquier dato que puede identificarles) y luego vamos a borrar el audio. No compartimos el audio con nadie fuera de nuestro equipo.

Tenemos algunas reglas:

- Por su confidencialidad, vamos a utilizar nombres falsos / apodos. Por favor, escriba el nombre que le gustaría ser llamado aquí.
- También, en vez de utilizar el nombre de alguien fuera de aquí, favor de describirles con su relación a la persona. Por ejemplo, en vez de decir “James” digo “mi esposo” y en vez de decir “Elsa” digo “mi vecino.”
- Por favor, no comparte lo que la gente dice aquí sin permiso. Este tipo de conversación sólo puede funcionar si todos aquí respetan la privacidad de los demás.
- No hay respuestas equivocadas. Si su punto de vista sea diferente de otro participante, por favor, compártalo con el grupo. ¡Necesitamos saberlo!
- Por favor, no participe en conversaciones secundarias o ‘del lado’. Queremos oír a todos. Si hay algo que le gustaría compartir mientras otra persona está hablando, puede escribirlo aquí para que no lo olvide.
- Por fin, tengo que dirigir nuestra conversación; entonces, a veces, tengo que cambiar el tema. Tenemos una cantidad limitada de tiempo junto, y quiero respetar su tiempo. Si quiere platicar con otros o conmigo después de la conversación, sería feliz de quedarme.

[*Complete informed consent and give compensation*] ¿Todos están de acuerdo en participar?

¿Tienen alguna pregunta antes de empezar? Ok, Voy a encender la grabadora de audio. Cada uno tiene que decir “estoy de acuerdo de participar en este estudio” antes de empezar con la conversación.

Vamos a conocernos. Como ya he dicho, mi nombre es Sara y soy una estudiante de posgrado y vivo en Maryland. Estudio psicología y trabajo como terapeuta. Nunca he emigrado, pero he vivido, trabajado, y estudiado en muchos lugares. También he trabajado con muchos inmigrantes en los Estados Unidos. Tengo ganas de aprender de ustedes hoy. [*Notetaker will introduce self.*]

Ahora quiero conocerles. Por favor, díganos sus apodos, de donde son, por cuanto tiempo han vivido en los EEUU y en _____, y por qué decidieron a participar en esta conversación.

1. Primero, me gustaría que ustedes piensen de nuevo en cuando llegaron por la primera vez a los Estados Unidos. Pensemos en por qué usted vino, con quien vino, y cómo sería la vida para usted aquí.

¿Cuáles fueran sus esperanzas?

¿En qué manera quería adoptar/practicar las costumbres de la cultura estadounidense o 'americana'?

¿En qué manera quería mantener las costumbres de su cultura de origen?

(trabajo, hábitos de consumo, sistema político/gobierno, sistema de bienestar social/educación, relaciones sociales, relaciones familiares, creencias/prácticas religiosas, valores)

- a. ¿Cómo imaginaba practicando/adoptando las costumbres de la cultura estadounidense?

¿Cómo imaginaba manteniendo/sosteniendo las costumbres de su cultura de origen?
 - i. ¿En casa? ¿En sus relaciones? ¿En la comunidad?
- b. ¿Se puede describir lo que quería ser un día típico para usted?
- c. ¿Cómo desearía identificarse? (*latino, americano*) Dime lo que quería ser su vida como _____.
- d. ¿Con quién quería pasar el tiempo? (*inmigrantes, estadounidenses, latinos...*)
- e. ¿Habían valores particulares de los Estados Unidos que quería adoptar?
¿Habían valores particulares de su cultura de origen que quería mantener?

2. Ahora quiero que piense en cómo es la forma de su vida hoy en día.

¿Alguna vez hubo un momento o evento en que usted no podría adoptar las costumbres de la cultura estadounidense en la forma que quería? Dímelo.

- a. ¿Qué no podría hacer?
 - i. ¿Por qué? ¿Qué le impidió/detuvo hacer lo que quería?
- b. ¿Cómo se siente al respecto?
 - ii. ¿Le estresa / Ha creado estrés para usted? ¿Le ha afectado de alguna manera?

3. ¿Alguna vez hubo un momento o evento en que usted no podría mantener las costumbres de su cultura de origen en la forma que quería? Dímelos.
 - a. ¿Qué no podría hacer?
 - iii. ¿Por qué? ¿Qué le impidió/detuvo hacer lo que quería?
 - b. ¿Cómo se siente al respecto?
 - iv. ¿Le estresa / Ha creado estrés para usted? ¿Le ha afectado de alguna manera?

Ahora me gustaría saber si hay maneras en que usted ha logrado / conseguido lo que quería.

4. ¿Alguna vez hubo un momento o evento en que usted adoptó las costumbres de la cultura estadounidense en la forma que quería? Dímelos.
 - a. ¿Qué podría hacer?
 - v. ¿Por qué? ¿Qué le ayudó hacer lo que quería?
 - b. ¿Cómo se siente al respecto? ¿Le ha afectado de alguna manera?
5. ¿Alguna vez hubo un momento o evento en que usted mantuvo las costumbres de su cultura original en la forma que quería? Dímelos.
 - a. ¿Qué podría hacer?
 - vi. ¿Por qué? ¿Qué le ayudó hacer lo que quería?
 - b. ¿Cómo se siente al respecto? ¿Le ha afectado de alguna manera?
6. ¿Hay algo más que le gustaría compartir con nosotros?

Gracias de nuevo por su tiempo y por esta buena conversación. He aprendido mucho de ustedes hoy. Póngase en contacto conmigo por teléfono o correo electrónico si usted tenga alguna pregunta o cualquier comentario.

Appendix G: Focus Group Participant Information Form – English

State: _____ Group Number: _____ Nickname: _____

Participant Information Form

(Don't sign your name to this form. All collected information is anonymous.)

1. **What is your zipcode?** _____

2. **How old are you?** _____ **years**

3. **What is your gender?**

Woman

Transgender

Man

Genderqueer o non-binary

I identify as: _____

4. **How old were you when you first immigrated to the United States?** _____ **years**

5. **Where were you born?**

Argentina

Dominican Republic

Nicaragua

Bolivia

Ecuador

Panamá

Chile

El Salvador

Paraguay

Colombia

Guatemala

Perú

Costa Rica

Honduras

Uruguay

Cuba

México

Venezuela

6. **Outside of the United States, where have you spent the most time?**

Argentina

Dominican Republic

Nicaragua

Bolivia

Ecuador

Panamá

Chile

El Salvador

Paraguay

Colombia

Guatemala

Perú

Costa Rica

Honduras

Uruguay

Cuba

México

Venezuela

7. **Please indicate your primary reason(s) for immigrating to the United States. *(Select all that apply)***

Economics

War

Get services (doctor)

Education

Political instability

Natural disaster (earthquake, hurricane)

Employment

Join family

Better quality of life

Crime

Leave family

Other reasons *(please specify)*

Safety

Join friends

8. Please indicate who lives with you currently. (Check all that apply)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Spouse or partner | <input type="checkbox"/> Grandparents |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Child(ren) | <input type="checkbox"/> Other extended family |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Parent(s) and/or parent(s)-in-law | <input type="checkbox"/> Friends |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Siblings | <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Aunts, uncles, and/or cousins | _____ |

9. Please indicate who else in your family lives in the United States. (Check all that apply)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Spouse or partner | <input type="checkbox"/> Aunts, uncles, and/or cousins |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Child(ren) | <input type="checkbox"/> Grandparents |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Parent(s) and/or parent(s)-in-law | <input type="checkbox"/> Other extended family |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Siblings | <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____ |

10. Please indicate who else in your family lives your country of origin. (Check all that apply)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Spouse or partner | <input type="checkbox"/> Aunts, uncles, and/or cousins |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Child(ren) | <input type="checkbox"/> Grandparents |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Parent(s) and/or parent(s)-in-law | <input type="checkbox"/> Other extended family |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Siblings | <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____ |

Circle one

11. How much money does your household make? \$ _____ per week month year

12. How many people depend on this income (including yourself)? _____ people

13. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="radio"/> No formal education | <input type="radio"/> Associates degree or vocational/technical school (2 years) |
| <input type="radio"/> Primary school to 8 th grade | <input type="radio"/> Bachelor's degree |
| <input type="radio"/> Some high school, no diploma | <input type="radio"/> Master's degree |
| <input type="radio"/> High school diploma or GED | <input type="radio"/> Professional degree |
| <input type="radio"/> Some college | <input type="radio"/> Doctoral degree |

14. What is your current employment status?

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> Self-employed | <input type="radio"/> Homemaker |
| <input type="radio"/> Employed full-time (30+ hours/week) | <input type="radio"/> Student |
| <input type="radio"/> Employed part-time (< 30 hours/week) | <input type="radio"/> Retired |
| <input type="radio"/> Unemployed, not looking for work | <input type="radio"/> Unable to work |
| <input type="radio"/> Unemployed, looking for work | <input type="radio"/> Other: _____ |

15. **How would you describe your race? (Check all that apply)**

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> American Indian and/or Alaska Native | <input type="checkbox"/> Native Hawaiian and/or Other Pacific Islander |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Asian | <input type="checkbox"/> White and/or Caucasian |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Black and/or African American | <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____ |

16. **When you first entered the US, what immigration status did you have? Your response is confidential.**

- Temporary stay permit (business visa, visitor's visa, student visa, diplomatic visa)
- Permanent stay permit (family- or employer-sponsored visa, 'green card')
- Other type of permit (special immigrant juvenile status, temporary protected status, refugee, asylee)
- No permit or authorized immigration status
- Other: _____
- Prefer not to answer

17. **What immigration status do you currently have? Your response is confidential.**

- U.S. citizenship
- Current or renewed temporary stay permit (business visa, visitor's visa, student visa, diplomatic visa)
- Expired temporary stay permit
- Permanent stay permit (family- or employer-sponsored visa, 'green card')
- Other type of permit (special immigrant juvenile status, temporary protected status, refugee, asylee)
- No permit or authorized immigration status
- Other: _____
- Prefer not to answer

18. **Is there anything else you would like to share?**

Thank You

Appendix H: Focus Group Participant Information Form – Spanish

State: _____ Group Number: _____ Nickname: _____

Hoja de Información de Participante

(No firme su nombre. Toda la información se recoge de forma anónima.)

1. ¿Cuál es su código postal? _____

2. ¿Cuántos años tiene? _____ años

3. ¿Cómo describe Ud. su género?

Mujer

Transgénero

Hombre

Genderqueer o no binario

Me identifico como: _____

4. ¿Qué edad tenía Ud. cuando inmigró a los Estados Unidos? _____ años

5. ¿Dónde nació Ud.?

Argentina

República Dominicana

Nicaragua

Bolivia

Ecuador

Panamá

Chile

El Salvador

Paraguay

Colombia

Guatemala

Perú

Costa Rica

Honduras

Uruguay

Cuba

México

Venezuela

6. Fuera de los Estados Unidos, ¿dónde ha pasado Ud. la mayor parte del tiempo?

Argentina

República Dominicana

Nicaragua

Bolivia

Ecuador

Panamá

Chile

El Salvador

Paraguay

Colombia

Guatemala

Perú

Costa Rica

Honduras

Uruguay

Cuba

México

Venezuela

7. Indique la(s) razón(es) principal(es) para inmigrar a los EEUU. *(Seleccione todas las que apliquen)*

La economía

Guerra

Obtener servicios (médico)

Educación

Inestabilidad política

Desastres naturales (terremotos, huracanes)

Empleo

Reunirse con familia

Mejor calidad de vida

Crimen

Dejar familia

Otros motivos *(especificar):*

Seguridad

Reunirse con amigos

8. Por favor, indique quién vive con usted. (Seleccione todas las que apliquen)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cónyuge o pareja | <input type="checkbox"/> Abuela/o(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hija/o(s) | <input type="checkbox"/> Familia extendida |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Padre(s) y/o suegra/o(s) | <input type="checkbox"/> Amiga/o(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hermana/o(s) | <input type="checkbox"/> Otra(s) persona(s) (especificar): |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tía/o(s) y/o prima/o(s) | _____ |

9. Indique quién más en su familia vive en los Estados Unidos. (Seleccione todas las que apliquen)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cónyuge o pareja | <input type="checkbox"/> Tía/o(s) y/o prima/o(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hija/o(s) | <input type="checkbox"/> Abuela/o(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Padre(s) y/o suegra/o(s) | <input type="checkbox"/> Familia extendida |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hermana/o(s) | |

10. Indique quién más en su familia vive actualmente en su país de origen. (Seleccione todas las que apliquen)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cónyuge o pareja | <input type="checkbox"/> Tía/o(s) y/o prima/o(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hija/o(s) | <input type="checkbox"/> Abuela/o(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Padre(s) y/o suegra/o(s) | <input type="checkbox"/> Familia extendida |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hermana/o(s) | |

Circule uno

11. ¿Aproximadamente cuánto dinero gana su familia? \$ _____ por semana mes año

12. ¿Cuántas personas dependen de este ingreso (incluido usted)? _____ personas

13. ¿Cuál es su mayor nivel de educación?

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Sin educación formal | <input type="radio"/> Diploma de asociado o escuela vocacional/técnica (2 años) |
| <input type="radio"/> La escuela primaria - octavo grado | <input type="radio"/> Licenciatura / bachillerato |
| <input type="radio"/> Algunos estudios secundarios, sin diploma | <input type="radio"/> Maestría |
| <input type="radio"/> Diploma de escuela secundaria o GED | <input type="radio"/> Título profesional |
| <input type="radio"/> Algunos estudios universitarios, sin título | <input type="radio"/> Doctorado |

14. ¿Cuál es su situación laboral actual?

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Trabajador(a) independiente | <input type="radio"/> Ama/o de casa |
| <input type="radio"/> Empleado a tiempo completo (> 30 horas/semana) | <input type="radio"/> Estudiante |
| <input type="radio"/> Empleado a tiempo parcial (< 30 horas / semana) | <input type="radio"/> Jubilado |
| <input type="radio"/> Desempleado, NO en busca de trabajo | <input type="radio"/> Incapaz de trabajar |
| <input type="radio"/> Desempleado, en busca de trabajo | <input type="radio"/> Otro: _____ |

16. ¿Cómo describe su(s) raza(s)? (Seleccione todas las que apliquen)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Amerindio o nativo de Alaska | <input type="checkbox"/> Polinesios, maoríes o isleños del Pacífico |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Asiático | <input type="checkbox"/> Blanca y/o de raza caucásica |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Negro o afroamericano | <input type="checkbox"/> Otro: _____ |

17. La primera vez que entró a los EEUU, ¿qué estatus migratorio tuvo? *Sus respuestas son confidenciales.*

- Permiso de estancia temporal (visa de negocios, visa de visitante, visa de estudiante, visa diplomática)
- Permiso de residencia permanente (visa patrocinada por la familia o el empleador, 'green card')
- Otro tipo de permiso (estado de inmigrante juvenil especial, estatus de protección temporal, refugiado, asilado)
- Sin permiso o estatus migratorio autorizado
- Otro: _____
- Prefiero no responder

18. ¿Qué estatus migratorio tiene usted ahora? *Sus respuestas son confidenciales.*

- La ciudadanía de EE.UU.
- Permiso de estancia temporal actual o renovado (visa de negocios, visitante, estudiante, diplomática)
- Permiso de estancia temporal caducado
- Permiso de residencia permanente (visa patrocinada por la familia o el empleador, 'green card')
- Otro tipo de permiso (estado de inmigrante juvenil especial, estatus de protección temporal, refugiado, asilado)
- Sin permiso o estatus migratorio autorizado
- Otro: _____
- Prefiero no responder

19. ¿Hay algo más que le gustaría compartir?

Gracias

THE NUESTRAS EXPERIENCIAS PROJECT: ACCULTURATION & WELLBEING IN ALBUQUERQUE

What is the Nuestras Experiencias project?

The project explores how Latina/o immigrants adapt to communities, taking on new customs and maintaining old ones. Latina/o immigrants in Arizona, Maryland, New Mexico, and Virginia participated. We wanted to know:

- (1) What community characteristics help Latina/o immigrants to adapt in their preferred ways, and
- (2) How Latina/o immigrants’ adaptation influences their wellbeing.

456 participants completed surveys and 73 participated in focus groups. Participants were ages 18 to 77 (average age = 38) and had lived in the U.S. for less than 1 year to 55 years (average length = 17 years). More women than men or others participated. All participants were born in Latin America.

Region of Origin	Full Sample	New Mexico
<i>Mexico</i>	51.6%	83.0%
<i>Central America</i>	22.4%	7.5%
El Salvador	12.3%	0.9%
Guatemala	3.9%	4.7%
Honduras	5.3%	1.9%
Nicaragua	0.2%	0.0%
Panama	0.7%	0.0%
<i>South America</i>	22.8%	7.5%
Argentina	1.8%	0.0%
Bolivia	1.8%	0.0%
Chile	0.5%	0.0%
Colombia	4.8%	4.7%
Ecuador	2.7%	0.0%
Peru	9.6%	1.9%
Venezuela	1.6%	0.9%
<i>Islands</i>	3.2%	1.9%
Cuba	1.1%	1.9%
Dominican Republic	2.1%	0.0%

Some participants were naturalized citizens, whereas others were authorized immigrants, unauthorized immigrants, or those who did not disclose their immigration status.

Participants were recruited from organizations and public locations, such as parks and festivals. The following Albuquerque organizations were involved in some aspect of this project:

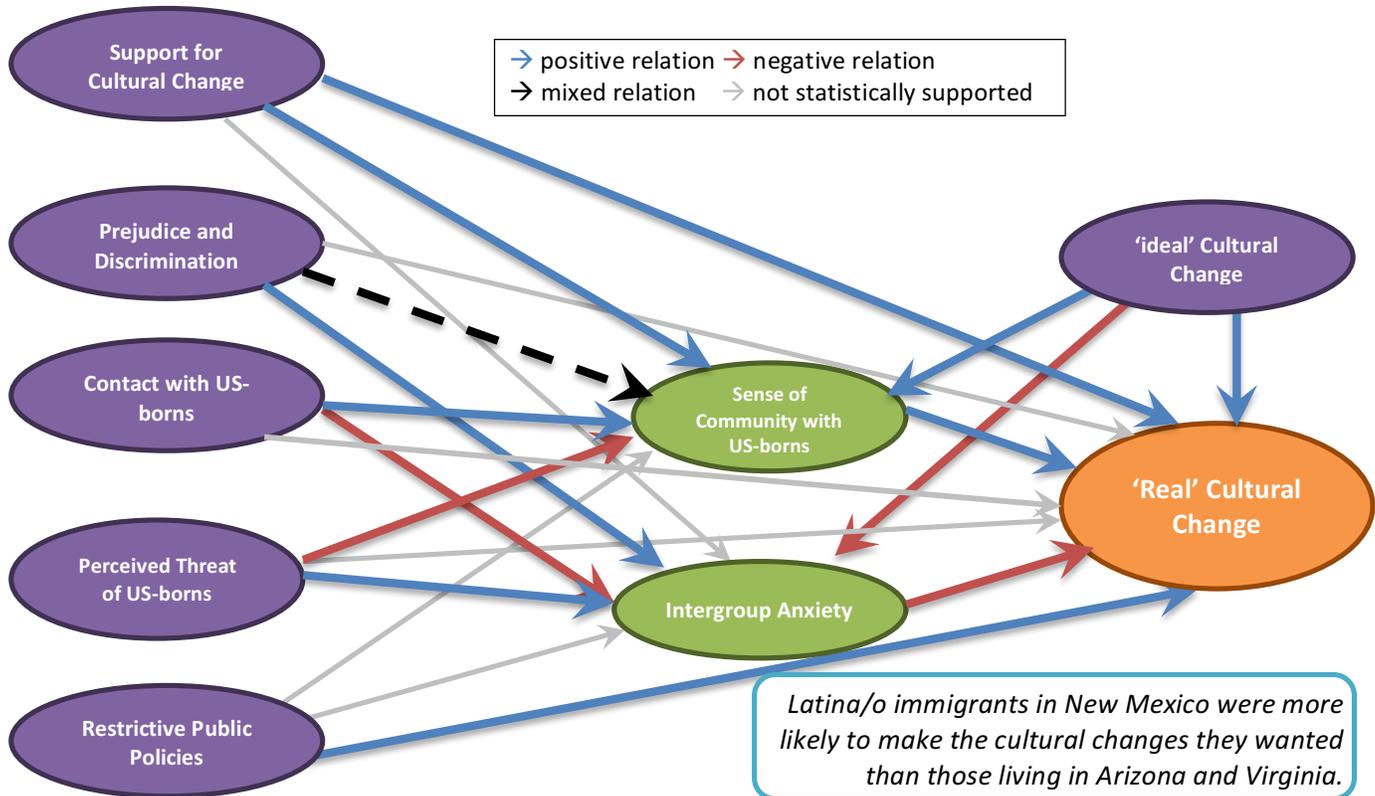
- Albuquerque Hispano Chamber of Commerce
- Catholic Charities of Albuquerque
- El Centro de Igualdad y Derechos
- El Centro de la Raza
- Organizers in the Land of Enchantment (OLÉ)
- Partnership for Community Action
- UNM High School Equivalency Program

We greatly appreciate and value their support. Both Maria Guadalupe Merino-Gomez and Elsa Reyes were instrumental in organizing this project in Albuquerque. This project would not have been possible without them. This project was funded by the Society for Community Research & Action. We greatly appreciate their support.

The information on this sheet pertains to the Latina/o immigrants living in New Mexico unless otherwise stated.

For additional information, please contact Sara Buckingham at sara.l.buckingham@umbc.edu or 719-371-2305.

What community characteristics help our Latina/o immigrant community members adapt to our community?



The more **US-borns supported cultural change**, the more Latina/o immigrants took on new customs, partially due to feeling a greater sense of community with US-borns. However, expectations were not always viewed positively, as some felt forced to make changes they did not desire, particularly regarding private matters. *“In El Paso everyone spoke Spanish, so you didn’t need to worry. When we arrived in Albuquerque it was horrible because not even the ESL teachers spoke Spanish ... But it helped me! ... Because I had to learn [English].”*

Overall, the more **Latina/o immigrants experienced prejudice and discrimination**, the less they took on new customs, due to feeling less of a sense of community with US-borns and feeling more anxious interacting with them. However, when they didn’t feel threatened, experiencing prejudice and discrimination was not as important to their sense of community. While immigrants in New Mexico reported less discrimination than in Arizona, participants still indicated being verbally assaulted, physically harmed, racially profiled, treated disrespectfully, and denied services and employment because of ethnicity, language or perceived status.

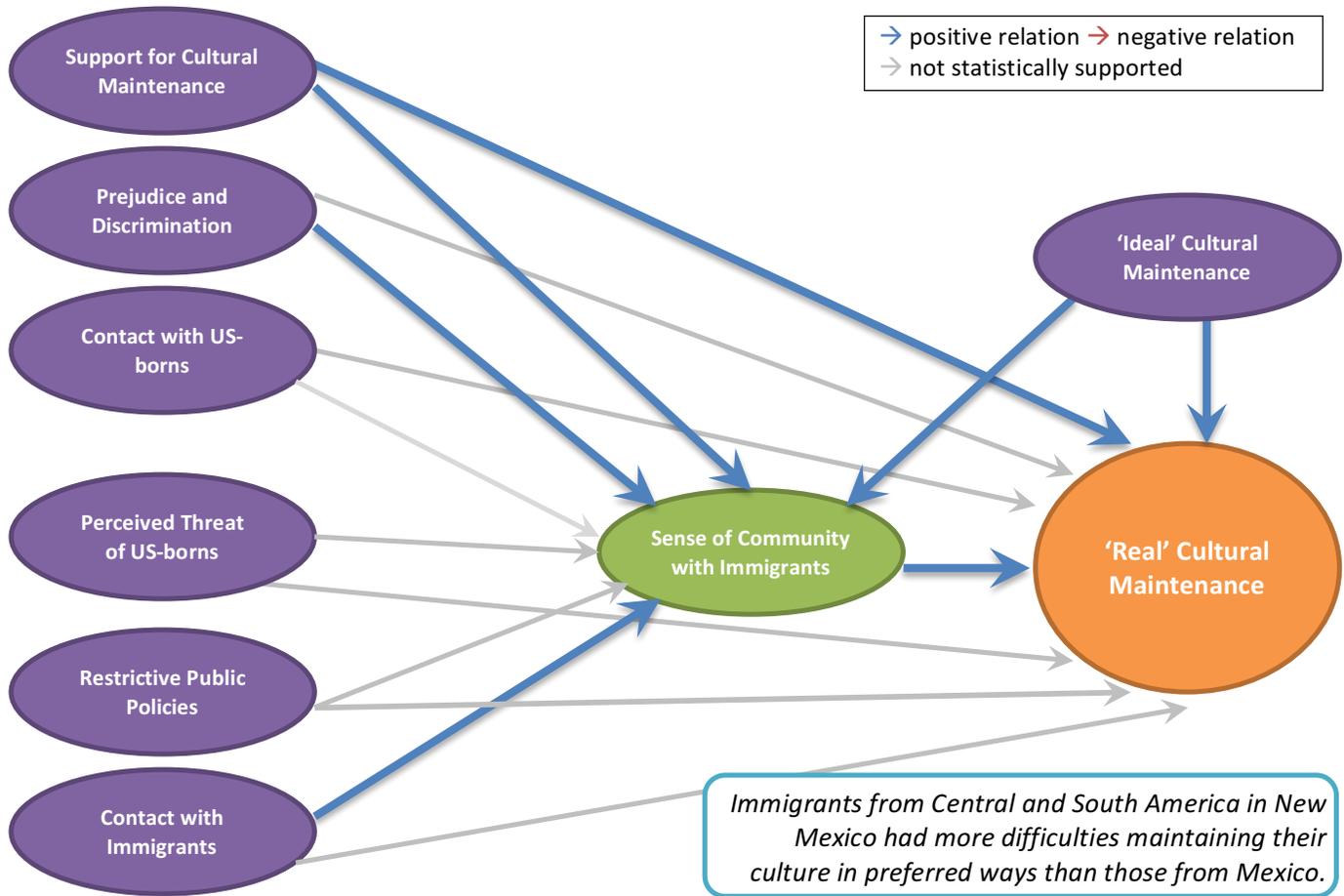
The more **positive contact Latina/o immigrants had with US-borns**, the more they took on new customs, due to feeling a greater a sense of community with US-borns and experiencing less anxiety interacting with them. Participants described positive interactions with US-born bosses, coworkers, neighbors, church members, teachers, friends, and even strangers helping them to feel a part of the community and take on new customs.

The more **Latina/o immigrants saw US-borns as a threat to their culture and wellbeing**, the less they took on new customs, due to feeling less of a sense of community with US-borns and feeling more anxious interacting with them. *“I’m so worried about my children. Here there are so many people with tattoos. ... And it seems like everyone uses drugs too.” “All of this about immigration is a political game and we’re the victims.”*

The more **restrictive policies** were, the more Latina/o immigrants took on new customs. *“I believe that as an immigrant you need to learn and follow the rules.”* This was not always viewed positively, as policies required changes not supported by participants. While many NM laws were seen to benefit immigrants, participants described times they were not implemented as intended (lack of interpretation, tuition issues for ‘DREAMers’).

The more **Latina/o immigrants wanted to take on new customs**, the more they took on new customs, partially due to feeling a greater of a sense of community with US-borns. *“[Having the children leave the house at 18] is a custom I have seen here and is something I want to give my kids, to have the opportunity to work and progress. ‘Go! Of course when you have a problem, come here, I will help you, but go.’”*

What community characteristics help our Latina/o immigrant community members maintain their customs?



The more **US-borns supported cultural maintenance**, the more Latina/o immigrants maintained their culture, partially due to feeling a greater sense of community with each other. It was particularly important to participants that they were able to share their culture with others. *“My children love Mexican food – pozole, tamales, mole – they are such a fan of all of that. And even their friends when they come over – even some who don’t speak a word of Spanish – will eat my food happily. One friend will say to my son, ‘When your mom makes the stew with potatoes and cheese, tell me so I can come eat at your house.’ ... And so we continue with our food, our customs.” “Where I live there are Anglos all around me, but we have an understanding between us. We are used to listening to music really loud, but of course we wait until the weekend because many people work, so we don’t have a problem keeping this custom. So, my neighborhood hasn’t been difficult for me.”*

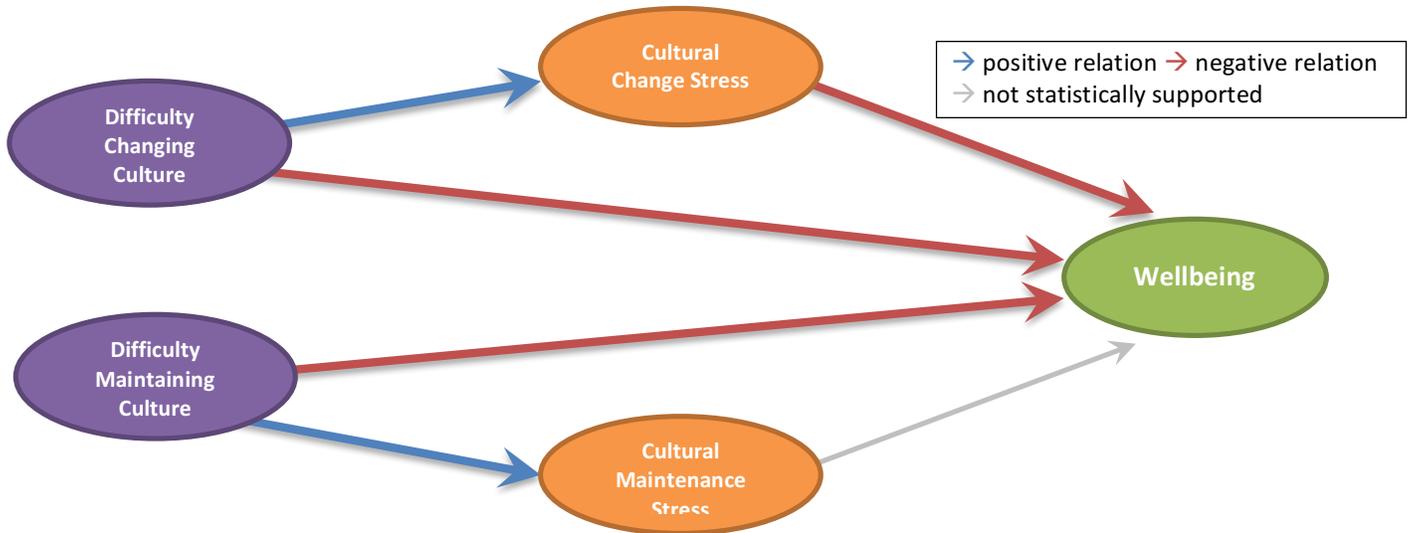
The more **positive Latina/o immigrants’ contact with each other**, the more they maintained their culture, due to feeling a greater sense of community with each other. *“I think what helps us maintain our culture is having lots of people from our country [here]. This helps us not lose ourselves – by staying close to Hispanic people.”*

The more **prejudice and discrimination** Latina/o immigrants felt, the more they maintained their culture, due to feeling a greater sense of community with each other. Participants described coming together as Latina/o immigrants to advocate for change as a result. *“When we have experienced discrimination, we have come together as families and as a community. And we have fought together to make changes in this community. We have had marches ... we have lifted our voices. And we have triumphed.”*

The more **Latina/o immigrants wanted to maintain their culture**, the more they did maintain it, partially due to feeling a greater sense of community. They often did so by sharing their culture with their children. *“It’s most important to me that [my child] knows where we are from ... so I first have her learn who she is to have power. I think many young people don’t have this connection. They don’t know who they are, where they are from.”*

No statistical relation was found for the role of restrictive public policies, contact with US-borns, and the perceived threat of US-borns on the extent to which Latina/o immigrants are able to maintain their customs.

How does adaptation play a role in our Latina/o immigrant community members' wellbeing?



The more **difficulties Latina/o immigrants have taking on the new customs** they desired to adopt, the worse their wellbeing, partly because of the stress they experience from cultural change. *“It was a really drastic change. I never considered that I didn’t know that language and I thought it would be easy to learn it. I thought it would be easy to find a good job. ... I arrived here and began to get up at 4 in the morning, without knowing the language and working straight for 13 hours. To this day of course I haven’t achieved my dreams. These are things I struggle with. I came without thinking of how difficult it would be to adapt. It was really hard for me.”*

The more **difficulties Latina/o immigrants have maintaining their culture** in the ways they desire, the worse their wellbeing. *“I try to maintain by culture, but for example, Independence Day is completely different here. And Easter – it’s incomparable. When I saw what they did here, I cried from sadness.”*

Many Latina/o immigrants reported that they were able to take on the cultural practices they desired while maintaining their old cultural practices, which was related to better wellbeing and less stress.

Resources useful for both maintaining customs and adapting to the community were:

- ESL classes
- Churches
- Support groups / ‘charlas’
- Interpretation services
- K-12 schools (particularly elementary), related school-based activities, GED programs, and colleges
- Grocery stores and restaurants that sell products and prepared food from their country of origin
- Spanish, English, and bilingual media (including newspapers, magazines, radio, television)
- Places that allow for celebrations of culture that include others (such as festivals, dance halls, events)
- Organizations that provide legal information and counsel, including ‘Know Your Rights’ classes
- Social services and employment service; transportation services to enhance community involvement
- Culturally-sensitive and linguistically-appropriate provider networks

Many indicated that while resources exist, they did not (at some point in time) know where to access them. *“Here people are egotistical about giving information and giving you help. There isn’t a lot of communication.”*

Most participants were hopeful and working towards change.

“We have succeeded because we have made our own businesses. Now there are street signs in Spanish and before there were not even translators in hospitals. Many have made the decision to go to school. We have taken ESL courses, and we have tried to apply what we know to share it with others here. I like Albuquerque a lot because we do not see ourselves as strangers, we see each other as family. We share music, painting, art. We talk about politics and sports. We have suffered a lot too because we have had politicians who have treated us poorly ... But let’s not forget how important we are together in the political struggle. ... We have changed all that. We have created leaders and activists for immigrant rights. And I think we have a lot of power when we unite.”

EXPERIENCIAS DE ACULTURACIÓN Y BIENESTAR EN MARYLAND

¿QUÉ ES EL PROYECTO?

El proyecto explora cómo los inmigrantes latinos se adaptan a las comunidades, asumen nuevas costumbres y mantienen las originales. Gente en Arizona, Maryland, Nuevo México y Virginia participaron. Quisimos saber:

- (1) Qué características de la comunidad ayudan a los inmigrantes a adaptarse en sus formas preferidas, y
- (2) Como la adaptación de los inmigrantes latinos influye en su bienestar.

456 personas completaron encuestas y 73 personas participaron en grupos de discusión. Los participantes eran de entre 18 y 77 años y habían vivido en los Estados Unidos desde menos de 1 año a 55 años. Más mujeres que hombres participaron. Todos los participantes nacieron en países latinoamericanos.

Región de Origen	Muestra Completa	Maryland
<i>México</i>	51.6%	36.1%
<i>América Central</i> (ej., El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras)	22.4%	38.5%
<i>Suramérica</i> (ej., Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Perú)	22.8%	19.7%
<i>Islas</i> (ej., Cuba, República Dominicana)	3.2%	5.7%

Los participantes fueron reclutados de organizaciones y lugares públicos, como parques y festivales. Las siguientes organizaciones en Maryland estaban involucrados en algún aspecto de este proyecto:

- Adelante Familia (House of Ruth)
- Centro de la Comunidad
- Centro SOL
- Creative Alliance
- Education Based Latino Outreach (EBLO)
- Esperanza Center (Catholic Charities)
- Featherstone Foundation
- Kennedy Krieger Outreach / Head Start
- Maryland Hispanic Chamber of Commerce
- Mayor's Office of Immigrant & Multicultural Affairs
- Patterson Park
- Peruvian Productions
- Southeast Community Development Corporation
- Spanish-Speaking Health Leaders of MD
- St. Matthew's Immigration Outreach
- St. Joseph's Catholic Parish
- Strong City Baltimore

El proyecto fue financiado por la Society of Community Research & Action. Apreciamos y valoramos su apoyo.

¿QUÉ CARACTERÍSTICAS DE LA COMUNIDAD AYUDAN A LOS INMIGRANTES A ADAPTARSE A LA COMUNIDAD?

- **APOYO:** Cuando **estadounidenses apoyaron cambios culturales más**, los inmigrantes adquirieron **más** nuevas costumbres, en parte debido a la sensación de un **mayor** sentido de comunidad con estadounidenses. Las expectativas no siempre se vieron positivamente, ya que algunos se consideraron obligados a hacer cambios que no deseaban, en particular con respecto a asuntos privados.
- **MENOS PREJUICIO:** Cuando los **inmigrantes experimentaron más prejuicio**, **menos** adquirieron nuevas costumbres, debido a **menos** sentimiento de comunidad con estadounidenses y sentirse **más** ansiosos interactuar con ellos. Fueron agredidos verbalmente y físicamente, perfilado racial, tratado sin respeto, y se les han negado servicios y empleo a causa de la etnia, idioma o estatus migratorio.
- **CONTACTO POSITIVO:** Cuando los **inmigrantes tenían más contacto positivo con estadounidenses**, **más** se tomaron nuevas costumbres, debido a una sensación **mayor** de sentido de comunidad con ellos y sentirse **menos** ansiosos interactuar con ellos. Describieron interacciones positivas con jefes, vecinos, compañeros, maestros, amigos, e incluso extraños que les ayudaron a sentirse parte de la comunidad.
- **MENOS AMENAZA:** Cuando los **inmigrantes latinos vieron a estadounidenses como una amenaza a su cultura y bienestar**, **menos** adquirieron nuevas costumbres, debido a sentir **menos** un sentido de comunidad con estadounidenses y sentirse **más** ansiosos interactuar con ellos.
- **POLÍTICAS:** Cuando habían **más políticas restrictivas**, los inmigrantes adquirieron **más** costumbres. Esto no siempre fue visto positivamente, ya que las políticas requerían cambios no soportados. Políticas que afectan empleo y funciones sociales fueron vistos como especialmente negativo.
- **DESEO:** Cuando los inmigrantes latinos **querían asumir más nuevas costumbres**, **más** se adquirieron nuevas costumbres, en parte debido a un sentido **mayor** de comunidad con los estadounidenses.

¿QUÉ CARACTERÍSTICAS DE LA COMUNIDAD AYUDAN A LOS INMIGRANTES A MANTENER SUS COSTUMBRES?

- **APOYO:** Cuando **estadounidenses apoyaron el mantenimiento cultural más**, los inmigrantes latinos mantenían sus culturas **más**, en parte debido a una sensación **mayor** de sentido de comunidad entre ellos. Fue particularmente importante para los participantes poder ser capaz de compartir su cultura con los demás.
- **CONTACTO POSITIVO:** Cuando **más contacto positivo había entre inmigrantes latinos**, **más** se mantenían sus culturas, debido a la sensación de un **mayor** sentido de comunidad entre ellos.
- **PREJUICIO:** Cuando los inmigrantes latinos sentían **más prejuicio y la discriminación**, **más** se mantenían sus culturas, debido a la sensación de un **mayor** sentido de comunidad entre ellos. Como un resultado, los participantes describieron unirse como inmigrantes para promover cambios.
- **DESEO:** Lo **más que los inmigrantes querían mantener sus culturas**, **más** hicieron para mantenerla, en parte debido a la sensación de un **mayor** sentido de comunidad. A menudo lo hicieron compartiendo sus culturas con sus hijos.

¿CÓMO ES QUE LA ADAPTACIÓN AFECTA EL BIENESTAR DE MIEMBROS INMIGRANTES DE LA COMUNIDAD?

- Cuando **más dificultades tenían los inmigrantes latinos de tomar nuevas costumbres** que deseaban adoptar, lo **peor** su bienestar, en parte debido a la **estrés** que experimentaban del cambio cultural.
- Cuando **más dificultades tenían los inmigrantes latinos para mantener sus culturas** en las formas que ellos deseaban, lo **peor** su bienestar.

Muchos inmigrantes latinos eran capaces de asumir las costumbres culturales de la forma que deseaban y a la vez mantener sus antiguas prácticas culturales, y eso se relacionan con un mejor bienestar y menos estrés.

RECURSOS ÚTILES PARA TANTO EL MANTENIMIENTO DE LAS COSTUMBRES Y LA ADAPTACIÓN FUERON:

- Clases de inglés (ESL)
- Iglesias
- Grupos de apoyo / 'charlas'
- Servicios de interpretación
- Escuelas K-12 (en particular primaria), actividades escolares, programas de GED, colegios/universidades
- Tiendas y restaurantes que venden productos comestibles y preparan comida de su país de origen
- Medios en español, inglés, y bilingües (incluyendo periódicos, revistas, radio, televisión)
- Lugares que permitan celebraciones de cultura (tales como festivales, salas de baile, eventos)
- Las organizaciones que proporcionan información legal y consejo, incluyendo "Conozca sus derechos"
- Servicios sociales y de empleo; servicios de transporte para mejorar su participación en la comunidad
- Las redes de proveedores con sensibilidad cultural y lingüísticamente apropiados

Muchas personas indicaron que, aunque sí existen recursos, en algún momento no supieron cómo accederlos.

LA MAYORÍA DE LOS PARTICIPANTES TENÍAN ESPERANZAS Y ESTABAN TRATANDO DE SEGUIR ADELANTE.

"Pensé que iba a ser fácil, pero ha resultado muy doloroso. ... Me ha tocado bastante acoplarme. Aunque todavía no estoy acostumbrada, yo sí quiero poder salir adelante. Yo quiero quedarme acá y poder valerme por mi misma y tener ese ímpetu de poder luchar."

Para obtener información adicional, por favor, póngase en contacto con Sara Buckingham en sara.l.buckingham@umbc.edu o 719-371-2305.

QR code takes you to survey



Participate in Survey: tinyurl.com/mis-experiencias

Share Your Experiences as an Immigrant

IRB Protocol Y15AB202015 approved for use 07/09/2015 – 07/08/2016

Tell us:

- Your hopes when you came to the United States
- Your experiences in the U.S.
- Your adaptation to the U.S.
- Your satisfaction with your communities and your life

*Your participation
is anonymous*

You can participate if you:

- Live in Arizona, Maryland, New Mexico, or Virginia
- Are at least 18 years old
- Were born in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, or Venezuela

Win up to
\$100 for your
participation



Share Your Experiences:
<http://tinyurl.com/mis-experiencias>
Questions? Sara Buckingham: 410-4555658
mis-experien.cia@umb.cedu

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Código le lleva a la encuesta



Participe en una encuesta: tinyurl.com/mis-experiencias

Comparta Sus Experiencias como inmigrante

IRB Protocol Y15AB202015 approved for use 07/09/2015 – 07/08/2016

Cuéntenos:

- Sus esperanzas cuando llegó a los Estados Unidos
- Sus experiencias en los E.E.U.U.
- Su adaptación a los E.E.U.U.
- Su satisfacción con sus comunidades y su vida

*Su participación
es anónima*

Se puede participar si:

- Vive en Arizona, Maryland, Nuevo México, o Virginia
- Tiene al menos 18 años de edad
- Nació en Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, la República Dominicana, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, México, Nicaragua, Panamá, Paraguay, Perú, Uruguay, o Venezuela

Gane hasta
\$100 por su
participación



Comparta Sus Experiencias:

<http://tinyurl.com/mis-experiencias>
¿Preguntas? Sara Budgeham: 410-455-5658
mis-experiencias@umbc.edu

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Appendix M: Qualitative Code Book

Code	Definition
Acculturation	
Cultural Change: Cross-Domain	Any description of someone taking on new cultural practices of their current locale (local community or US) and/or changing previous practices in which the practice either (a) fits into multiple domains or (b) does not clearly fit into any of the domains . Language use is frequently cross-domain. <i>Note: Try to identify a more specific domain before choosing to apply this code.</i>
Cultural Change: Peripheral/Public	Any description of someone taking on new cultural practices of their current locale (local community or US) and/or changing previous practices related to: work/employment (e.g., hours they work, type of job they do, style of working), home economics (e.g., products they buy – including food, how they save/spend money), politics/government (e.g., laws they follow, participation in voting), and/or the social welfare system (e.g., health care, education, social services)
Cultural Change: Intermediate/In-Group Relations	Any description of someone taking on new cultural practices of their current locale (local community or US) and/or changing previous practices related to: social relationships and friendships (e.g., who they are friends with, what they do in their leisure time, the style of their friendships)
Cultural Change: Central/Private	Any description of someone taking on new cultural practices of their current locale (local community or US) and/or changing previous practices related to: family relationships (e.g., family roles and responsibilities, ways of relating with one another), religious customs (e.g., style of worship, religious beliefs, prayer), and/or ways of thinking, principles, and values (e.g., beliefs about the world)
Cultural Maintenance: Cross-Domain	Any description of someone maintaining their previous/original practices of their culture in which the practice either (a) fits into multiple domains or (b) does not clearly fit into any of the domains . Language use is frequently cross-domain. <i>Note: Try to identify a more specific domain before choosing to apply this code.</i>
Cultural Maintenance: Peripheral/Public	Any description of someone maintaining their previous/original practices of their culture related to: work/employment (e.g., hours they work, type of job they do, style of working), home economics (e.g., products they buy – including food, how they save/spend money), politics/government (e.g., laws they follow, participation in voting), and/or the social welfare system (e.g., health care, education, social services)
Cultural Maintenance: Intermediate/In-Group Relations	Any description of someone maintaining their previous/original practices of their culture related to: social relationships and friendships (e.g., who they are friends with, what they do in their leisure time, the style of their friendships)
Cultural Maintenance: Central/Private	Any description of someone maintaining their previous/original practices of their culture related to: family relationships (e.g., family roles and responsibilities, ways of relating with one another), religious customs (e.g., style of worship, religious beliefs, prayer), and/or ways of thinking, principles, and values (e.g., beliefs about the world)
- R	Real Statement of something that has actually happened Should be combined with the acculturation (cultural maintenance and cultural change) codes
- I	Ideal Statement of something that is something that the participant wants – desired, aspired, wished for. Should be combined with the acculturation (cultural maintenance and cultural change) codes
- P	Perceived Statement of what the participant thinks others want him/her to do Should be combined with the acculturation (cultural maintenance and cultural change) codes

<i>Psychological Sense of Community</i>	
PSOC: Membership	The feeling of belonging or of sharing a sense of personal relatedness (i.e., boundaries marked by language, dress, and habits/traditions; emotional safety-security, feeling safe within the community; sense of belonging and identification; feeling accepted by that community; common symbol system shared among the community; personal investment).
PSOC: Shared Emotional Connection	The commitment and belief that members have shared and will share history, common places, time together, and similar experiences (i.e., contact-interaction between community members; quality interactions; shared events; investment; spiritual bond).
PSOC: Fulfillment of Needs	The feeling that members' needs will be met by the resources received through their membership in the group (fulfillment of needs can be by people, groups, communities)
PSOC: Mutual Influence	Sense of mattering, of making a difference to a group and of the group mattering to its members; can also include descriptions of influence in one direction
PSOC: Not Otherwise Specified	Description of shared characteristics, values, or goals between an individual and community(ies) which is not encompassed by other PSOC codes
<i>Intergroup Anxiety</i>	
Intergroup Anxiety	Description of a negative emotional reaction when the participant becomes aware of differences between him/her and someone in the US-born community from actual or anticipated contact (look for words like 'scared', 'uneasy', 'worried', 'nervous')
<i>Immigration-Related Public Policies</i>	
Public Policies: Positive	Description of a public policy that has aided the participant in some way and/or of which he/she has a positive view. These may include, but are not limited to, laws related to: immigration status inquiry and enforcement (e.g., policing, employment, driver's licenses, voting, deportation), public benefits, and higher education.
Public Policies: Negative	Description of a public policy that has hurt the participant in some way and/or of which he/she has a negative view. These may include, but are not limited to, laws related to: immigration status inquiry and enforcement (e.g., policing, employment, driver's licenses, voting, deportation), public benefits, and higher education.
Public Policies: Unclear	Description of a public policy in which the participant does not express a particular opinion and/or appears to feel neutral. These may include, but are not limited to, laws related to: immigration status inquiry and enforcement (e.g., policing, employment, driver's licenses, voting, deportation), public benefits, and higher education.
<i>Threat</i>	
Realistic Threat	Participant's belief (whether founded or not) that they or other Latina/o immigrants will experience decreases in their economic capital, political power, and material and physical well-being because of US-borns.
Symbolic Threat	Participant's belief (whether founded or not) that they or other Latina/o immigrants will experience <u>negative</u> changes in their morals, values, beliefs, attitudes, and standards because of US-borns.

Treatment	
Prejudice & Discrimination	Experience of prejudice (i.e., negative feelings, beliefs) or discrimination (i.e., negative actions) towards the participant or other Latina/o immigrants, often attributed to their race/ethnicity or status as an immigrant.
Positive Treatment	Experience of positive treatment (i.e., positive feelings, beliefs, or actions) towards the participant or other Latina/o immigrants, often attributed to their race/ethnicity or status as an immigrant.
Contact NOTE: Combine Latina/o, Immigrant, and US-born codes to represent who contact is with	
Positive Contact	Any experience the participant has had with a person/people (e.g., as friends, neighbors, colleagues, or in public) that is described as <u>positive</u> .
Negative Contact	Any experience the participant has had with a person/people (e.g., as friends, neighbors, colleagues, or in public) that is described as <u>negative</u> .
<i>Specify:</i>	
<i>Specify: Latino</i>	Combine with a contact code to represent contact with a person who is Latina/o, Hispanic, or Chicana/o.
<i>Specify: Immigrant</i>	Combine with a contact code to represent contact with a person who is an immigrant. Combine with Latina/o for contact with Latina/o immigrants: <i>Positive Contact – Latina/o – Immigrant</i>
<i>Specify: US-born</i>	Combine with a contact code to represent contact with a person who was born in the US. Combine with Latina/o for contact with US-born Latina/os: <i>Positive Contact – Latina/o – US-born</i> .
Wellbeing	
Wellbeing: Positive	A <u>positive</u> assessment of the participants' wellbeing and/or satisfaction across one or more life domains, including, but not limited to, interpersonal, community, occupational, physical, psychological, and economic aspects of one's life.
Wellbeing: Negative	A <u>negative</u> assessment of the participants' wellbeing and/or satisfaction across one or more life domains, including, but not limited to, interpersonal, community, occupational, physical, psychological, and economic aspects of one's life.
Acculturative Stress	
Acculturative Stress: Cultural Change	Any description of stress and/or difficulties/challenges/frustrations that result from the cultural change process, including language acquisition and all acculturation domains described above
Acculturative Stress: Cultural Maintenance	Any description of stress and/or difficulties/challenges/frustrations that result from the cultural maintenance process, including language acquisition and all acculturation domains described above
Immigration	
Immigration	Experiences changing country of residence to live (i.e., moving somewhere permanently or with the intention of moving somewhere permanently); may include reasons for immigration. Can use negative modifier to reflect 'push' reasons of emigration and positive modifier for 'pull' reasons.
Family	
Family of Origin	Participant's parent(s), sibling(s), and extended family
Family: Created	Interviewee's family (e.g., partner, children, and/or other members as defined by the interviewee)

Locales		
Local Community		Mention or description of one's current community (e.g., neighborhood, city, state)
Other US Location		Mention or description of another place in the United States where the participant does NOT currently reside. Includes both towns, states, and regions
United States		Mention or description of the United States in general. Note: when coding, try to assess more specific code (e.g., local community, other US location) and limit this to generalizations about the US.
Location of Origin		Mention or description of one's place(s) of origin outside of the United States, including – but not limited to – towns, states, and countries.
Other Location Outside US		Mention or description of a place outside of the US that is <u>NOT</u> the interviewee's place of origin, including – but not limited to – towns, states, countries, and groups of countries (e.g., Latin America).
Individual Characteristics		
Personal Characteristics		Description of something about the participant that influenced life experiences and/or ability to change/maintain culture. Includes both personality traits (e.g., internal locus of control, adaptability, open-mindedness) as well as concrete opportunities/roles (e.g., education, work).
Race/Ethnicity		Mention of race or ethnicity (e.g., Black, White, African American, Caucasian, Hispanic, Latino). <i>Note: We are not distinguishing between them because participants use them interchangeably.</i>
Nationality		Mention of country of origin as an identity (e.g., 'Soy Colombiana').
Additional Codes		
Hope		Any statement of a wish/desire/hope for life to get better, for conditions to improve, or to move forward. Can be related to one's own life or others' lives. Note: When using this, first check to see if the participant is referring to a desire to maintain or change their culture (i.e., acculturation code).
Information		Any statement regarding information/knowledge that the participant has or wishes to gain/learn; may also refer to a lack of knowledge (if so, combine with 'absent' modifier below).
Resources		Mention or description of programs that have been useful to the person, including, but not limited to, non-profit organizations, religiously-affiliated organization, government-run organizations, etc. <i>Note: This may be co-coded with public policies if it is a policy that provides a resource.</i>
Modifiers		
- Ab	Absent	Can be combined with any code to reflect a lack of that code
- Ne	Negative	Can be combined with any code to reflect the negative aspect of that code if not already specified; for example, may be combined to reflect negative cultural changes participant has experienced
- Po	Positive	Can be combined with any code to reflect the positive aspect of that code if not already specified; for example, may be combined to reflect especially positive cultural changes participant has experienced

Appendix N: Quotes in their Original Language (Primarily Spanish)

- i. Cristy: “Creo que a todos los que vienen de ilegal, pues nos, interesa eso.”
- ii. Rebeca: “Si uno nunca piensa en quedarse [y] piensa que su estadía es transitoria uno no adopta nada y a uno no le importa nada. Porque gente que regresa y se va –”
Nacional: “Que es de paso.”
Rebeca: “– Que es de paso y no le importó lo que pasa alrededor, pero los que si pensamos como quedarnos, uno empieza a como adoptar, a cambiar. No es que uno cambie las costumbres –”
Millonarios: “Aceptar –”
Rebeca: “Adoptar, adoptar ... a lo que uno tiene ... dejarlo y coger de las de aquí también.”
- iii. Hector: “Nadie no te va oír sin los papeles. ... Pueden tener eso arriba de ti. Eso es algo que mí me afectó mucho creciendo sin papeles porque siempre sabía que era diferente, y que estaba bien limitado a que podía hacer aquí. Y eso era por miedo. Pero cuando agarras tus papeles, eres como libre aquí. Puedes hacer lo que tú quieres, tienes oportunidades, pero cuando uno no tiene las requisas aquí es muy duro. Es muy proceso muy largo también y que cuesta mucho y lo hace muy difícil.”
- iv. Papa Ningo: “Trabajo con 99% de familias hispanas, familias indocumentadas. ... Es difícil porque hay que enseñarles sobre las oportunidades, sobre las reglas aquí en los Estados Unidos – aprender el inglés, que es lo principal. ... Entonces, encontrar recursos, uno se frustra, porque encontrar recursos para las familias que no tienen documentos es tan difícil [others concur], y tú te sientes tan frustrada y tan limitada [others concur, nodding in agreement] porque te preguntas ‘Ay, ¿donde puedo conseguir eso?’ Es que no, no, ¡no hay! No hay, porque no se te puede dar ninguna clase de recursos, porque no tiene documentos.”
- v. Chely: “Tenia 15, 14 años cuando llegue aquí. Ya llevo casi 30. Por eso pienso que soy más de aquí que de allá.”
- vi. Hector: “Crecí con muchas costumbres americanas porque estuve en la escuela desde chico, pues crecí con todo eso. Y era más fácil para mí aprender el inglés porque yo no tuve la dificultad de no tener alguien con quien aprender porque estaba en la escuela y allí me enseñaron todo. So, aprendí

ingles muy rápido. Las costumbres de aquí, pues es con lo que he crecido, so para mí no se me hace muy diferente, la diferencia. Y estaba como más de medio de mi vida y es lo que yo conozco.”

- vii. Rebeca: “Pues al comienzo yo creo que [quise mantener] todo ... porque uno no sabe cuál es la cultura de este país. Entonces uno viene con todo. Al medido que pasa el tiempo uno va cambiando y va cogiendo lo que uno cree que le sirve, lo que uno le gusta.”
- viii. Chaparra: “Pues aquí uno no más trabajando y en la casa. ... Y más como nosotros que no tenemos papeles. No podemos ir otra parte por miedo que nos vayan agarrar por el camino y ya no regresamos aquí. Y sí igual también, mi esposo se la pasa trabajando todo el día, no está que los niños. Cuando descansa pues, está cansado, no más se la pasa durmiendo. Vamos a la misma tienda de siempre a dar una vuelta y nos regresamos, no conocemos más acá. Y si hubiéramos estado en México, pues ya en México es muy diferente, se va uno con los tíos, como dice la señora, con los primos, con los papás. ... Se va uno a pasear. Saca los niños el domingo a conocer más cosas. Aquí no más al trabajo a la casa o de la escuela a la casa.”
- ix. Tiki: “Cambia toda la vida. ... Yo puedo pensar como de Chaparra, que ella está en un proceso que yo ya pasé de adaptación. La oigo, la escucho hablar. Y yo los primeros diez años que vivía aquí cada año decía, ‘El otro año ya me voy a regresar.’ Y ahorita, dije, no, no me voy a ser ciudadana, porque a mí ya no me regresan. Yo ya no me quiero ir [laughs]. Ahorita no. Yo ya estoy aquí. Yo, a veces, cuando voy a visitar mi familia en México. Veo cosas que he perdido, siento nostalgia. Pero en realidad yo no tengo deseo de regresar a esa vida. Yo ya me adapté a esta vida, que es diferente y las costumbres que uno pierde, yo podía decirte que son todas. Es un proceso de adaptación bien difícil, y más para nosotros que ya venimos grandes. Porque aquí la vida es distinta. Hasta los mismos grupos de que hacen aquí para apoyar a los hispanos es muy diferente a cuando está uno en México. Todo es muy, muy distinto. Nada es igual. Y es bueno porque aprende uno a cercarse como a otros círculos de gente que a lo mejor no lo haríamos si estuviéramos en nuestras ciudades. Y pienso que crecí uno de una forma diferente. Pero las costumbres pienso que se pierden todas. Se adaptó uno a vivir aquí y ya no, nada, nada puede volver a ser igual. Y pienso que eso es lo que es difícil. El momento de adaptarse aquí y aceptar que uno ya está aquí. Llegó el momento en que, como cuando uno va corriendo, que ya no te das cuenta el esfuerzo, que ya volteas, y dices, ‘No, ya no me acordaba que ya hacía eso.’ Porque ahorita me preguntas todo eso, y pueden ser miles de costumbres. Pero ya cuando uno está adaptado aquí ya uno no se da cuenta porque hace uno las cosas, como se dice en la psicología, cuando ya lo haces automático, ni lo

estás pensando, lo estás haciendo uno así. Y ya uno está parte de aquí, le guste a quien le guste. Uno ya es de aquí.”

- x. Mary: “No fue con la idea que yo venía, pero ya después con los años, después de muchos años, empecé a tener la oportunidad de una información, después otra información, y cuando empecé, como el pajarito a volar, a conocer, entonces, ya poco a poco, empecé a salir, con el tiempo, con los años. Ahora puedo decir que soy mi propia identidad. O sea que me siento que tengo voz, que ya estoy fuera de las sombras, que ya no estoy escondida, que ya no tengo miedo. ... Como todos, como inmigrantes. Ahora pues me siento bien, pero ya 20 años han pasado.”

- xi. Pequeña: “Lo bueno de aquí es que vas conociendo gente, porque hay gente de todo tipo. Y te empieza a decir donde te pueden ayudar, donde puedes estudiar, donde te pueden dar clases de inglés.”

- xii. Enrique: “Me siento en México. No me siento en los Estados Unidos. Me siento en México. [Some group members chuckle] Sí, ¿verdad?”
Tatiana: “Entonces, ¿que estoy agarrando de la cultura americana?”
Talco: “¿Cuál es la cultura americana?”
Nick: “¿Quién sabe?”
Enrique: “Esta zona de la frontera es mexicana.”
Tatiana: “Es de México.”

- xiii. Sr. Koala: “Pues de alguna manera, sí, se siente uno como en casa porque hay muchos mexicanos.”

- xiv. Harry Potter: “Yo llegué a Chicago a la edad de siete años, y viví allí 10 años. ... Cuando yo llegue de México a Chicago, no sentí la diferencia porque allá como si estuviera en México. Tienen de todos los productos, hay muchos hispanos allá. Allá en Chicago si ves a un hispano dices, ‘Mm, [shrugs] ok.’”

- xv. Luis: “La comida sobre todo porque cosas que se consiguen y se pueden hacer que parezca que es igual o parecido [pero] no, no. No es lo mismo.”

- xvi. Ana: “Me gusta que [mis hijas] aprecien también porque yo creo que es una bendición a vivir aquí. Porque tienen la oportunidad, bueno, al menos yo como lo veía, lo que más me frustraba era como la educación de decir, yo no

puedo estudiar y ellas van a estudiar. Ellas van a terminar sus carreras. Entonces sí, creo que hay más oportunidades de educación aquí. En México es muy difícil entrar en una universidad. Es muy complicado.”

- xvii. Elizabeth: “En mi caso yo a veces le digo a mi esposo, 'Esta semana vamos a pagar la renta entre nos dos, la siguiente semana podemos ir y comprar unos nuevos muebles, o comprar esto, o comprar el otro.' En cambio, en los países de nosotros no existe eso porque los sueldos son tan, tan poquito que para tener unos nuevos muebles tiene que sacarlo al crédito. Para tener una refrigeradora, tiene que sacar al crédito porque no hay dinero por pagarlo solo. Mmm. En cambio, aquí uno se puede dar ese lujo de poder comprar uno sus cosas, de poderse uno salir adelante con todo lo de su casa.”
- xviii. Tiki: “Cuando llegue aquí, yo sabía que uno tenía que venir a trabajar. ... Pero también estaba acostumbrado llegar a una oficina y trabajar con tacones, andar vestida así. ... Somos muy diferentes y nuestra educación es muy diferente, pero aquí somos iguales. Aquí no importa quien tú estuviste. Aquí, he conocido gente que en México podía ser maestro o enfermero y aquí están limpiando. Y hay campesinos trabajando, y ellos se hacen los que mandan los que estamos empezando a limpiar. O sea aquí cambió mucho la situación de uno.”
- xix. Aurelia: “Yo la comida. La comida sigue lo mismo. No cambio los frijoles, la tortilla, eso sigue día con día. ... El molcajete, la piedra en que hacen salsa, la sigue teniendo, la prensa para las tortillas. ...”
- xx. Aurelia: “Yo sí como demasiado picante. Y hay gente salvadoreña, hondureña que me dice, ¿'No te enferma el estómago?' No. 'No te pasa algo más?' 'No' le digo. Yo puedo comer 3, 4 libras de chiles a la semana. Libras. Que son de diferentes chiles. Y no nos pasa nada. [Gestures to Stephanie, who nods in agreement]. En una salsa 15 chiles y un tomate. [Group laughs] Y comemos y no nos afecta en la garganta, en el estómago, por ninguno no nos afecta.”
- Stephanie: “Y los pequeños también comen.”
- Aurelia: “Y los niños están acostumbrados al picante.”
- Orquídea: “Increíble.”
- Aurelia: “Y no, ellos, si te dan una comida como tomatada, no, no está bueno, no, no sale rico. Tenemos que tener picante, picante. Si no, no comemos. Alguien que no come chile no es mexicano.”
- Stephanie: “Claro.”

- xxi. Orquídea: “Toda la vida es muy rápido para mí. ... Tienes que planearlo con todo que tienes que hacer. Tú no puedes ir a visitar nadie sin antes llamar. Y ponerte a decir, ‘¿Puedo venir? ¿O no puedo venir?’ Todas esas cosas que nosotros no tenemos por lo menos en Cuba, aparecerse. Y allá es bienvenido y se comparte, y todo el mundo es feliz, ¿no? Pues acá todo tiene que ser planeado. Y eso de verdad, no sé si voy acostumbrar. O me voy acostumbrar, pero no me gusta, la verdad. Y es una de las cosas de que no hablamos, pero es una cosa, que me encanta de mi cultura y que creo que es bastante compartida entre la cultura hispana.”
- xxii. Enrique: “En mi país hablamos duro. Y nos llamamos por otro lado, ‘Fulano, ¡venga acá!’ Y lo primero que te dicen cuando llega, ‘Calmase’ [says very quietly, immitating what US-borns have said to him and laughs].”
 Arbolito: “Piensan que está uno enojado.”
 Enrique: “Sí.”
 Arbolito: “Dicen, ‘Señora esté tranquila; no pasa nada.’”
 Enrique: “‘Cálmese. Cálmese.’”
- xxiii. Luis: “Como cosas que se hacen acá que sí me gusta los ‘road trips’, salir de carro e ir. Incluso acá, el ‘hiking’, todo eso también. ... Y más, que bueno, en Arizona, es la oportunidad. Por ejemplo, a mí me gustaba salir a correr en Colombia también, hacia ejercicio. Y luego acá yo nunca hice ejercicio adentro del gimnasio, no. Pero ya luego de ver cómo estamos en verano es imposible.”
- xxiv. Ángel: “Tratamos que la cultura, que siguen ellos, que tengan valores. Nosotros como hispanos piensan que hay muchos valores muy diferentes. La unión familia, todo eso, y eso es lo que yo trato de mantener para que no se dividan y para que tratemos de seguir con eso.”
- xxv. Enrique: “Mantenemos a los hijos a los 18, los 19, los 20, los 30 y todavía estamos llamándoles la atención y pendiente de ellos tratan de ayudarnos. Y la mentalidad americana es otra. A los 18 le sacan y vaya a vivir. Si no tuviste la beca, anda, trabaja. Nosotros no, nosotros [cuando] tiene 30 y mamá coño, ‘Échale. Yo te pago la universidad.’ Otra, otra cultura.”
 Arbolito: “Así somos los hispanos, si les dijera que mis hijos casi todos viven conmigo [group laughs].”
 Enrique: “Es la cultura.”
 Arbolito: “El mayor ya tiene 35 años, vive conmigo porque es soltero. El tercero tiene 32 años, todavía vive conmigo, porque es soltero.”

- xxvi. Alf: “Que se quebró el teléfono, vamos a desarmarlo, vamos a mirar en el YouTube como se pone una pantalla de teléfono. Que se quebró, nombre eso se arregla. Que el carro se descompuso, a ver cuál es el problema. ... Entonces, alguien me dijo, tú sí eres hispano de verdad. Así que todos hacíamos [all laugh].”
- xxvii. Ñata: “Parte de mi es americana, también peruana, pero a la misma vez. ... pero también soy una estudiante. También me considero, like, latina.”
- xxviii. Julieta “Todo país tiene su historia, y como le digo a mi hija, ‘Entre más uno conoce gente, uno se da más oportunidad para obtener otras experiencias. Tienes que saber otros idiomas, te das cuenta de que todos somos iguales en muchas partes, pero tienes que primero aprender quien eres tú para poder y creo que esa conexión que muchas jóvenes no tienen aquí – no saben quiénes son, no saben de dónde vienen.”
- xxix. Súper Biscochito: “Empecé a ir a una iglesia a donde iban mis primos. Y allí fui cuando mi vida en realidad empezó cambiar muchísimo porque toda mi vida yo iba a una iglesia con mis padres, pero realmente no sabía ni para que íbamos, ni para que cantábamos, para que aplaudíamos, para que alzaban las manos. (Iba a una iglesia apostólica.) ... La iglesia apostólica es muy, muy conservadora. Las mujeres siempre tienen que andar con falda con un velo y los hombres siempre con corbata. ... Después a mudarme para acá, a mudarme a Nuevo México no continuamos yendo a una iglesia apostólica, pero fuimos a la iglesia donde iban mis tíos. ... Cristiana sin denominación, que también fue una iglesia que separó de la iglesia apostólica. Allí fue cuando empezó cambiar mi vida, en cuanto me empecé a dar cuenta que no se trataba de nada mas una religión, sino que es más una relación, ¿no? Una relación con mis primos, con mis tíos, con mi mamá, con mi familia. Y con Dios más que nada. Entonces eso fue lo que empezó cambiar mi manera de pensar.”
- xxx. Lucia: “[Un valor que] yo lo adopte y a mí me facilito es la independización – independizarse. Yo eso lo soñaba y lo logre.”
- xxxi. Karina: “Algo de la cultura americana que me gusta es, bueno en general, no todas las personas, pero que tiene un poco más a respecto a la privacidad de las personas. A veces cae en que nadie se mete con nadie. ... No anda tanto metiéndose en la vida de los demás, que respetan la privacidad de nosotros, que no le andan diciendo que es lo que tiene que hacer o como, o como se ve, o cosas así. En cambio, en nuestra cultura es un poco más que la gente se mete. Eso sí me gusta que se respeten más la privacidad.”

- xxxii. Vivo: “Así como puedes hablar libremente de lo que es tomar, anticonceptivos, sexo, este, e, cultura, iglesia, política, todo lo que tú quieres hablar.”
- xxxiii. Ileana: “Cuando empecé ir al colegio yo quería vivir en los dormitorios, quería estar sola. Dije, ‘Ok, tengo las 18, puedo hacer lo que yo quiero porque así se hace en los Estados Unidos.’ Y mis papas están, ‘No, todos van a pensar que eras loca. En México eso no se hace. Si una mujer se va sola sin estar casada es de esa allí.’ Dije, ‘No, está bien,’ y luego ya que he crecido más, regrese a vivir en la casa después de vivir sola. ... Antes nomas era ‘nomas voy estar aquí en la casa con mis papas otra vez un ratito y luego no me voy a regresar.’ Pero ahora estoy viendo porque es una costumbre para mis papas. Porque todos están más juntos. Se puede ayudar más entre nosotros en esa forma. Entonces yo creo que ahora me voy a quedar.”
- xxxiv. Ñata: “Mis primer días o meses ... era bien difícil ... era bien solitario. Like, irte como de una familia inmensa y después así pequeño. ... y mis papás todavía tenían que hacer tramites hasta cuando, yo me recuerdo cuando llegábamos, like, todavía tenemos que hacer como bastantes tramites. Entonces nos dejarían como solas, like, con un bebé ... ser niña, tener que cuidar de un bebé a la misma vez.”
- xxxv. Diesl: “Yo la verdad, yo no quería que se adoptara ningún tipo de costumbre americana, la verdad no. La verdad yo quería que siguiéramos todos, que aprovechamos la facilidad de obtener cosas así, pero sin perder nuestras culturas, nuestra raíz. Eso es lo que yo he deseado. ... Pero realmente de las costumbres de aquí, no, no, no.”
- xxxvi. Pequeña: “Aquí el idioma es lo primordial, porque si no sabes inglés, el intérprete llega después de que ya te iban a dar toda la información. Me ha tocado. He tenido a mi niño en emergencia y he tenido que esperar hasta que venga el intérprete, porque si no, no le entiendes como te va a decir.”
- xxxvii. Gloris: “Sí lo hablo poco pero no con la fluidez que yo quisiera, ¿verdad? Y de hecho para tener una plática sabrosita, pues si necesita uno entenderlo perfectamente y hablarlo con fluidez – es lo que me falta. Y luego que tengo 4 nietos que no hablan español, entonces sí hablo con ellos, pero no puedo platicar como yo quisiera. ... Pero si estoy viviendo en un país donde se habla inglés estoy obligada aprenderlo, aunque como me dice la compañerita realmente sí tenemos la facilidad sobretodo aquí en Nuevo México hay mucha gente que habla español, pero no, yo quiero hablar con los americanos.”

- xxxviii. Paisa: “Ese tipo de costumbre fue un poquito chocantes para nosotros ... el amor por los ancianatos. Ehm, nosotros acogemos a nuestros ancianos en nuestros hogares. Yo tuve a mi mamá viviendo conmigo estando, después de que le dio un derrame, la tuve viviendo conmigo con la aprobación de mi esposo y, y ni siquiera aprobación. El inmediatamente dijo ‘tu mamá se viene a vivir con nosotros’. Nunca pensamos en mandar los ancianos a un ancianato. ... Es muy triste ver tanta gente anciana sola, viviendo sola. Tiene su casa, su apartamento, lo que sea, tienen las facilidades que el gobierno les da, tienen su pensión, pero no tienen un abrazo de una persona que viene y les dice, ‘Vengo a estar contigo un rato.’”
- xxxix. Ángel: “He tratado de no dejar mi cultura de un lado pero ahorita que tengo ya 43 años, si te puedo decir que me he adoptado más a la cultura americana que a mi cultura, pero claro que siempre les estoy poniendo, inculcando mis hijos que sigan, que hablan – todos mis hijos son bilingües y son cinco, y los tengo en clases de bilingües porque es muy difícil mantener la cultura e incluso los tengo en escuelas donde hablan español-inglés. Estamos celebrando el día de independencia, todo eso porque hay muchos maestros hispanos de Perú – la maestra de mi hijo es de Perú. ... Y también quiero que se adoptan a las culturas también americanas. Por ejemplo, tengo mis hijos en Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, algo que no hay en México.”
- xl. Sr. Koala: “Se batalla porque estamos en un país que no es nuestro. Es otra cultura. Entonces yo no trato de ser igual que los demás. Soy como un visitante, como cuando invita alguien a su casa, ¿no? No puede uno disponer de toda recamaras del baño, de la cocina – tiene una de tener ciertas reglas y no olvidarse que uno es visitante. Entonces hay que respetar para que, pues no para que respeten, porque a veces no respeten a uno [chuckles sadly and group chuckles], pero no dar motivo de nos no respeten.”
- xli. Walter: “Este país es maravilloso. ... Aquí pueden salir adelante. Aquí hay muchas, mucha, mucha, mucho apoyo y hay muchas escuelas técnicas, por ejemplo, que no cuesta mucho. ... Yo he visto mujeres – ¡mujeres! – que se gradúan de 50 años, ¡que se gradúan! De air-condicionado. Salía con su diploma porque se esfuerza. Eso es la lucha aquí. Esta señora, Alombra, entro a computación. Ella tiene dos temporadas de computación, ¡ingles también! ... Me dieron ingles de segundo nivel también.”
- xlii. Julieta: “No debemos de perder nuestra raíz ni cambiar nada. Somos lo que somos. Pero, tenemos de hacer lo que se hace aquí en los estados unidos – tratar de sobresalir de hacer las cosas porque estamos en los estados unidos. Somos mexicanos de corazón, pero vivimos en estados unidos.”

Mina: “Mmhmm.”

Julieta: “Tenemos que hacer toda la lucha y yo lo digo por mí también, aprender más lo que podamos aprender en el inglés. Y tener un respecto hacia el pueblo americano porque –”

Mina: “Si porque todos nos adaptamos –”

Julieta: “Agradecerle porque nos dieron la oportunidad de estar aquí.”

Mina: “[Addressing focus group facilitator] Sara, sí, me he adaptado. [Addressing the group] Por ejemplo Sara va a nuestros países y entiende la cultura de nosotros. A hablar nuestro idioma porque está en el país extraño. Entonces estoy de acuerdo en que venimos, estamos en un país extraño, ellos no se van a adaptar a nosotros – entonces tenemos que adaptarnos a este espacio.”

Mina: “Por eso digo no cambiar, porque siempre respetar, amar, y todo –”

Julieta: “Es que yo me he adaptado.”

Vivo: “Pero no dejar nuestras raíces.”

Mina: “Pero por su puesto hay cosas que no dejaría como yo les explique. ¿Sí? Yo sigo en el intento y ellos lo saben de idioma, pero sé que hay muchas cosas que se tienen que hacer y yo respecto leyes, yo respecto todo.”

Vivo: “Sí.”

Julieta: “Mmhmm.”

- xliii. Gloris: “Y de hecho pues yo pienso que realmente sí estamos en un país que nos abrió las puertas tenemos que amarlo y respetarlo como yo a mí y respeto aquí Estados Unidos y pero no me olvidado de mi hermosísimo país que es México a quien amo con todo mi corazón también no me voy a olvidar de mis raíces tampoco.”
- xliv. Alexandra: “La señora que me crio me dijo, ‘Vete para allá, que así eres abogada, allá por lo menos vas a tener un buen trabajo, vas a poder trabajar porque aquí los abogados – si eres abogado el marero te busca y te mata.’ Entonces, yo me vine, pero no pude estudiar, no he podido ser abogada.”
- xlv. Gloris: “Es muy incómodo estar en un grupo donde estén hablando inglés y que uno no pueda participar en la plática. ... de hecho para tener una plática sabrosita, pues si necesita uno entenderlo perfectamente y hablarlo con fluidez.”
- xlvi. Ileana: “Me estoy dando cuenta de cosas chicas, como fuimos a cenar en el día de San Valentín y no sé cómo se dio cuenta mi papa ... pero me dijo ‘¿Por

qué gastaste tanto en ese restaurant?’ O sea, por que pague yo, y él me dijo ‘¿Pagas?! ¿Cuándo él te compra algo? ¡Él lo tiene que comprarlo!’ ... Yo creo que esa costumbre es muy diferente y no lo voy a seguir [la costumbre de] mis papas. Yo quiero estar como yo estoy aquí. Yo soy muy cómoda en saber que yo me puedo pagar mis cosas y que yo no tengo que esperar que él me compra, o pedirle, o algo así.”

xlvi. Elizabeth: “Hay que llamarles y decirles, que ‘¿vas estar en tu casa, que puedo ir a visitar o hasta así?’ Es bien diferente.”

Karina: “Lo he notado que yo también he ido cambiando con lo que decía la señora, que sigue que una siempre ando ocupada, si alguien llega sin avisar, me sorprende. ¿Que voy a hacer? ... Pero sí me gusta cuando serán las cosas más acompañas. Cuando hago las cosas espontáneas, me recuerdo que así debería ser la vida, mas acompañas.”

Elizabeth: “¡Mmhmm!”

Karina: “Pero, creo que ya eso es un milagro cuando, cuando pasa en el mismo día uno se puede hacer cosa, sin tanta anticipación.”

xlvi. Flor: “Me gustaría conocer y ver más experiencias aparte de las que uno mismo tiene. Y pues casi no hay oportunidades, porque este país es de oportunidad, es cierto, pero creo que también este país es diferente cultura y no hay la misma sociabilidad, bueno en mi caso, con personas.”

xlix. Alf: “Que difícil es encontrar un aguacate que este en su punto.”

Papa Ningo & Cony: “Mmhmm.”

Alf: “Pagas un dólar sesenta o uno no sabe cuánto por un aguacate y llegas a la casa, lo partes –”

Music: “Ya está verde.”

Carlos Kent: “Mierda.”

Music: “No por el color, sino que no está maduro”

Rosario: “¡Ay dios mío!”

Alf: “Pues, cuando yo llegué aquí fue difícil la comida pues bien difícil, pero creo que fue más difícil para ti, que no había tantas tiendas.”

Tito QZ: “En el ’86. ... bueno no hay nada que ver. No existía.”

1. Rosario: “Ya estaba como voluntaria en el departamento del ESL, leyendo a los niños hispanos. Y mi inglés ... es muy bueno la gramática, pero tenemos un error: no lo hablamos. ... De manera que, esta experiencia me llevó a

expresar todo. ... La primera lectura fue octubre, Halloween, y yo hacía las escenas de la bruja, y para todos los niños [en la escuela], de manera que eso me llevó a ser útil. Para el año 2007, ya me han dado la posición cafetería monitor. Sí, logre algo. ... Tengo ocho años trabajando en [a public school system], y me ha dado la oportunidad de recibir la comunidad hispana, y los ayudo a los ánimos. ... Cuando me hice ciudadana, una de las preguntas que me hicieron ‘¿Qué harías tú por tu nuevo país?’ Si pudiera estar en mis manos, les daría la ciudadanía a todos [becomes emotional], porque las taxes, que pagamos van a nuestras escuelas. No había visto escuelas tan lindas como las de acá [crying], de manera que nuestros hijos tienen todo para seguir adelante y alcanzar sus proyectos.”

Cony: “Eso es lo que me encanta de los Estados Unidos, del interés por la superación.”

Rosario: “Exacto. Yo le digo a los padres hispanos, me perdona la posición, regia, firme, aquí es aprender el inglés. ... Tú tienes que trabajar por ello. ... Entonces, hayan su trabajo ... y vamos hacerlo, no se preocupe. Y luego ya la comunidad de Richmond ofrece clases para lenguaje y muchas alternativas. ... Estados Unidos para mí no es nada, porque ya he adaptado, según el lugar donde he estado.”

- li. Magdis: “Tengo que agradecer, verdad, que este país me adoptó, verdad, no en todo porque estoy de allá, de otro lado [she laughs]. Pero me aceptaron y hay oportunidades. Me ha servido muchísimo en el aspecto, como dicen ustedes. Ahorita, precisamente en este tiempo estoy aprendiendo yo un poquito de la historia de los Estados Unidos, verdad, porque estoy tomando clases, y estoy aprendiendo la historia de los Estados Unidos porque quiero aprenderlo.”

- lii. Thor: “Algo a mí que me ayuda mucho, y me ayudado bastante, realmente, a sentirme fuerte con mi acento. Antes yo me sentía un poco avergonzado de mi acento, ahora lo amo. Le doy gracias a Dios que tengo acento ... y hablo, pero antes me daba miedo. Pero lo he superado. Ahora sí, hablo, aunque las cosas se me salgan mal, hablo. ¿Por qué? Porque me siento capaz y lo voy a hacer. Ya se me quitó ese miedo que la gente me ponía, ‘Ay, te escuchaste mal,’ o me engañaba. ... Lo que pasa es que uno tiene ese miedo, ‘Ay, ¡se van a burlar de mí!’ y ¿qué voy a ganar con eso? ¡No voy a ganar nada! [others concur] Búrlate, pero ¡voy a hacer lo que hago yo! Entonces, eso es un paso, ¿sí o no?, realmente a perder el miedo entre los hispanos. Recomendar a uno, inglés entre los hispanos. ‘Ay, no lo dijo bien,’ digan cosas así. ... Pero al fin, básicamente, sentirse orgulloso de lo que ha aprendido.”

- liii. Cusi: “Hay muchísimas cosas que no conocemos. Tenemos que conocerlas. Cuando nos pasamos las situaciones, las dejamos pasar por el miedo que hay – ‘este es país de ellos, no es de nosotros’ [imitating others].”
Aurelia: “Sí, a veces tenemos miedo, no queremos causar un problema.”
Cusi: “Pero, nosotros pagamos impuestos.”
- liv. Ileana: “Fui a una high school donde había muchos americanos. Y de verdad no había nada de mexicanos. Yo creo que yo era la única. Y de verdad antes no me día cuenta. ... Yo siempre pensé que oh, yo soy de aquí. Sí, soy muy orgullosa que soy de México, pero también soy de aquí. ... Pero, gente me empezó a decir: ‘O, tú eres la única mexicana aquí. ¿Como se siente? ¿Como se dice eso en español? ¿Has visto estas palabras en español? ¿Has visto Rebelde? En mi clase de español lo vimos todo el tiempo.’ ... Sentí que era la única. Cuando fuimos tomando clases de honores de inglés – lo que antes me gustaba más. Siempre me ha gustado mucho a leer. Y siempre estaba muy orgullosa que saque muy bien las calificaciones. ... Y un muchacho dijo algo, y siempre me va quedar conmigo. Me dijo, ‘¿Estás segura que no estás en la clase equivocada de inglés? Porque no es su idioma principal.’ ... Y de esa vez, siento ansioso por hablar con americanos. Yo creo que yo quería tener esa costumbre de sentir que yo soy de aquí, yo creo. Y de esa vez ahora no me importa. Ahora yo soy como ‘¡No! ¡Yo no soy de aquí!’”
- lv. Thor: “Al año que llegamos aquí con mi hermana gemela dije, ‘Pues, ¿sabes qué? Vamos a aprender inglés, vamos a entrar a high school. Si nos dan la oportunidad, vamos a entrar, vamos.’ Saqué de la high school en tres años. Yo sí me ponía a estudiar, a agarrar a mis libros del principio al fin. Todo aquel problema, yo lo solucionaba. No me importaba si estuviera mal. Pues, estuviera bien. Trabajaba en las tardes de dishwasher. Cuando no trabajaba en las tardes, me iba a una escuela de ESL en las tardes. Entonces, yo hacía lo posible a aprender, para salir adelante.”
- lvi. Aurelia: “Estoy aprendiendo inglés para mi beneficio propio. ... En mi casa son bienvenidos de todas las nacionalidades. Yo tengo amistades de todos tipos.”
- lvii. Ángel: “Yo siempre me gustó mucho trabajar. Yo empecé trabajar desde los doce años, los trece años. Cuando yo llegué aquí, yo empecé a buscar trabajo rápido. Tenía quince años y encontré trabajo de niñera en Scottsdale y me gustó mucho. No hablaba inglés, nada de inglés, pero empecé a hablar, empecé a aprender, cuidando tres niñas, empecé a aprender porque me gustaba. ... Fue bueno porque aprendí. Trato de aprovechar cualquier

oportunidad para aprender, para crecer, y aun siendo niñera pues de todo, tuve la oportunidad de aprender el inglés.”

- lviii. Caty: “Es una costumbre que he visto aquí que yo quiero darles a mis hijos en cuanto tenga la oportunidad de la capacidad de trabajar o de salir adelante, ‘Váyase. Claro que cuando tenga un problema, ven, yo te ayudo, pero váyase.’”
- lix. Tiki: “Y en Estados Unidos, hay mucha gente – americana blanca, americana nativos, de color – que se están abriendo más aceptarnos a nosotros. Y nosotros también tenemos que aprender a aceptarlos a ellos. Y no permitir que nadie nos haga sentir mal. Usted es parte de este país. Y uno se tiene que cuando uno ya está aquí ya es parte de este país y tenemos que ser conscientes y concientizar a toda nuestra gente. Y creo que hay mucho por aprender y educar a nosotros y educar a nuestros hijos para que, podemos ... alegrar. ... Todos los que estamos aquí somos parte de este país de una misma forma.”
- lx. Cony: “Cómo el país se interesa por la educación y la superación de las personas.”
- lxi. Elizabeth: “Tuve que aprender inglés porque sí, pues, no porque uno quería aprender así – es que tuvimos que aprenderlo.”
- lxii. Chely: “En El Paso, todo el mundo habla español, allí no tienes que preocuparse por nada. Cuando llegamos a Albuquerque eso fue horrible porque ni siquiera los maestros de ESL nos hablaban en español. ... ¡Pero, me ayudó! ... Porque tenía que aprenderlo.”
- lxiii. Leidy: “Fueron muchos choques, pero pues uno aprende. Lo que ya mencionaron de la comida, no solo el sabor de la comida propia sino de acostumbrarme al estilo de vida americano de, que se desayuna, que se almuerza un sándwich. Yo nunca en mi vida había almorzado un sándwich. Eso para mí era comer mal para mí. Mi papa me regañaba eso. 'No es comer. Comer su arroz, su papa, su carne.' Su almuerzo acá fue y después los sándwiches para [cenar]. Para mi familia es ... comes un poquito al mediodía y sigues picando cositas – almendras, chocolate – y ya a la noche el plato fuerte y pues así no es. Pues a nivel cultural para mí no era así. Fue otro choque. Fueron muchos choques que nunca me imaginé, pero ya en este punto ya, pues uno ya se acostumbra como es todo.”

- lxiv. Casa Verde: “Cuando yo invite por primera vez a un grupo de niños de la escuela de uno de mis hijos. Y ellos sencillamente entraron ni siquiera nos miraron a nosotros, como el papa y la mama de la casa, y yo dije ‘¿Qué es esto?’ Yo dije y mi esposo dijo ‘No esto como así, ni siquiera nos saludaron, ni siquiera nos dieron las gracias’. En Colombia es muy diferente. ... Y yo después hable con ellos: ‘Ustedes acá llegan a una casa y saludan al papá y a la mamá que son los que merecen el respeto en la casa’. Ese tipo de costumbre, de educación, fue un poquito chocante para nosotros ...”
- lxv. Nely: “Me preocupa mucho por mis hijos. Aquí hay tantas personas con tatuajes. ... Y parece que todo el mundo usa drogas también.”
- lxvi. Alf: “Sentí que estaba dejando una parte de mí, por mi cultura. Se fue quedando eso, y me sentí un poco vacío, solo. ... Fue algo difícil para adaptarme a la cultura americana, y mire amigos que empezaban a parrandear, empezaban a abusar drogas. ... Tenía miedo. Dije, ‘No quiero hacer eso.’”
- lxvii. Yara: “Una cosa que también tiene aquí que le digo a mi esposo ‘que raros’ de que – por ejemplo, yo bien chiquitos yo 17 y el 18 y nosotros al juntarnos no nos casamos por el civil al estar juntos: ‘mi esposa, mi esposo.’ Y aquí pueden tener 15,000 hijos y ‘Ah es mi novia, mi novio’ Digo, ‘¿Por qué?!’ ‘Si ya son esposos no decir que es tu novia, no es esto,’ le digo a mi niño.”
- lxviii. Nick: “Están deportando gente que no deberían deportar, están separando familias. ... Porque no eres de aquí las autoridades no te tomen en cuenta, no te creen nada, no – es que por muchos procesos para poder, para tener algún tipo de apoyo, de cambiarles su mentalidad, para que te crean algo. Este, te traten como, este, un delincuente. ... Me metían con delincuente. Estuve con delincuentes, asesinos, sueldos de la Mara Salvatrucha. Y dicen que es un centro de detención, pero es como una cárcel de alto seguridad, era. Y los de inmigración solo manejan la facilidad – no le importan lo que sean las reglas, las leyes. Yo sé que han dicho que no deberían niños encerrados, y había muchos niños encerrados en frente de donde yo estaba.”
- lxix. Mantequilla: “Todo eso de la inmigración es un juego político y todos nosotros somos las víctimas.”
- lxx. Hector: “Nadie no te va oír sin los papeles. ... Pueden tener eso arriba de ti. Eso es algo que mí me afectó mucho creciendo sin papeles porque siempre sabía que era diferente, y que estaba bien limitado a que podía hacer aquí. Y eso era por miedo.”

- lxxi. Patricia: “A veces los helicópteros andaban así. ‘Escóndete, no hagas ruido porque te van a llevar.’ ... Yo lloraba en un rincón. Yo me quería ir, pero como me decían que ... inmigración me iba a agarrar, nunca salí.”
- lxxii. Luis: “Tempe. Bueno, primero las personas en la universidad – sobre todos los relacionados con los temas del español, los de Transborder Studies. Y también hay como espacios como muy abiertos, porque [en] realidad Arizona es un estado muy conservador, antiinmigrante, racista. Pero en estos espacios como de arte, de teatro, creo que es un ambiente diferente que, como más receptivo. Entonces ha sido importante, este incluso. ... Donde había música vivo, en cafés, estoy más relacionado con ese tipo de ambiente. Creo que no se siente tanto como esa idea de Arizona así – racista y prejuicioso. Creo que he tenido la fortuna que involucrarme en esta burbuja. Como protegido por ciertas zonas de la universidad y yo creo que las artes así, y todo este tipo de ambientes – del resto, no. ... Me he restringido un poco en ese sentido.”
- lxxiii. Tiki: “Por ejemplo, como está ahorita la presidencia de Donald Trump. Pero no todos son como Donald Trump. Eso es un pensamiento, eso un partido. Y no toda la gente piensa así. Pero, este, tristemente hablando la otra vez con un paciente que estaba muy enfermo, blanco. Estaba Donald Trump en la televisión. Y yo haciendo todo para él como hispana. Y yo no creo que él no supiera que soy hispana por mi acento, empezó a decir cosas malas de los mexicanos. Entonces es como una ofensa, ¿no? Y yo estoy haciendo mi trabajo lo tengo que ayudar, y dije, ‘Si necesita pain medication [says in English] me avisa’ [group laughs]. Pero se queda uno así. ... Es que tocó el suelo que uno todavía no siento de aquí. Con tú y los papeles, con tú y toda la ciudadanía, sigamos siendo igual como que los que no tienen papeles, somos todos iguales. Seguimos pasando todos por lo misma ... y que muchos no logramos entender es apoyar entre nosotros. Y tratar de que no si sigue creciendo el odio a otra raza porque no se trata de ser un grupo de chicanos, o de hispanos, e ir contra los Estados Unidos. Se trate de concertar que estamos todos viviendo todos juntos, y tratar de lidiar a la gente que todavía no lo acepta. Porque siempre va ver gente que cuando lo más están adoptando uno les dicen, ‘Tú ni eres de aquí’ [laughs]. O la otra vez que los indios y cosas así, se queda uno como, ‘Oh, my God.’ No acaba uno de adaptarse, cuando uno está apenas bien a gusto siempre llega una persona a recordarte que eres indio, que eres mexicano, que eres más obscuro de la piel, o que se sienten que uno les está quitando el trabajo. Tonterías así, que nunca, que yo pienso nunca, nadie 100% se va sentir adoptado porque siempre va ir alguien así.”
- lxxiv. Chispy: “Estoy como adentro de mi casa, porque yo saliendo fuera, siento que no estoy. ... A veces voy con mi esposo a las tiendas, pero siento que alguien

me ya está siguiendo, o me está mirando, y a mí me da miedo. ... Yo siento que alguno, que uno quiere abusar de uno ... porque, cuando yo trabajaba en el hotel, tenía un señor, un americano, y yo estaba en el baño limpiando y me encerraba ahí.”

- lxxv. Chispy: “Entonces, yo no sabía nada de inglés, porque cuando venimos, nos habíamos nada ... y me quedo en la casa. ... Dios me ha mandado personas muy buenas, americanas que conozco, que me han demostrado su amor, pero también personas que me persiguen. ... Por eso ya es muy particular ese miedo que yo tengo. ... Yo digo, ‘Para algo me quieren. A lo mejor me va a secuestrarme, va a hacer daño.’ Entonces ese es mi miedo que yo tengo.”
- lxxvi. Mónica: “Ellos me asustaban porque yo hablaba español – no habla inglés. Me hacían cosa. A veces no tenía seguridad y no quería regresar [a la escuela]. A veces peleaban conmigo. ... me decían cosas que yo no entendía y me querían pegar y a veces los profesores también porque no tenían paciencia conmigo. Y a veces me cambiaban de escuela y a veces era igual hasta el high school. Me encerraron en los baños ... porque no les gustaba estar conmigo, que hablaba español. Me hacían cosas malas.”
- lxxvii. Arbolito: “Sí, hay discriminación aquí en Nuevo México, pero ustedes han estado aquí muy poco tiempo. Yo ahorita tengo 10 años aquí en Nuevo México. Pero, dure 22 años en Arizona. Allí sí, se siente la discriminación ... de que no hablas el idioma, de que eres hispano, y no se diga indocumentada. Entonces aquí en Nuevo México es un encanto, todo lo que yo he vivido aquí. ... Ya conseguí mis papeles aquí, aquí todo me facilitó. ... Pero en Arizona era una discriminación. Cuando no me faltaban un papel, me faltaron otro. Siempre tratando de sacar una culpabilidad cuando uno sabe que uno no es un delincuente.”
- lxxviii. Ángel: “Pienso que depende en donde trabajes también. Porque, por ejemplo, si me voy a trabajar a Food City o Ranch Market, ¿verdad?, vaya a convivir con la mayoría – noventa por ciento personas hispanas. Entonces, depende de la gente con la que convivas. ... Sí, me han ayudado mucho los trabajos que he tenido porque convivo con mucha gente americana y eso me ayuda aprender la cultura de aquí, las costumbres.”
- lxxix. Pilimili: “Siempre vamos a encontrar gente que vamos a sentirnos relativos. ... Entonces, yo creo que acá encuentro yo, el haber sobrellevado toda mi experiencia de cambio, de adaptación, de saber que no estoy trabajando para, sino con esta cultura, de estar mano a mano [con ellos]. Mi esposo es

americano. ... Entonces, si yo abro [mi mente], lo acepto, y ellos también, nos vamos a enriquecer mutuamente.”

- lxxx. Ana: “Trabajo con pura gente americana y me siento perfectamente cómoda porque he tenido el privilegio de solamente tener buenas experiencias. Puedo comunicarme con ellos. No hablo bien inglés, pero tampoco es una dificultad para mí. Todos son bien lindos conmigo.”
- lxxxi. Chiquita: “Yo creo que aquí, como inmigrante, tienes que aprender y seguir las reglas de aquí.”
- lxxxii. Tito QZ: “El mayor problema que hay es que, si estás trabajando en trabajos que son ... de nivel bajo porque debidos a tu indocumentación, no puedes trabajar en trabajos medios o altos, tienes que tener dos o tres trabajos. Y trabaja el papá, trabaja la mamá, trabaja el hijo, ... para que juntos puedan mantener la olla y pagar la renta. No hay tiempo para nada más.”
- lxxxiii. Alfy: “Aquí llegar yo trabaje al mes siguiente porque teníamos que trabajar. Y no me importaba la clase de trabajo ... haciendo lo mismo que hacia los señores o señoras que estaban a mi lado que eran personas casi analfabetas. No me importaba eso. Hice lo que necesitaba. ... Yo me acuerdo que yo salía de la casa de noche y llegaba de noche.”
- lxxxiv. Arbolito: “Los estudiantes de los Estados Unidos, les tienen una tarifa, pero la tarifa de me hija era súper alta. ... La aceptaron y todo por su buena empeño calificación, pero cuando vengo a ver que allá cobran mucho más que a un ciudadano, dije yo, ¿que era la diferencia? Entonces tengo la reunión y nos damos cuenta de es porque la tiene registrada como hija de inmigrantes. ... Pero la mujer nos puede arreglar los papeles. ... Y en 15 minutos, antes de salir de la oficina, cambió. Ya lo cambiaron. Pero así trabaje en [la universidad]. Tiene que estar uno fijándose en cada número, en cada palabra, que está pasando y en cuanto. Si no dice nada, pues, las cosas allí están.”
- lxxxv. Nick: “El semestre pasado – hay un documento que se llama FAFSA. Es ayuda financiera del gobierno. No puedo agarrar el federal, pero puedo agarrar el estatal. Entonces yo lo que tuve que hacer es firmar la hoja, llenar la hoja, pero en papel. Los demás tienen que llenarlo en la computadora. Y la entregó y por 2 años no me han dado nada. Y hablamos de por qué no me han dado nada, por qué no estoy recibiendo dinero. Y es porque no había llenado una zona a donde dice que, ‘Si la primera es sí, todo lo demás lo deje en blanco.’ ... Y, pos, nada más porque el señor nos dice, ‘Tienes que llenar.’ ¿Por qué

dice así? Luego, el Centro de la Raza da una ayuda allí para hispanos en la universidad. Luego hablamos con el oficial de ayuda financiera, y también en minutos ya tenía una cifra de cuenta.”

lxxxvi. Pilimili: “La policía, por ejemplo, yo estuve también, participé en una sesión de policías por dos meses. Nos dieron como un diploma de cómo [interactuar] de una autoridad ... y nos dijo ‘Ustedes, si ustedes manejan, manejen con cuidado, vayan al límite. Si no tienen licencia, vayan al límite, tengan sus placas bien puestas, sus inspecciones hechas, sus llantas bien buenas, y ustedes van estar tranquilos.’”

lxxxvii. Nely: “Las licencias.”

Yara: “Pues ya luchamos por las licencias que no – las querían poner diferentes que estuvieran como –”

Gloris: “Si, siempre como queda –”

Yara: “Creo que no va ser eso. No le fue bien a la Susana Martínez.”

Gloris: “¿Entonces qué? ¿La licencia todavía nos va servir como ID?”

Yara: “¡Sí!”

Gloris: “Ay, que bueno.”

Lia: “No, dijeron que iba ser un permiso para manejar, pero no va a ser licencia.”

Yara: “Pero eso no está dicho que va hacer así. No está dicho. Por eso estamos luchando.”

Nely: “Ahorita vamos a seguir igual – la licencia puede ser un ID, ¿sí?”

Gloris: “Mmhmm.”

Lia: “Pero para viajar, ya no.”

Yara: “Sí, para viajar también.”

Nely: “¿Todavía?”

Lia: “Todavía no.”

Yara: “Mi esposo viaja de Texas a aquí.”

Ricky: “¿Cuándo son las votaciones para si deciden que se quede como identificación o no?”

Yara: “La verdad, no sé.”

lxxxviii. Ricky: “Es muy difícil acoplarse a este tipo de vida, sus reglas, sus costumbres son muy difícil. Nosotros, nos venimos de Chihuahua por

necesidad porque las cosas estaban difíciles. ... Fuimos a vivir a Colorado para mejores oportunidades, pero algunas puertas se nos cerraron. Yo quise poder estudiar en la universidad y por ser indocumentado no nos permitieron. Y muchas veces me arrepiento porque de mis 20 años que tengo allá, como que se desperdiciaron, ¿Por qué me vine para Estados Unidos si las oportunidades que dicen que hay no lo permiten? Pienso que no es justo porque pienso que esos 20 años se desperdiciaron de mi vida.”

- lxxxix. Súper Biscochito: “Aunque toda la gente que vive en Los Ángeles habla español y la mayoría son mexicanos, no hay programas que se dedican a trabajar con los chicos que viven en esa ciudad. ... Y entonces yo crecí sin saber nada de mi cultura. Mi mamá y mi papa no platicaban mucho de su experiencia en México, tampoco hablaban muy poco de cómo cruzamos la frontera. Y bueno yo crecí sin conocerme, sin conociendo de donde es mi gente, ¿no? Y de donde son mis antepasados, ni de donde era, ¡ni de donde soy! Entonces yo creo que eso fue creando en mí como un resentimiento en contra mía, en contra de mi propia gente, en contra de mi propio lenguaje, en contra de mi propia raza.”
- xc. Thor: “Otra cosa bien, bien importante: Uno, cuando ve a un hispano – ‘Hey, ¿de dónde eres? hey, ¿hablas español, hey ¿que pasa?’ ¿Sí o no? Entonces siente la unidad entre los latinos [others in the group concurred]. Ya no es solo mexicano, peruano, no – Es latino, es hispano. Entonces, ayuda bastante. Otro es el idioma mexicano, ¿sí o no? Los mexicanos, nos reímos cada rato, las canciones y todo eso [others chuckled]. Oh my God, orgulloso de ser mexicano. ¿Sí o no? Cualquier canción, cualquier chiste, estoy riéndome. ... Entonces, también me ayuda a seguir adelante. ... Mi tío y mi tía vinieron de México para acá. Y, bueno, hicieron comida allá en la casa, todos nos juntamos. Asamos carne, hicieron menudo, yo maté a un chivo. Y sentir las raíces. Si yo vengo de allí, yo soy mexicano, yo soy latino, yo hago esto. ... Yo soy uno de eso. ¿Sí o no? [others concurred].”
- xc. Ricky: “Yo pienso que tener uno bien claro no olvidar nuestras costumbres, nuestro país y aunque aquí es muy diferente, siempre tener claro que nuestras costumbres son lo que es más importante.”
- xcii. Patricia: “Yo pienso que tengo que hablar el español, tengo que ver mi cultura para no olvidarme de mi cultura.”
- xciii. Alfy: “En mi casa se baile y eso me di cuenta de que, al menos que tu revivas tu propia cultura, de que tu revivas tus raíces, tus tradiciones, nadie le importa. A nadie te las va a revivir por ti. Eso me ha dado cuenta, si tú quieres vivir la

experiencia de nuevo, revívela. Revívela y comparte sanamente. Mi esposa le encanta hacer hojuelas cada navidad. Ella hace, diez, quince, más de mi mama. ... Si quieres comer unos frijoles refritos y unos huevitos con, con chorizo, tú te los tienes que preparar.”

- xciv. Chely: “Para mí eso es la más importante, ella sepa de donde somos. ... tienes que primero aprender quien eres tú para tener poder. Creo que esa conexión muchas jóvenes no tienen aquí. No saben quiénes son, no saben de dónde vienen.”
- xcv. Diesl: “Cuando nosotros nos reunimos en familia siempre mantenemos la cultura de la comida, Siempre hacemos los potlucks. ... Un potluck, me entiendes, donde todos hacemos un platillo. Nunca vamos hacer un platillo americano, solamente es un platillo mexicano. Es una manera de no dejar de la cultura, estar hablando en español. No porque no lo sepamos, pero porque queremos mantener la lengua de la familia.”
- xcvi. Arbolito: “Ahí viven anglos a nuestro alrededor, pero ... nos entendemos entre todos. Estamos acostumbrados a oír la música bien alta, pero claro tiene que ser el fin de semana, ¿no? porque muchos trabajan. Entonces no tenemos un problema con esta costumbre. Para mí no ha sido difícil en el barrio.”
- xcvii. Rebeca: “No puedo poner la música duro en mi casa, aunque esté dentro de mi casa porque el vecino va a llamar la policía y va a venir y decirme, ‘Bájale el volumen.’”
- xcviii. Pilimili: “Mi primera experiencia también aquí fue de ir a los ‘Meet ups’ que se hacen en español ... entonces eso también fue una experiencia linda porque allí encontraba gente que no era americana, pero quería aprender ese idioma, o que eran americanos y que estaban tratando de abrirse a otra cultura, ¿no? Entonces, esa experiencia para mí fue súper enriquecedora en mis primeros inicios.”
- xcix. Yara: “Mis hijos les encanta la comida mexicana: pozole, los tamales, el mole ... ellos son fan de todos eso. Y hasta sus amiguitos, cuando van – hay unos que ni habla nada de español, pero ellos comiendo bien a gusto les gusta la comida. Tiene un amiguito que le dice a mi hijo, ‘Cuando tu mamá haga el caldo de papas con queso, dime para ir a tu casa comer porque hace muy buena comida.’ ... y que le digo a mi hijo dejemos de tener eso, nuestras comidas, nuestra todo, seguir.”

- c. Mina: “Los eventos, el 5 de mayo, de todo eso.”
- Chely: “Si, eso 5 de mayo, digo a mi hija, ‘No es el día de independencia de México, hija.’”
- Vivo: “Sí, es una confusión grandísima que tienen aquí. Desde hacen muchos años, pero yo no sé. Por causa Washington, lo adopta, digo no, o sea también festejan el cinco de mayo como el día de la independencia.”
- Chely: “Pero, aunque sea tenemos que estar agradecidos.”
- Vivo: “Agradecidos porque confunden.” [group laughing loudly]
- Mina: “Por lo menos lo hacen.”
- Julieta: “Tiene un poco que lo están adaptando. La independencia de México, sí.”
- ci. Flor: “Yo veo que, a mi hija, yo la llevo a cualquier lugar y mi hija era una niña que llegaba y se sentaba. Era una niña que llegaba y a su edad yo solamente me le quedaba viendo y con la mirada yo la dominaba. ¿Por qué? Porque así me dominaba ... [En mi país] le alzo la voz si ella no viene, pero en este país no le alzo la voz porque me da pena, porque me da pena que ninguna madre lo hace y yo cómo se lo voy a hacer a mi hija. ... Y ahora yo veo a mi hija, la otra, chiquita, y yo la veo y mi hija me juzga. ¿Por qué? Porque en este país no podemos tocar a un niño, porque en este país no podemos llamarle la atención a un niño, porque si yo le llamo fuerte la atención a mi hija ella se siente al mal, porque al de al lado no se lo hacen.”
- cii. Choclo: “Cuando empecé trabajar me dijeron que no podía hablar en español. Me prohibían hablar en español. Me decían que, 'No puedes hablar en español' porque hay gente que habla inglés y me decían que pues, piensan que está hablando de ellos. No, no estamos hablando de ellos; estamos hablando de que vamos a comer en nuestro lunch. ... Hay varios lugares que me han prohibido hablar en español. ¿Sabes qué? Me tuve que acostumbrar a eso. Entonces, un día al ver novelas, abrazándome el perro, no hablaba muy bien el inglés. Odiaban – me ponía triste cada vez que me haciendo que no me entendían. ¡Frustration! Es que deje de hablar el español. Deje de escuchar música en español, deje de hablar con todas las personas que hablan español, mirar televisión en español. Vi Law & Order [chuckles], cambié de novela a otra en ingles –”
- Ángel: “Programa.”
- Choclo: “Programa. Empecé a recortar a las personas que hablaban español en un momento. Yo mismo me detestaba hablar español y ni siquiera hablar con mi madre, o mi hermana, nadie, por un par de años – bien poco hablaba español. Ni leía en español.”

- ciii. Choclo: “Una de las razones que me dan pena es de que por dejar de hablar por muchos años español, ahora sufro hablando español. A veces se dan cuenta que hablo cosas en español y en inglés porque no recuerdo como se dice en español. He perdido [eso]. Y a veces, como te digo, el rencor de aprender el español, que es tan fuerte, que no lo hable por muchos años – hasta odiaba las personas que hablaban español, los detestaba.”
- civ. Ángel: “Yo veo eso diariamente en donde yo trabajo – de que personas que vienen de otros países y que son doctores y son ingenieros [en sus países] y están trabajando construcción acá. Es difícil ver eso. ... Te aplaudo por ser tan valiente y por estar haciendo tanto esfuerzo. Pienso que a lo mejor si piensas, no sé, pero, a lo mejor parte de las decisiones que tomas malas, como dejar de hablar con tu papa, con tu hermana, con tu mama, hubiera sido diferente, pero de alguna manera te sentiste forzado por la sociedad y de la manera como te estaban viendo.”
- Choclo: “No tenía ninguna opción. ...”
- Ángel: “Yo entiendo, exacto, porque no hay apoyo, porque la gente critica.”
- cv. Alfy: “Tiemblo de frustración ... La experiencia del indocumentado es, muy triste en este país. ... Lamentablemente la media no ayuda. La media trata de bajarnos, trata de decir que somos ‘rapists’ ... y cuando yo escucho esas palabras yo me pongo bravo. Digo, ‘No estoy haciendo lo suficiente. Vamos a abrir más la boca. Vamos a juntarnos más, vamos a hacer lo bueno como comunidad.’”
- cvi. Mantequilla: “Cuando hemos sido discriminados, nos hemos acogido, como familias, como comunidad. Y hemos luchado unidos para hacer cambios aquí en la ciudad. Hemos tenido marchas, muchas cosas. O sea que estamos unidos, que hemos perdido el miedo, que no tenemos las cabezas como los avestruces enterradas – hemos salido alzar nuestras voces. Nos hemos triunfado.”
- cvii. Tiki: “De algo malo de la política está pasando que mucha gente se está uniendo. Tanto es tan malo. Así que eso es lo que aquí, el, nuestro sheriff estaba haciendo. Mucha gente está haciendo grupos de apoyo y eso es algo bueno y que la gente que ya tenemos papeles, pues, lo sentimos igual como los que no tienen papeles. Porque en ciertos años de nuestra vida tenemos los mismos temores. Todo igual que ustedes. Y eso es algo que está pasando gracias al sheriff.”

- cviii. Walter: “Cuando hay una manifestación hasta Washington, siempre vamos para reclamar. ... Entonces, tienen que ir otros para hacer el ‘vote’, para la reclamación. Yo pierdo trabajo [por eso] ... Somos tantos millones que deberíamos estar unidos en esas situaciones.”
- cix. Alombra: “Me encantan las reuniones. Nos dan esfuerzo.”
- cx. Ana: “Continuamos con las mismas costumbres de México, igual no de la misma manera, pero yo pienso que, si hay un buen núcleo familiar, yo creo que sí, se puedo reservar muchas cosas – no importa lugar donde esté uno. Y a mí no me afectado mucho de estar fuera de México, lejos de México. Mis papas son ciudadanos, pero ellos viven en México. Ellos no quieren vivir aquí, pero ellos vienen, ellos comparten con mis hijas. Mis hijas van, aquí viene mi hermano, no me afectado quizás eso porque tengo mi familia y los estoy viendo constantemente. Por eso pienso que no me afectado mucho en ese aspecto.”
- cx. Carlos: “Los compañeros de países de nosotros también eso ayuda bastante. Aparte de eso, lo demás es como de otro mundo.”
- cxii. Vivo: "Creo que lo que nos ayuda a mantener nuestra cultura es que hay mucha gente de nuestro país [aquí]. Nos ayuda a no perder nosotros mismos – por estar cerca de la gente hispana.”
- cxiii. Nacional: “Yo recuerdo que, recién llegado uno, iba a la casa de los amigos. ... ¿Que esperaba encontrar cuando uno iba a visitar a alguien? Una pequeña Colombia. Adentro, sí. Con detallitos de porcelana ... decoraciones, cuadros. ... Y uno esperaba que cuando lo visitaran a uno encontrarán también una pequeña Colombia adentro. ... Si uno llegaba, ¡’Tengo música!’ y pam, ponía música de Colombia. ... Y televisión, tengo un canal, canal RCN. ... Si, vienes uno esperaba uno recién llegado quería la cultura Colombia – traerlo acá, en su casa, al menos en esas cuatro paredes.”
- cxiv. Diesl: “Habremos mucha gente de nuestro país. Y eso nos ayuda a que no nos perdamos – que seguimos alrededor de gente que somos hispanos. Y pues según eso – por lo mismo que habremos mucha gente aquí - [hay] los restaurantes, los festejos. Y yo pienso que esos nos ayudan no acabar de perder nuestras costumbres. ... Tenemos bastante gente que somos hispanos. Y eso nos ayuda a conservarlos, que no se nos olvide.”

- cxv. Mariana: “Tengo un habito que perdí aquí. Um, y nosotros, los colombianos, somos muy ¿affectionate? [says in English]. Yo conozco alguien y yo la hora dar un beso en la mejilla y llegue acá y pues para mí era algo completamente normal conocía alguien y le abrazo y le doy un beso o algo así, y mucha, por mucha gente era refrescante acá ... tuvo un problema con el supervisor mío. Y obviamente a mi jefe, le iba dar un abrazo o un beso. ... Siempre fui muy amable – comparto mis experiencias [pero] tuvo un problema con sexual harrassment. Y desde allí, pues, solo saludo alguien de la mano sola [makes shaking hands gesture], ‘¿Cómo está?’ En cualquier lado. Solo con los latinos, pues puedo ser –”
- Aurelia: “¿Abierta?”
- Mariana: Sí. Porque me cause un problema muy, muy grande, y problemas en que no podía estar, siempre tenía que alguien que escoltarme afuera de la empresa, que me tenía que cambiarme el apartamento. ... Y es simplemente por él, por las costumbres que uno tiene, por la forma de vivir, que aquí en mi caso, yo tuve que suprimirla ... el habito de ser amable con la gente. De abrazarlo, darlo un beso en la mejilla. Eso que para mí es tan natural – en Colombia es tan natural. Aquí no lo es. Y pues ...”
- cxvi. Aurelia: “¡Mi mama murió y no pude ir! [says while crying hard] Y eso, ay, yo soy dura, pero eso, siempre, la sangre de tu familia, siempre no estar con eso. No pudimos ir. Tengo esperanzas, digo un día. ¡Pero quiero volver! Eso es lo príncipe. ... Murió y no podía ir a verla. Y a uno como hispano siempre tiene la ensoñación, aunque sea de panteón verde, una tumba o algo. Eso es lo que más tiene uno así, eso impotencia, que uno de estar. ... Lo más importante ahora son mis hijos y seguir aquí, echarle ganas, día a día, sobresalir en este país, pero es bien difícil.”
- cxvii. Jeny: “... Pasas por experiencias difíciles en las que los niños aquí no les puedes decir nada, no les puedes gritar. ‘Yo le voy a decir a la maestra y te pueden llamar al 911, te puedes ir a la cárcel’ [says imitating her child] – son amenazas que uno ya como padre se queda y dices wow. A veces la diferencia la ves en cómo nos educan en México y aquí los niños, o sea a esa edad que ya te amenazan, te dicen esto, te dicen lo otro, o sea son faltas de respeto que a veces uno se queda, wow [makes surprised and sad facial expression, shakes her head]. ... Es la gran diferencia que a veces yo veo. Los chicos aquí no los puedes ya dominar casi con nada.”
- cxviii. Elizabeth: “Yo tenía mi mama acá. Mi mama, resultó que estaba, que tenía Alzheimer’s. Entonces, como yo trabajaba y mi esposo trabajaba, la trabajadora social del hospital dijo que nosotros no estábamos actos para cuidar a mi mama. ¿Qué hizo? Me la puso en un asilo. Mi mama lloraba día y noche.”

Karina: “Pero, ¿te pidieron autorización o algo?”

Elizabeth: “No, porque como ella ya era una señora, el estado se hizo cargo de ella. Entonces, yo tuve que pelear con el estado. Yo tuve que ir a corte. Tuve que dar un montón de vueltas, tuve que dejar mi trabajo. Simplemente porque ellos decían que yo no estaba acta para cuidar a mi mama. Y mi mama estuvo un mes y medio, pero ese mes y medio no fue vida para mí porque en las costumbres de nosotros no estamos acostumbrado de poner nuestros viejitos en un asilo. ... Fue una experiencia que yo tuve muy dura.”

cxix. Chely: “Parece que soy más de aquí que de allá de todos modos porque mi modo de pensar siempre fue muy, muy diferente a la de mis compañeros en México. Nosotros fuimos los únicos cristianos en toda la cuadra o por la redonda en el DF. Entonces, desde muy niña aprendía a que teníamos que ser más abierto en el mundo, verdad, para mí era más que defender lo que éramos o por que éramos. Cuando llegamos aquí, creo que de todos mis hermanos fui la que se adaptó mucho mejor. Era más fácil para mí que era para ellos porque ... fue la primera generación en graduarse de la escuela secundaria, la única que de mis hermanos que ha ido al colegio. Entonces, ¡la única que se casó con un gringo!, como dice mi papa.”

cxx. Walter: “Eso es todo lo que puedo decirle porque es maravilloso este país. Y es para, para esforzarse trabajar, porque lo que vine uno es para esforzarse trabajar. Si usted viene con un consiga, lo consigue y salir adelante.”

cxxi. Pedro: “Lo primero que busqué fue el lenguaje. Como en Texas, no he tenido nada escuelas cercas. Aunque hay muchos latinos. ... Entonces, yo me acerqué a una biblioteca y empecé a tomar libros. ... para ESL. Cuando yo llegué, lo primero que les preguntaba era ‘¿Cómo puedo hacer esto? ¿Cómo puedo hacer esto? ¿Cómo puedo obtener un auto? ¿Cómo puedo obtener placas? ¿Cómo?’ O sea, todas esas cosas. ¿Por qué? Porque es buscar adaptarse al nuevo, adaptarse en el nuevo lugar en donde estás de ciudadano.”

cxxii. Diesl: “Yo el racismo lo he sentido por el idioma. ... Es mi segundo lenguaje. A veces no entiendo o no me entienden. Y a veces yo siento ese tipo como, ‘¿Qué estás haciendo aquí?’ O, ‘Esto es América. Tienes que aprender hablar inglés.’ Pero [mis hijos] crecieron hablando en inglés. ¿Quien se va dar cuenta que no son de aquí? ¿Quien le va preguntar por los papeles? Nadie. Porque ellos pueden hablar bien inglés. Para mí ha sido el idioma. Todavía trato de hacerlo, y si no me entiendes, pues, o si no te entiendo, pues me lo vuelves a decir. Y si no quieres hablar conmigo, pues no hables. Lo siento. Y así lo hago. Pero sí, el idioma [cuenta] más todavía cuando no tiene uno papeles, el idioma, el idioma. Yo sé que es el idioma. Alguien sabiendo hablar inglés va una aplicación, va y habla, ‘Se me olvido un papel,’ y lo aceptan. Pero por el

idioma. El idioma no más que cuenta. ... Es todo. Y siempre trato de ponerme un escudo, pero no puedo [sin el idioma]. Pues cuando yo le hablo en español e inglés, les hablo y ellos lo toman. Para mí [es] el idioma. He recibido el racismo por el idioma.”

- cxxiii. Carlos: “Lastimosamente, eso sí, que uno no habla inglés, las cosas son bien diferentes. Uno, lo discriminan como loco. Va al Walmart y la gente no la atiende bien. Pero ya, cuando uno habla inglés, pues, es como que todo cambia y haces bastantes amistades, todo va bien. Y las personas, puedan que ellos tengan diferentes puntos de vista, pero como uno habla inglés, es como los sienten, ‘Oh, él es uno de nosotros.’ Y eso me pasó cuando yo estaba trabajando. Cuando una compañera mía me comenzó a preguntar, ‘¿Vas a votar?’, y yo le dije, ‘No, yo no puedo votar.’ Y me dice, ‘¿Por qué?’ ‘Bueno, yo no soy ciudadano,’ y me dice, ‘¿Por qué no puedes votar si tú hablas inglés bien?’”
- cxxiv. Tiki: “Yo trabajo en un hospital. Y trato de estar cerca de la gente hispana, más gente hispana que puede estar limpiando, o haciendo la comida, tratarlos de que si sienta que unos los, los ve igual y todo. Pero pues, los ven uno así [gestures down, indicating lower power] y luego también los americanos que ya pueden ser enfermeros o algo así también los ven uno así [gestures up, indicating greater power]. O sea, uno como yo está en el medio. ... Una siempre va ser mexicano, aunque una puede hablar inglés. Por ejemplo, yo aprende hablar inglés en la secundaria en México. Y como mujer, que nos gusta mucho hablar, yo decidí ir al colegio y mi hicieron el examen y lo pasé. Y empecé agarrar clases de matemáticas, de psicología, y todo sin aprender hablar inglés. Y ese es el inglés que tengo, o sea, que no es muy, muy bueno, pero me he podido desarrollar y pude terminar mi carrerita allí.”
- cxxv. Cony: “Creo que muchas organizaciones que ha desde he llegado aquí han crecido y que estado trabajando con hispanos y latinos. ... Creo que nos estamos organizando más y más y creo que es algo muy, muy grande que nosotras ya que estamos aquí.”
- cxxvi. Gloris: “Si yo dominara bien, bien, bien el inglés esté realmente sería completamente feliz aquí porque es muy incómodo estar en un grupo donde estén hablando inglés y que uno no pueda participar en la plática, pero me estoy esforzando por poder lograrlo aquí con mi tutora.”
- cxxvii. Yara: “Me encantaría poder hablar el inglés bien porque se siente uno así como [sighs happily, communicating ‘feel comfortable’]. ... Y dicen estos, ‘¡Pues,

ve a la escuela!’ Pues sí, pero me he asistido 3 años en Caridades Católicas, y ahí me la llevo.”

cxxviii. Hector: “Cuando yo llegué aquí no me trataron mal porque entre en la escuela y estaba en el tercer grado, había mucho apoyo. Porque me tenía un 'translator', que me traducía todo.”

cxxix. Ángel: “Ayudan mucho las películas. Cuando empecé aprender hablar inglés, yo veía Sesame Street. ... Yo cuando mis amigas que no hablaban inglés vienen y dicen, ‘Necesito – ayúdame conseguir alguien que me ensene hablar inglés.’ Yo les digo, ‘Empieza por Sesame Street porque te van a decir cómo se dicen las palabras como si fueras un niño porque así se aprenden.’ Y ayuda porque es lo básico. Y leer – yo leo mucho en inglés; es raro que leo un libro en español. Y eso me gusta mucho porque estás aprendiendo y yo pienso que uno nunca termina aprender el inglés. Es eso me ayudó mucho. ... When I google something – I'm always doing it in English you know, I have to do it in English, pero también tengo que enfocarme más en el español porque a veces el idioma español tiene mucho vocabulario.”

cxxx. Chiquita: “La televisión es lo que nos influye para poder ir no solo conociendo el idioma sino abriendo lo que es el camino para poder contribuir.”

cxviii. Millonarios: “Sabes, aquí la única forma que yo he encontrado es a través de la iglesia. La iglesia es la que abrió esas puertas. ... Cuando llegamos había un gran pastor aquí, americano, de mi religión. Y él lo fue enfocando el tenía después de la misa. [Dijo] ‘Los espero en la casa blanca.’ La casa blanca era una casa chiquita donde daba cafecito, daba pastelito, era vital, era mejor que la misa. Era mejor que la misa.”

Canela: “Y nos comunicábamos –”

Millonarios: “¿Ves? Es importantísimo, pero fue a nivel de iglesia.”

cxviii. Carlos: “La iglesia es algo que sí ayuda a mantener la cultura de nuestros países. Por navidad, pues se va a la iglesia y eso sí, como que lo ayuda a uno a pasar la navidad.”

cxviii. Thor: “Uno de las cosas que me ayuda a mi [adaptar] fue la espiritualidad Me acercara más a la iglesia, sentir la espiritualidad, y ver como Dios trabaje en mi vida. Bueno, en el fin, me llevó a reconocer a muchas cosas. Por ejemplo, el futbol, el soccer que lo llamamos. Si hay hispanos, a jugar soccer. ... Los eventos en la iglesia, como mencionaron, navidad. Y algo también al principio

fue las clases de ESL, uno se sienta como en su casa todos iguales, [group members concur] a gusto, todos. Como creando una comunidad.”

- cxxxiv. Magdis: “Pues aquí sigo aprendiendo, así a ir a charlas, todo eso. Estoy yendo bien.”
- cxxxv. Alfy: “Desde que llegué aquí, mi intención fue a adaptarme ... y participar con la comunidad. ... He participado en otros programas aquí, como el de Latino Leadership. Algunos me conocen. Y en realidad, pues, me ha interesado participar en la comunidad, principalmente con los latinos.”
- cxxxvi. Orquídea: “Hay mucha gente que le da servicios a la comunidad latina que allí en Latino Providers Network uno se entera de ese aspecto. ... Allí ellos se reúnen. Sí, tiene que ser miembro ... pero vale la pena saber quién en esta ciudad apoya a los hispanos y les da ayuda a los hispanos.”
- cxxxvii. Orquídea: “La comunidad nuestra necesita de mucha información, de muchas relaciones, de conocimiento porque nosotras que trabajamos en la comunidad y que sabemos que sí, esta organización y otra organización. Y a veces las personas se mantienen en ciertas determinadas cosas, como que estancada de vida de poca información que tienen y por miedos de que este es un país que no es de país de origen de ninguna de nosotros y eso nos trae como que el miedo de tratar de enfrentarla sola. Sobre todo, cuando se tiene niños, y no se tiene conocimiento para dónde ir, para donde agarrar y que hacer.”
- cxxxviii. Orquídea: “Hay algunos recursos, como CASA de Maryland. ... Allá tiene un curco que se llama, ‘Conoce tus derechos.’ Y si tú conoces tus derechos, si tú sabes que puedes reportarla, puedes reportarla. Si tú sabes que esa persona tiene un supervisor, una supervisora –”
- Aurelia: “Sí, alguien me lo dijo.”
- Orquídea: “Entonces, ¿tiene que llamarlo! Entonces si ese supervisor no arregla eso de forma favorable, pues tienes otros recursos. Tiene el manager que también se puede llamar. Ya esa gente a ese nivel, ellos saben que un reporte es algo que puede causarle problemas. Eso va contra la, la ciudad. Y la ciudad luego temprano, lo hace que paga una multa o cierra. ... Como el grupo que somos, aunque pertenecer de diferentes países, es saber nuestro derecho, como utilizarlos, cuando utilizarlos, ¿entiende? Y eso está dado ... CASA de Maryland.”

- cxxxix. Orquídea: “Si estás en un lugar que tiene apoyo federal, por la ley tiene que tener buscar un intérprete en este país, tiene que dar toda la información en tu idioma. ... Y tú puedes reportarles. Y aquí todo el mundo recibe dinero federal, de una forma u otra, aunque sea organizaciones comunitarias. Eso sabe CASA de Maryland, y como CASA de Maryland está y también hay el Centro Esperanza – Hay tantas organizaciones aquí.”
- cxl. Pilimili: “En este país hay muchas oportunidades de conocer. En el aspecto médico, por ejemplo, tenemos los promotores de la salud que ofrecen oportunidades para conocer la alimentación, para conocer, um, muchas cosas en los centros.
- cxli. Tana: “Por ejemplo nosotros acabamos un curso de pequeños negocios. Nos enseñaron, nos trajeron a las cuentas del banco, como se hacía esto, como se sacaba la licencia.”
 Jesse: “Eso está bueno ese programa.”
 Tana: “Entonces no necesariamente es de por ejemplo que tú tienes tu negocio y te lo hacen y todo. Te ayudan hacer, te enseña a que lo hagas.”
 Jesse: “Yo fui a ese programa de la cámara de comercio y, pues sí, me enseñaron muy bien todo lo que tiene que hacer para tu negocio y si conviene.”
 Tana: “Le enseña todas las cosas que necesitas –”
 Jesse: “Si vas hacer un negocio ahí, te enseñan como abrirlo, como hacer tu negocio de lo que tú quieras. ...”
 Tana: “Y los taxes.”
 Jesse: “Pagar taxes. ... Y te enseñan como abrir tu licencia, que veas tu misión.”
- cxlii. Ángel: “Tengo a mis hijos en los deportes para convivir con la gente de todos partes. Eso me ha ayudado mucho a integrarme a la cultura de aquí. ... Es un proceso. Y pues sí, pienso que eso me ha ayudado más que nada ... involucrarme en la escuela y los deportes más que todo, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, todo eso, por todos lados.”
- cxliii. Cony: “En la escuela nos han permitido estas celebraciones, y el mes español. Ahorita en abril hacen la cena multicultural, que todos los hispanos llevamos comida de nuestros países. Cada quien puede llevar lo que quiere. Y allí nos reunimos, y podemos compartir la comida con todos.”

- cxliv. Trancito: “Antes de Thanksgiving la maestra dice que pueden traer sus platos típicos de cuales sus países y compartir así. ... No es mucho que llevamos, pero es un platito pequeñito y entre todos hacemos un tipo buffet. Y de todos los países y se ven lo que ponen allí, se comparten. Y eso lo bonito que ahora en la escuela pusieron; a mí me gusta eso porque así a uno va compartiendo los gustos de uno, se comparte. Como dice mi hijo, dice, ‘Cuando hacen eso, me encanta eso, porque hay de todo. Yo como tamalitos mexicanos salvadoreños, hondureños, de todo, como yo.’ ... Es bonito, porque, como antes era todo americano y no había, pero ahora como hay más latinos en todas las escuelas se hace, se comparte también. Es lo bonito.”
- cxlv. Súper Biscochito: “En la universidad aprendí sobre la revolución mexicana, sobre Pancho Villa, sobre Emiliano Zapata, el Tata Díaz, y no sabía nada, no sabía nada de mi propia gente.”
- Cony: “Este está padre, porque vas reconociendo lo que es tu origen.”
- Mina: “Y de donde somos.”
- Cony: “Y lo que somos exactamente.”
- Julieta: “Y que bueno porque tú se lo vas a pasar a tus hijos.”
- Vivo: “Porque realmente creció porque lo estoy entendiendo sin –”
- Cony: “Pues, ni aquí, ni allá.”
- Vivo: “Porque perdió su –”
- Cony: “Identidad.”
- Vivo: “Identidad, sí, como persona. Y digo también porque hasta uno lo perdí a mí.”
- Cony: “Ay, pues, que bueno que lo encontró.”
- Mina: “¡Y en Albuquerque!”
- Súper Biscochito: “Sí.”
- Mina: “¡Lo más impresionante!”
- cxlvi. Choclo: “Lo que he hecho el ultimo año es un grupo [de la universidad]. Es un grupo donde hay personas de diferentes culturas, religiones, denominations, non-denominational, y atheist, todos juntos. Metí a un grupo, ¿no? Y la gente se iba a todos partes para hacer diferentes actividades, activísimo en la comunidad, servicio al cliente. Entonces me fui a los eventos para ver y escuchar personas hablando sobre sus experiencias, culturas. Me di cuenta que no era la única persona que se ha superado, sufrido en esa manera. Entonces poco a poco esa mentalidad va cambiando. Donde el rencor que tenía sobre la persona, comunidad se está subiendo, se está bajando. Pero sigue allí. Es algo

que estoy luchando, pero si no había seguido, no había ido, no sería parte de ese grupo. ... Donde [podía] aprender de otras personas, otras culturas.”

- cxlvii. Tito QZ: “Comenzaron a salir cada vez más mercados latinos que permitieron preparar nuestras comidas. ... Ya en los últimos 8 años, hay una importación de muchos productos peruanos hasta en supermercados grandes americanos. ... Hay de todo. Yo pienso que es importante para uno estar feliz, primeramente.”
- cxlviii. Mina: “Donde enseñan bailes mexicanos, para bailar danzas.”
Cony: “Hay una escuela que se llama Baila, Baila.”
Mina: “Sí, hay muchos lugares en donde le enseñan a uno le siguen, que nos ayuda.”
Súper Biscochito: “Y también, pues, divertirse junto con su comunidad, las comunidades latinas, pues ir a bailar juntos.”
- cxlix. Karina: “Una manera en que yo puedo mantener [mi cultura] acá es la música, salir a bailar, y eso me ayuda mucho cuando descubrí que había lugares para bailar salsa, y creo que ayuda mantenerlo de que también hay otras personas de otras culturas que aprecian eso. No solo estaba entre latinos, sino que había asiáticos, europeos, americanos – todos unidos por la misma música. Entonces creo que eso ayuda mantener la cultura cuando uno se siente libre de poder hacerlo y cuando ve que otras culturas también lo aprecian. Creo que es más difícil por mantener la cultura cuando se juzgado, cuando le miran feo uno si está hablando español o cosas así.”
- cl. Trancito: “Fuimos contratado por una compañía haciendo limpieza. Fuimos a vivir en Odenton, Maryland, en un lugar donde que no había autobuses, teníamos que salir cuando nos daban ‘ride’. Íbamos a trabajar cuando nos llevaban. Y bien difícil para salir aquí, conocer más personas.”
- cli. Cony: “Otra cosa que [nos afecta] también era el transporte. Si uno no tiene un documento, no tiene la oportunidad de tener un carro, de manejar. ... Son muchas cosas en las que no tiene el acceso la persona, y tienes que buscar alguien. Alguien que te haga el favor de llevarte, y tienes que pagar. ... Recuerdo que, en el 2005 en Chesterfield, en la escuela, yo recuerdo que allí empezaron a dar educación para adultos en inglés. Y yo empecé allí. Me encanta estudiar, y me gusta motivar las personas que estudien; entonces para mí fue una hermosa oportunidad. Pero, a veces, por lo mismo de que uno no pueda manejar, entonces, a veces no tienes toda esa oportunidad de superarse y de ser alguien.”

- clii. Luis: “Somos muy afortunados también ahora con la tecnología. ... Yo he escuchado personas que, por ejemplo, que eran inmigrantes en los 70s o algo – incluso mi hermana, ella vino en creo era el 2000. Y ella se fue y ya no volvíamos de saber cuándo alguien se iba para allá era como que, como si era muerto, pero se desapareció. ... Pero ahora ya con Facebook y todo el resto estamos en contacto, sabemos que pasa, tenemos un grupo allí en que, no sé, como si mi sobrinito se le salió el diente o algo, sabemos. Entonces estamos conectados. Se falta todavía lo físico, pero hay mucha más posibilidad de conservar tradiciones.”
- cliii. Julieta: “Es muy difícil estar aquí solos. Mucho, muy difícil. Una se acostumbra. Sí, va, se va uno acostumbrarlo. Por lo menos la tecnología ayuda un poquito. Ya nos podemos ver por teléfono, pero no es la misma a sentir una carisea de la mamá.”
- cliv. Hector: “Yo no creo que he visto mucho [ayuda] para mantener sus costumbres. Pero sí hay, que yo he visto, ayuda para como los mexicanos, que no se pueden informar tan fácil por estar en un lugar completamente diferente. Como unos grupos que sí ayudan a informar personas así. A ver lo que pueden hacer para servir aquí - como enseñando donde hay clases de inglés, cosas así. Pero eso es lo único que yo he visto. Puedo ver más que yo no sé.”
- clv. Tatiana: “No hay información. Si uno llega y tiene una cita acá, no sabe a qué institución que ocurrir para a donde va para pedir a tus papeles, a donde va para pedir, si hay alguna ayuda económica. Así, no, no hay algo así. En inmigración te diga, ‘Mira, usted llega aquí y pregunte aquí.’ No lo hay [información]. Entonces tienes que ir a las instituciones como esta, de los católicos o los luteranos a preguntar.”
- clvi. Canela: “Me parece que de pronto ha faltado más en la comunidad americana para ayudarlo a los latinos es comunicación. ... Porque ya uno después sabe la cantidad de ayudas que hay. ... No sé cómo lo publiquen o con folletos o no sé, de todos los beneficios que hay para que la comunidad latina aproveche y que existen. No es que vaya a pedir uno, sino es que ya existen y no sabemos.”
- clvii. Vivo: “Aquí es muy egoísta la gente en dar información, en darte apoyo. No hay comunicación.”
- clviii. Mary: “Fui a un paradero de un bus, conocí a alguien, me llamó la atención las revistas en español y ahí empecé la comunicación con alguien. Y ya de ahí fue

lo que me paso más adelante a empezar a abrirme y a informarme, ir a diferentes organizaciones y todo eso y también a compartir y ayudar. Que sí, se puede, ¿no? Sí, se puede.”

- clix. Paisa: “Para mí fue básico los amigos. Mis amigos de mi país que estaban también recién llegado a Richmond o que llevaban tiempo acá. Ellos mismos les van diciendo a uno, ‘¿Ya han ido a tal parte?’ o ‘¿En tal parte regalan mercados?’ o ‘¿En tal parte van a dar morales y libros y útiles escolares para los niños?’ ‘Vayan allá.’ Entonces los amigos son una parte bien importante en cómo adaptarse uno y encontrar recursos.”
- clx. Paisa: “A través de unos amigos, conocimos también la asociación hispana donde [the cultural liaison] dirigía o trabajaba con la Asociación Hispana y a través de ellos fue una inmensa ayuda, que en donde encontramos cantidad de recursos. También nos guiaron para meter a los niños en deportes, para que cosas debíamos buscar en las escuelas, porque uno no sabe que tantas cosas tiene la escuela disponible, es que uno no sabe hasta que alguien le dice ‘es que usted lo puede meter a esto, los niños pueden aprender esto. Usted puede hacer tal cosa’. O sea puede ser voluntaria o ... como te digo lo de los mercados ... Yo nunca había visto que regalen mercados así, solamente váyase a esa iglesia, e inscribese, y ahí le dan. Me dieron una bolsada del mercado, y yo decía ‘No lo puedo creer’. Hacía una cosa principio antes que comenzara el año escolar y fuimos y llevamos a mis hijos y cada uno le dieron su bolsa con su cuaderno y lápices, colores, marcadores. Y yo decía, ‘Dios mío, ¡gracias!’”
- clxi. Julieta: “Me ha sido muy difícil. Pero tengo que aprender a saber dónde estoy, y sí por eso también me enferme. Yo he visto como mi cuerpo por eso se enfermó. Tengo, tenía tristeza. No podía, ni siquiera, cargar mi hija. No podía ni prender el carro, nada podía hacer. Mi cuerpo se bloqueó totalmente. Y luego no puedo estar yo enferma. Necesito moverme. Necesito seguir adelante.”
- clxii. Carlos Kent: “Cuando fui al Salvador si sentía que, en parte, no pertenecía. ... la gente que sí son de ahí, sabían que yo no era de ahí, que no era del Salvador, aunque nací ahí, pero no.”
- clxiii. Ñata: “Una parte de mi sí se identifica con [los americanos], pero, a la misma vez, yo siempre no me siento, like, suficientemente americana. Y a veces ... no me siento suficiente peruana. Like, me dicen ‘... lo tienes como un dejo cuando hablas el español. Ya hablas como una americana. Tú, like, no hablas como una peruana.’ ... Pero mis profesores me dicen, ‘Oh, cuando tú hablas, no se te puede entender porque tienes un dejo del español.’”

- clxiv. Alfy: “Soy de un pueblo muy pequeño, y la mayoría de las personas se vienen cruzando la frontera. En mi mente, así estaba planeado: Cruzar la frontera. ... Hasta que llegué aquí, me di cuenta que automáticamente yo había truncado mis metas, mis sueños en cierta forma. [Fue] una experiencia muy intensa, llena de miedo ... Llegando aquí, mire que no era como la sociedad lo decía. Yo pensé que llegabas aquí, automáticamente mirabas dinero. ... No fue así.”
- clxv. Leidy: “Las agencias de niñeras empezaron a ir a nuestra escuela a hacernos como que ‘Vayan a los EEUU, esto es su oportunidad.’ ... Uno estando en Colombia, se crea la idea de que es la maravilla venirse de niñera. ... Luego te das cuenta. ... Allí empezaron mis choques. Para mí fue muy difícil a adaptarme ... Es un trabajo que no cumple las expectativas que yo tenía desde Colombia. Al principio fue muy duro. Lloré cantidad de veces. Me arrepentía.”
- clxvi. Diesl: “Fue un cambio muy drástico ... Nunca tomé en cuenta que no traerá el idioma y pensé que podía lograrlo fácil. Pensé que iba ser fácil poder encontrar un buen trabajo. ... Llegué aquí y empecé a levantarme a las 4 de la mañana, sin saber el idioma, estar parrado por 13 horas. Hasta ahorita claro que todavía no he logrado mis sueños. Son cosas que se batallan. Vine sin pensar que difícil iba ser adaptarme. Fue algo muy pesado para mí.”
- clxvii. Choclo: “Me deprimí mucho porque no me entendían, no podía hacer amigos, vivía en una zona que era una zona más o menos rica y había mucha gente, como en el parque, pero nadie quería jugar conmigo porque there's a bubble. ... No hablaba inglés. No sabía cómo decirle 'hi', simplemente me quedaba allí, decía '¿play?' you know, like tratando de enseñarles, pero no me hacen caso. Entonces, me puse ver novelas. Y abrazarme con el perro llorando.”
- clxviii. Choclo: “¿Por qué estoy este país? ¿Por qué no regreso? Pero el esfuerzo ya se hizo, ¿sabes? Cuánto dinero he hecho para venir a este país legalmente. Mi mamá dejó su career, tenía una buena carrera. Lo dejó atrás y después vino acá to mop the floor [says disgustedly], a limpiar los pisos, todos los días llorando. Mi mamá se fue y le dijeron en la universidad que ella ya no podía estudiar. Mis tíos le habían dicho, ‘Tú puedes venir acá estudiar tu maestría.’ No es cierto. Tuvo que volver a [community college].”
- clxix. Choclo: “Se fue a community college para aprender inglés. De ahí se fue a la ASU y después hacer su maestría and now she's doing her doctorate. Ninguna persona quería contratarla – una, porque tiene acento y la otra porque no tiene experiencia en este país. Y todavía sigue estudiando. Yo no sé cómo lo hace. Muy fuerte es ella.”

- clxx. Tiki: “Para mí fue muy importante que podía ir a la escuela, que pude tener un trabajo que a lo mejor es cansado, pero me gusta mi trabajo. ... Cambia mucho cuando uno se siente exitoso, tenía uno el sueño de que los hijos estudiaban y uno tener un cierto nivel económico, y gracias a Dios ya lo tenemos.”
- clxxi. Alfy: “Anotaba una palabra nueva, cada día, cada día una libreta e iba con el inglés, iba con el inglés, iba con el inglés. Equivocadamente lo decía, pero lo iba aprendiendo, palabra por palabra, palabra por palabra. ... me doy coraje, me animo, me autoestimo. ... Eso es bueno y me gusta trasmitirlo en las personas. Es por eso que estoy aquí, dando este testimonio, esperando que a alguien le ayude y es por eso que vengo aquí al Sagrado Corazón porque tan envuelto en ese tipo de programas que ayuda la comunidad hispana. A veces me topo. Digo, ‘Ah no he hecho mucho porque debo decirle a alguien que triunfe. Si no, yo soy nada.’ Soy un carpintero, pero a la vez, cuando me ha ido trabajando con lo que hago, hoy en día tengo una pequeña empresa de carpintería aprendí aquí, lo que es el framing.”
- clxxii. Canela: “Es un cambio muy fuerte porque uno allá – pues, no por lo que trabajaba, sino por la forma tan distinta de vivir. [Allá] nosotros teníamos una membresía en un club, teníamos una finca. ... Conocíamos el fin de semana para la finca, y aquí [cuando] llegué yo trabajé al mes siguiente porque teníamos que trabajar. Para mí eso fue horrible, porque yo salía todo el día metida en el trabajo y salía de noche y ¿adonde salía uno en los fines de semana? La diversión de nosotros era salir el domingo a Walmart.”
- clxxiii. Carlos: “Fue una transición un poco difícil, el idioma, el clima. ... Se siente solo uno – porque uno está acostumbrado a salir a jugar afuera. Y aquí las comunidades son solas, parecen como es ...”
 Pilimili: “No hay vereda.” [others chuckle in affirmation]
 Carlos: “Así es, y es aburrida. Eh, las navidades, súper aburridas. Era como, es navidad, pero en realidad no, como es hora de dormir [he laughs; others chuckle in agreement]. Y también, los colegios son muy diferentes acá. Yo pase como, por dos meses con dolores de cabeza y con dolores de estómago, creo que por nervios.”
- clxxiv. Vivo: “Sí, trato de conservarla, pero – por ejemplo, el día de la independencia es bien diferente aquí. Esta época de pascua es totalmente diferente. Cuando empecé a ver eso aquí yo lloraba de tristeza.”

- clxxv. Mariana: “Mi primera navidad acá, estaba sola, umm, y los únicos amigos que tenían eran judíos. Entonces obviamente ninguno celebró. El 24 de diciembre me fui a dormir como a las 9 de la noche llorando. ... Ese tiempo es de llorar.”
- clxxvi. Music: “Mi familia, no tenemos nada, aquí. Como en navidad, es como muy triste, porque uno ve todos los primos y todos los tíos celebrando en Venezuela, aunque está horrible, siempre están felices. Y aquí, como uno se trata de ser propia familia y ... tener cerca su familia aquí, pero no. ... Entonces, dejamos tanto allá.”
- clxxvii. Ana: “Duramos 3 años en Arizona. Allí me case, allí nació mi primera hija, y luego cuando ella tenía 3 meses nos mudamos por acá. Y desde entonces vivimos aquí en Albuquerque. Nos hemos sentido muy acomodados porque es, pues, muy parecido a México. No era mucho cambio. Y en Arizona, sí, allá era muy violento el choque cultural. Nosotros vivíamos en un pueblo pequeño, que se llama Peson. Está una hora y media hora cuarenta de Phoenix. Entonces, allí no se hablaba nada en español. Entonces, por eso lado, no había recursos para las personas que hablan español. Pero cuando llegamos aquí todo cambió. Fue todo muy diferente. Aquí nació mi segunda hija. Tengo dos niñas y ellas saben perfectamente que son. Se dicen que son mexicana-americanas. ... Sí, me gusta que van a México, que saben de donde somos, como vivimos, como se vive allá.”
- clxxviii. Chiquita: “Pensé que iba a ser fácil, pero ha resultado muy doloroso. ... Me ha tocado bastante acoplarme. [Aunque] todavía no estoy acostumbrada, yo sí quiero poder salir adelante. Yo quiero quedarme acá y poder valerme por mi misma y tener ese ímpetu de poder luchar.”
- clxxix. Mantequilla: “Nos hemos triunfado porque hemos hecho nuestros propios negocios. Ahorita vean en las calles antes no había letras en español en los súper, en los hospitales, no había traductores. Y muchos ya hemos tomado la decisión de entrar en la escuela. Hemos tomados cursos de ESL, de inglés, y hemos tratado de lo que sabemos aplicarlo en nuestras vidas aquí con para compartirlas con otras personas. Me gusta mocho aquí Albuquerque porque no nos vemos como extraños nos vemos como familia. La música, la pintura, el arte, todo lo compartimos. Hablamos de política hasta deporte. Hemos sufrido mucho también porque hemos tenido gobernadores que nos han tratado con la punta del pie y nos sigue tratando de perjudicar. ... Pero no nos dejamos es lo importante estamos juntos y esa lucha política. ... Hemos cambiado todo eso. Hemos hecho líderes y activistas para el pro inmigrante. Y yo pienso que ha sido mucho esfuerzo en unión.”

clxxx. Rebeca: “No sabía qué me iba a enfrentar, yo no hablaba el inglés, yo no sabía nada. Para nosotros y personalmente ha sido una bendición ... porque mis hijas han crecido tranquilas en este país ... han tenido muchas oportunidades. Estamos bien y estoy contenta de estar aquí. ... Lo mínimo que yo puedo hacer por ese país es quedarme y contribuir al crecimiento también como parte de la sociedad de este país. ... También soy parte de acá y tengo ese sentido de pertenencia, que pertenezco aquí y me siento útil, me siento activa, me siento feliz.”

