

Understanding the Cultural Experiences of Immigrant Youth

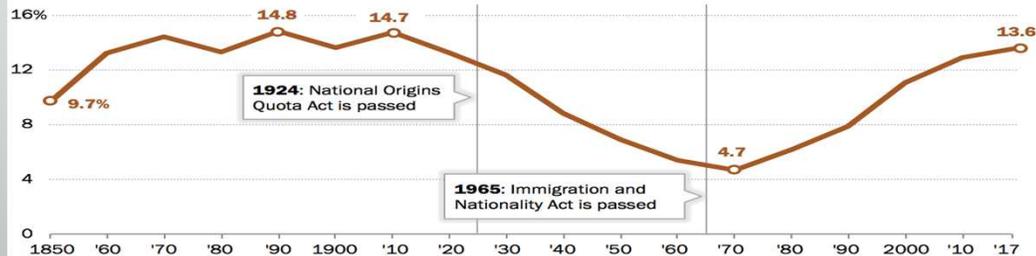
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Patterns of Immigration in the United States

Immigrant share of U.S. population approaches historic high

% of U.S. population that is foreign born

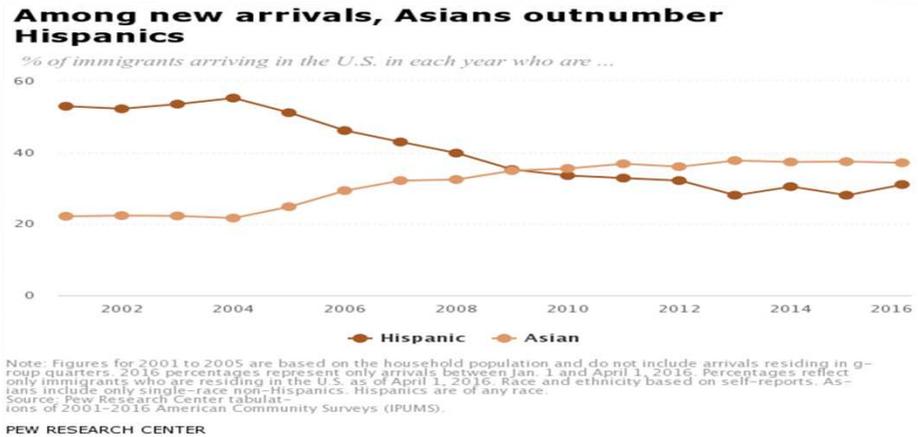


Note: Share foreign born is for the 50 states and District of Columbia.

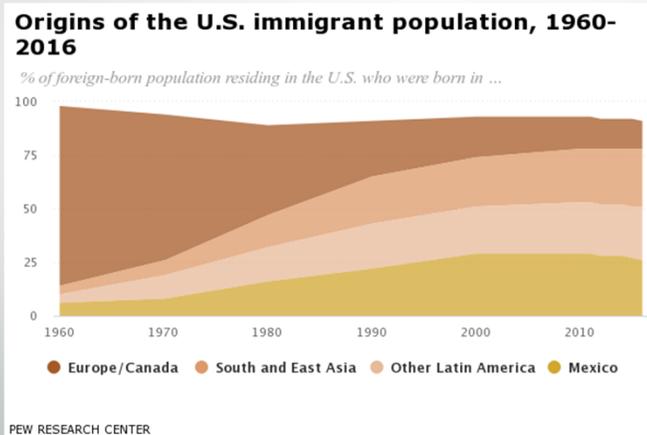
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, "Historical Census Statistics on the Foreign-Born Population of the United States: 1850-2000" and Pew Research Center.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

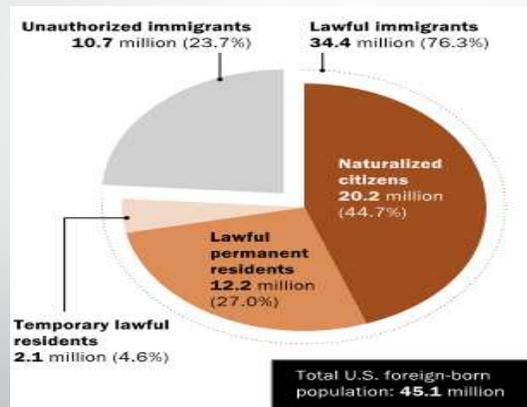
Patterns of Immigration in the United States



Patterns of Immigration in the United States



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Patterns of Immigration in the United States

- In summary,
 - Foreign-born population residing in the U.S. reached a record 43.7 million, or 13.5% of the U.S. population, in 2016.
 - Though growth has begun to slow, number of immigrants projected to almost double by 2065 (18% of the U.S. population).
 - Today, majority of immigrants originate from South and East Asia (26.9%), Mexico (26.5%), and Latin America (24.5%).

Patterns of Immigration in the United States

- Changing patterns of migration has led to greater cultural divides between immigrants and their host societies.
 - Whereas receiving society typically emphasizes individualism.
 - The global south typically holds collectivist-based beliefs.
- As a result, interest on challenges faced by immigrants has substantially increased over the last few decades.

Goals of Current Presentation

- In this presentation, we will explore challenges faced by immigrant youth, particularly those of Latinx origin, within the US.
- Specifically, this presentation will focus on
 1. Acculturation, or the extent to which an individual retains his or her cultural heritage and/or adopts the new receiving culture.
 2. The unique stressors experienced by immigrant youth, both first- and second-generation.
 3. How these processes operate within the particular developmental and socio-cultural context.
 4. Describe a some of the culturally-adapted and culturally-grounded interventions developed for working with these youth.

Brief Bio – Alan Meca, Ph.D.

- Assistant Professor, Old Dominion University
- Education and Training
 - 2010-2014 Ph.D. in Developmental Psychology
Florida International University
 - 2014-2017 NIAAA Post-Doctoral Fellow
Miller School of Medicine, University of Miami
- Research Interests
 - Reducing health disparities by identifying the cultural, social, and developmental determinants of health risk behaviors.
 - Cultural identity and impact on psychosocial functioning among immigrants and ethnic/racial minority youth.



Acculturation Processes Among Migrants

What is Acculturation?

- Refers to the changes that occur as a result of between people from different cultures.
- This process is not exclusive to immigrants, and can occur as a result of almost ANY intercultural contact:
 - Travel and study abroad.
 - Exposure to media from other cultures.
 - Residing in a highly multicultural context.

What is Acculturation?

- Traditional Conceptualization
 - Originally conceptualized as a unidimensional process (Gordon, 1964).
 - **Retention of heritage culture** and **acquisition of receiving culture** viewed as polar ends on a single continuum.
 - This straight-line assimilation conceptualization
 - Views acquisition of a new culture as requiring the loss of one's heritage culture.
 - Assumes "successful acculturation" involves complete adoption of the receiving-culture and **forfeiture** of cultural heritage.

What is Acculturation?

- Current Conceptualizations
 - Increasingly, research on acculturation has drawn on John Berry's Model (1980).
 - This model views receiving-culture acquisition and heritage culture retention* as separate and independent dimensions.
 - As such, individuals can acquire some aspects of the receiving culture while still retaining their own heritage culture.

* Sometimes referred to as Enculturation, although Berry opposes the use of this term.

Acculturation Model

	Identification with Heritage culture: HIGH	Identification with Heritage culture: LOW
Identification with US culture: HIGH	Integration (Bicultural)	Assimilation
Identification with US culture: LOW	Separation	Marginalization

Berry's Acculturation Model

What is Acculturation?

- Strategy versus Characteristic
 - Acculturation strategies implies that individual differences are result of **specific choices** made by migrants.
 - Although migrants have **some choice**, acculturation constrained by demographic or contextual factors:
 - **Characteristics of migrants:** Countries of origin, types of migrant, SES, education level and knowledge of the host language, religion, and cultural similarity.
 - **Contextual factors:** Attitudes toward migrants (broadly and specifically) and expectations of how immigrants should acculturate.

Evidence in Support of Model

- Receiving-culture acquisition and heritage culture retention represent distinct dimensions (Berry & Kim, 1988; Schwartz et al., 20112).
- At same time,
 - Acculturation extends across various components including
 - cultural practices (language use, cultural customs and traditions, etc.)
 - cultural values (belief systems associated with a specific context or group), and
 - cultural identifications (attachments to cultural groups).
 - These components are related but follow their own trajectory and have differential effects on adaptation (Lee et al., 2018).

Evidence in Support of Model

- Provided mixed support for Berry's acculturation characteristics (e.g., Berry et al., 2006; Des Rosiers et al., 2013; Salas-Wright et al., 2015)
- For example, Schwartz & Zamboanga (2008)
 - Identified 6 "types" of acculturation characteristics in a sample of Hispanic college students.

• Assimilated (23%)	• American-oriented Bicultural (24%)
• Separated (15%)	• Full bicultural (18%)
• Partial Bicultural (17%)	• Undifferentiated (3%)

Evidence in Support of Model

- More recently, Meca et al. (2017)
 - Identified 3 profiles among a sample of undocumented Latinx Adults:
 - Separated (43%)
 - Marginalized (33%)
 - Bicultural (24%)
 - Findings were not only consistent with Berry's, providing support for the marginalized characteristic of acculturation, but found bicultural associated with highest well-being/flourishing.

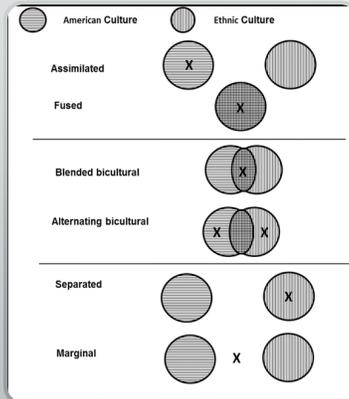
Unique Effects of “Acculturation”

- In terms of effects on youth outcomes,
 - Research has only recently begun consistently applying a bidimensional/multicomponent conceptualization.
 - As noted by Meca & Schwartz (in press), although findings have been somewhat inconsistent, studies have largely indicated that
 - loss of one’s heritage practices, values, and identifications poses a greater risk for substance use among Hispanic youth.
 - adoption of US cultural practices, values, and identifications does not appear to pose a risk for these outcomes.

Effects of “Acculturation”

- Research focused on Berry’ acculturation characteristics have indicated that biculturalism tends to be
 - most commonly endorsed approach (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006).
 - associated with most favorable outcomes (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013).
 - represent a natural course of action for young migrants, who often must live successfully in two worlds (Berry et al., 2006), and for second-generation immigrants, who learn both cultures simultaneously.
- However, as we will discuss later, whether biculturalism is adaptive may be in part contingent on the specific context.

Conceptualizing Biculturalism

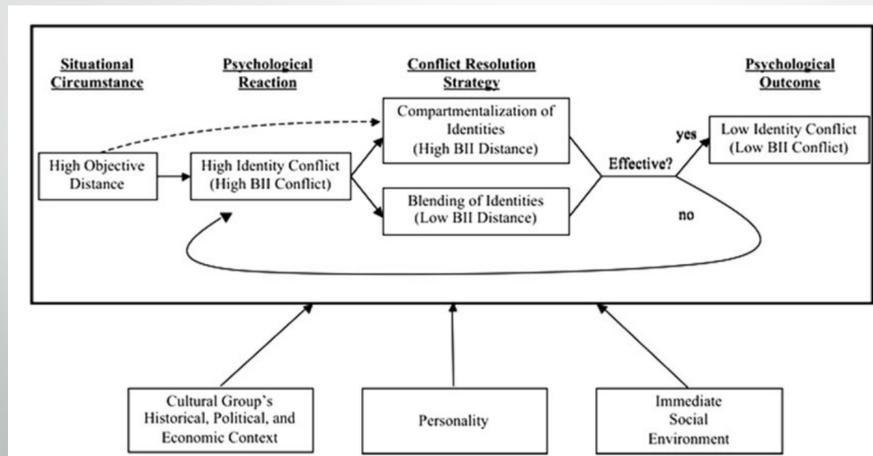


- LaFromboise et al. (1993) speculated biculturalism could be separated into
 - **Blended Biculturals:** Those who integrate their two cultural streams
 - **Alternating Bicultural:** Those who emphasize one stream or the other, depending on the specific situation.

Conceptualizing Biculturalism

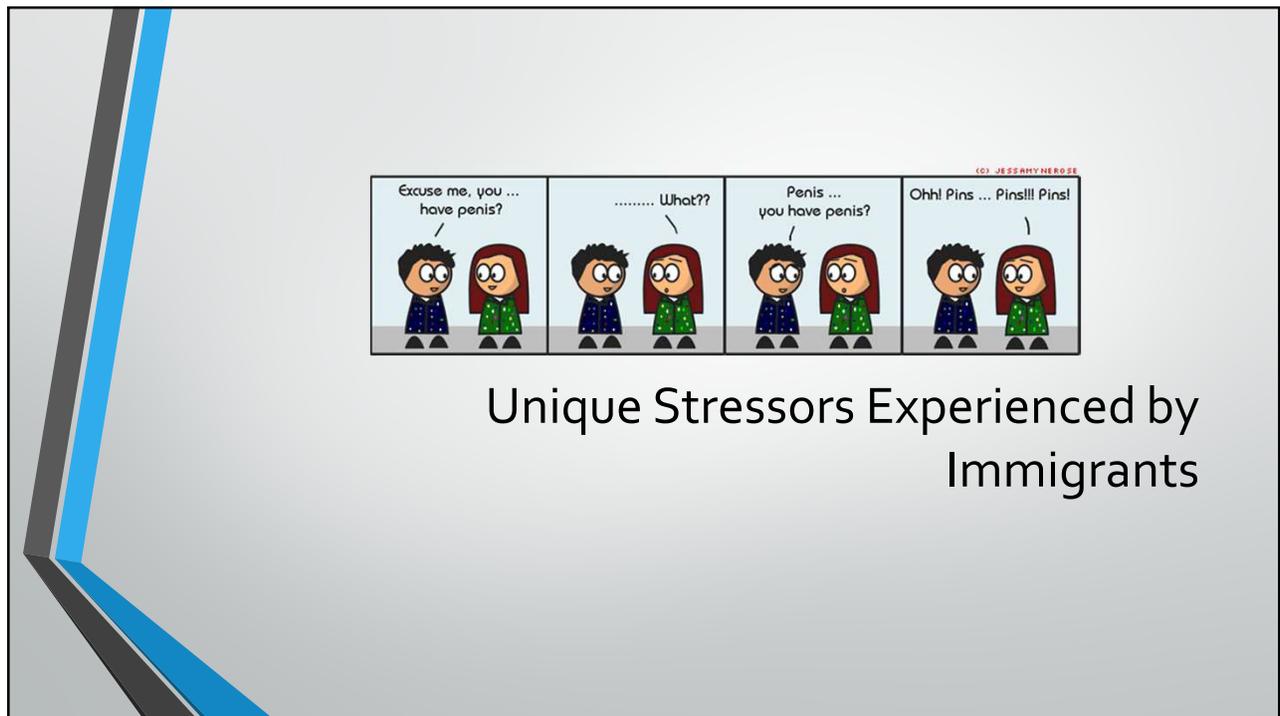
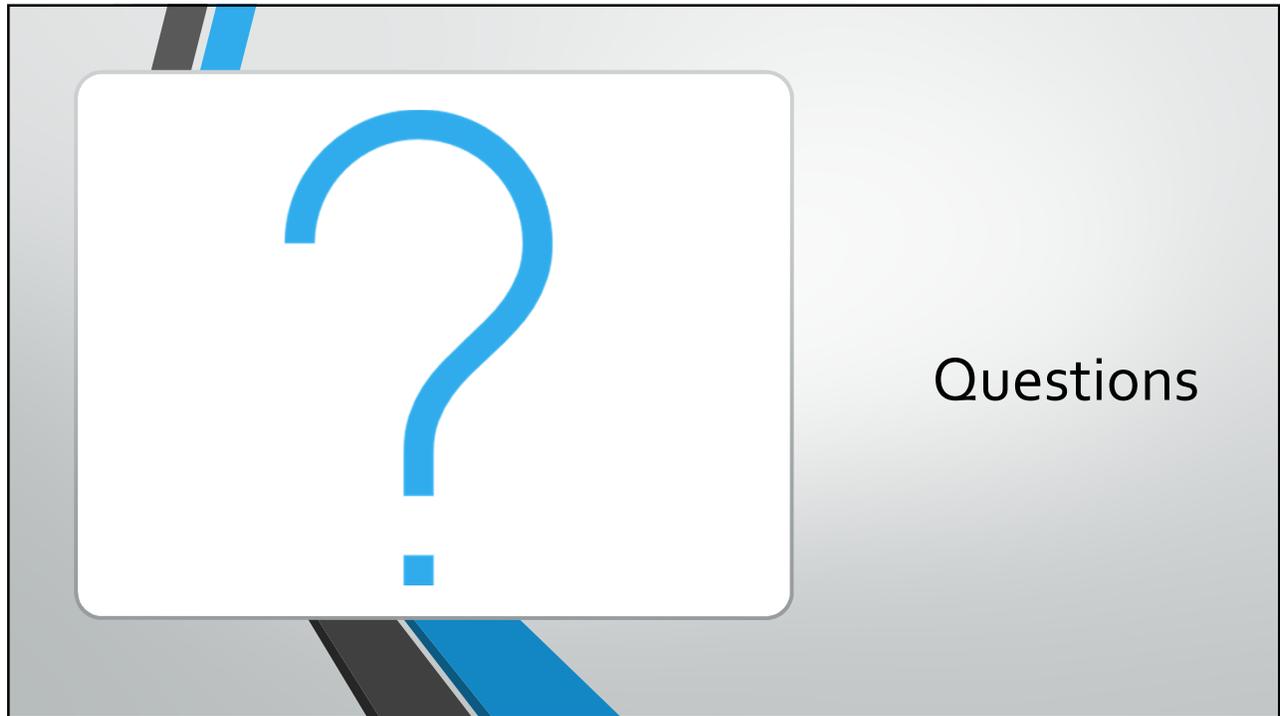
- Drawing on LaFromboise, Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) proposed the construct of bicultural identity integration (BII)
 - Refers to ability to synthesize one's heritage and receiving cultural influences.
 - Operationalized across two dimensions:
 - Blendedness (versus distance or compartmentalization)
 - Harmony (versus conflict).

Conceptualizing Biculturalism



Conceptualizing Biculturalism

- Subsequent research has indicated that
 - BII predict success on tasks related to biculturalism such as effective utilization of appropriate cultural value systems (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002).
 - Fluidly integrating multiple identities appears to provide more favorable psychosocial functioning, and less psychological distress (Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Bond, 2008; Schwartz et al., 2015).



Activity

1. Separate into pairs or small groups.
2. Identify and list challenges that immigrants and children of immigrants may face.
3. Discuss whether these challenges may be bundled or grouped into specific types of stressors.

Unique Stressors Experienced by Immigrants

- A large and growing literature has focused on various types of stressors experienced by immigrants.
- That being said, there remains conceptual inconsistencies:
 - Inconsistencies in the term utilized to describe these unique stressors
 - Inconsistencies in number and nature of the unique stressors experienced by migrant.

Types of Stressors

- Pre-Migration Stress
 - Reflects stressors experienced in one's home country.
 - Includes poverty, lack of quality healthcare, limited educational opportunities, and trauma experienced prior to migration.
- Immigration-Related Stress
 - Reflect stressors associated with migration itself.
 - Includes exposure to traumatic events during immigration, fear of being deported, problems dealing with immigration or finding work, family separations, and limited contact with family.

Types of Stressors

- Discrimination
 - Can be characterized by unfair actions toward people/ groups based on ethnicity or language fluency.
 - Includes
 - Overt discriminatory actions of unfair/differential treatment.
 - Daily hassles and microaggressions¹ (Romero & Roberts, 2003; Sellers & Shelton, 2003)
 - Such as derogatory jokes, nonverbal slights, or being ignored, any of which may seem minor, but which have an additive quality of stress over time.
 - As a whole, researchers argue that discrimination are pervasive experiences for ethnic minorities (Romero & Piña-Watson, 2017).

Types of Stressors

- Acculturative Stress
 - Cognitive appraisal of stress due to adapting to majority culture, which often includes discrimination and language conflicts (Berry, 2003).
 - Result from cultural changes that occur during the acculturation process as individuals become more exposed to the dominant culture.
 - Typically focuses on
 - the stress of the immigration experience and the stress from adopting the dominant US. culture and the English language.
 - Also includes familial conflict that may arise a result of differential acculturation, sometimes referred to as "Acculturation-Gap Stress).

Types of Stressors

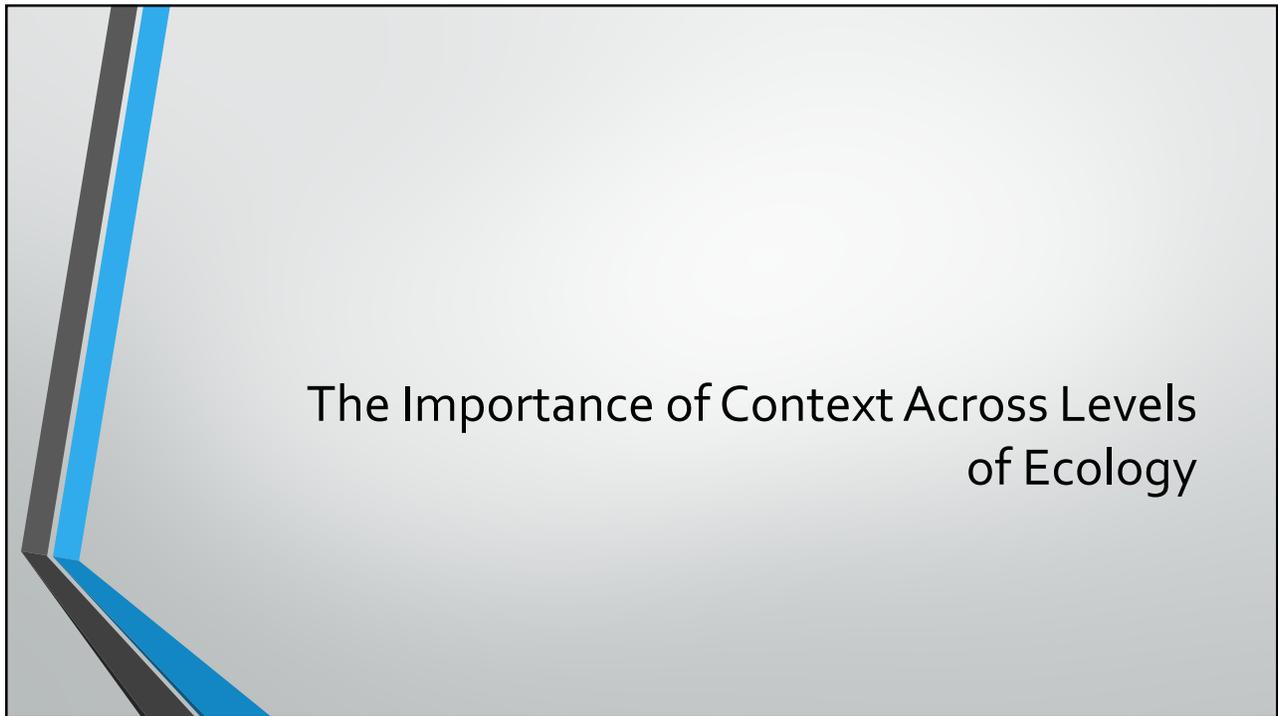
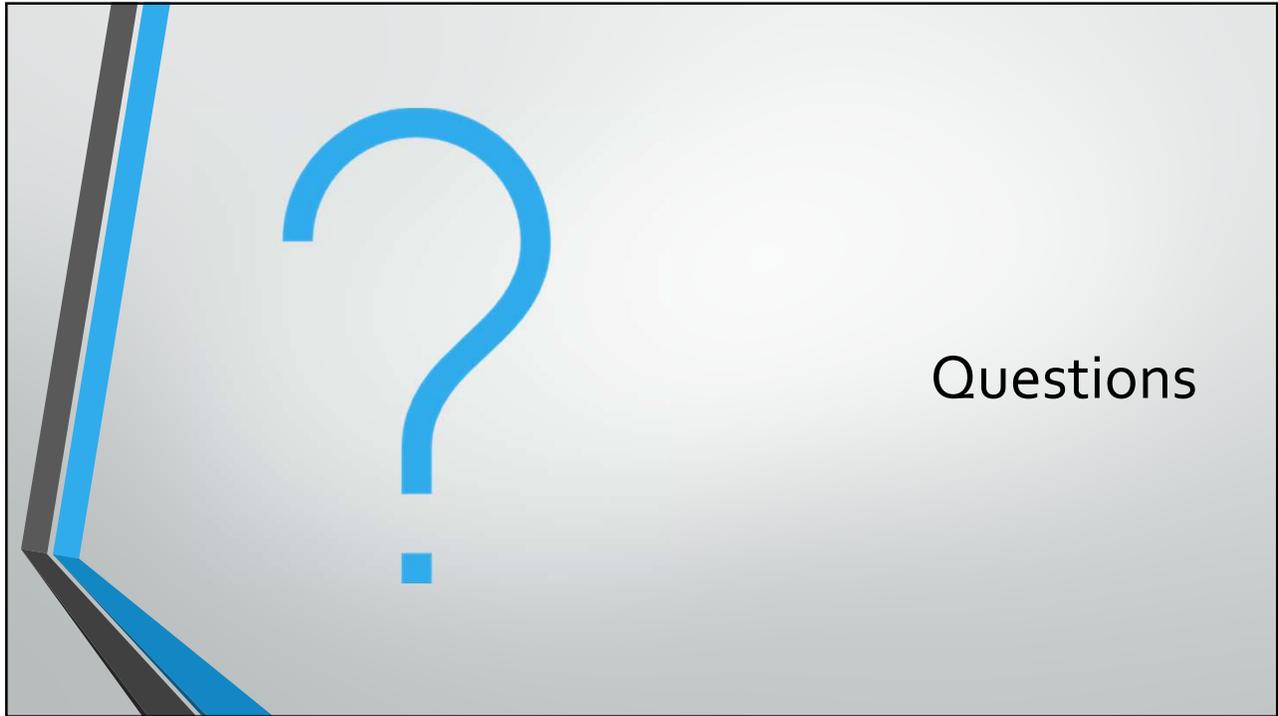
- *Bicultural stress*
 - Focusing on cognitive appraisal of stress due to adapting to the majority culture **AND also maintaining one's heritage culture**
 - Results from daily hassles that arise as a result of adapting to more than one cultural context and navigating each culture (Romero & Roberts, 2003).
 - Sources of bicultural stress include
 1. Pressure to be fluent in more than one language,
 2. Conflict in cultural values and behaviors with family and peers,
 3. Intragroup AND intergroup discrimination
 4. Discomfort in social interactions with different cultures

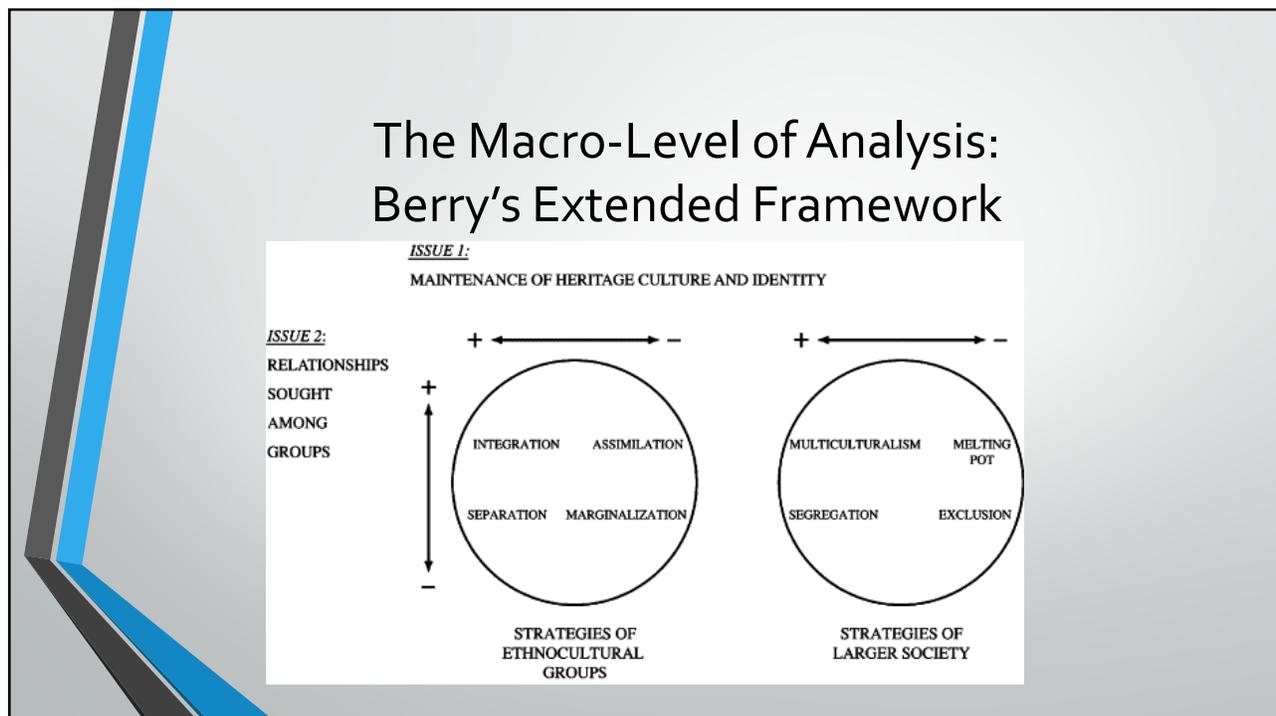
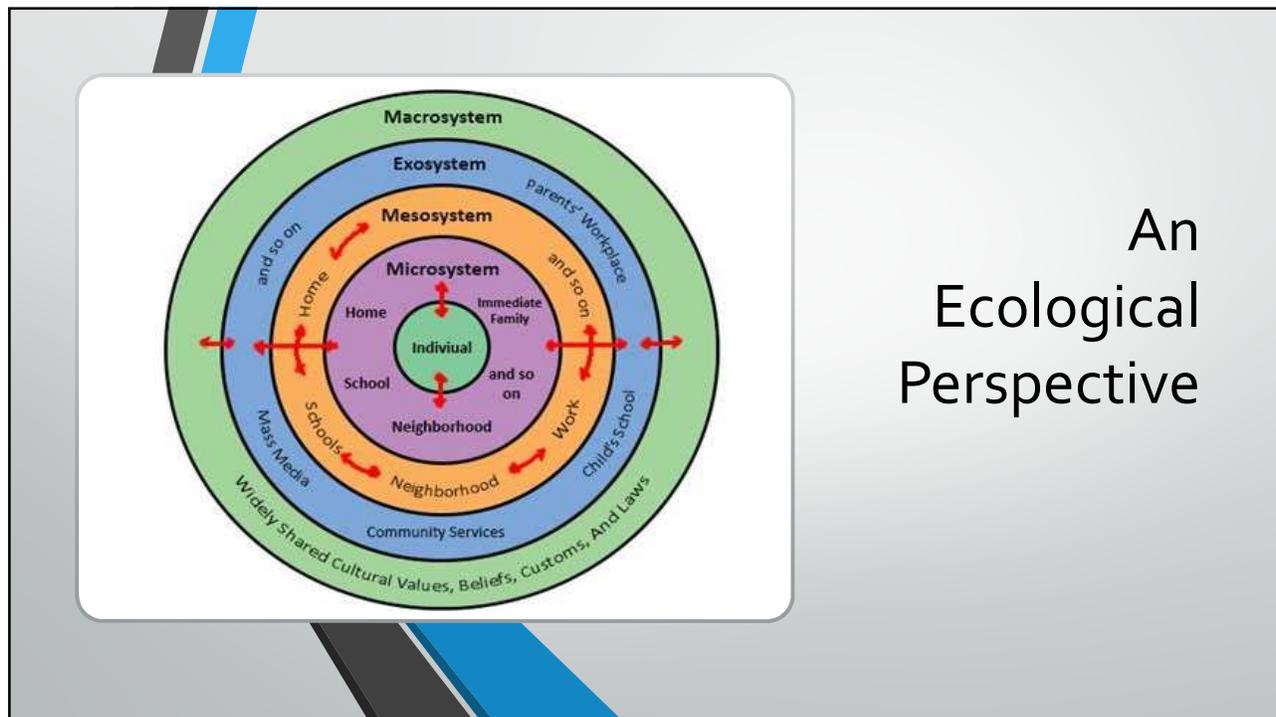
Unique Stressors and Psychosocial Functioning

- As a whole, research has found clear links between these various constructs and psychosocial functioning.
- For example,
 - Research demonstrates that poor mental health is associated with more acculturative stress (Crockett et al., 2007; Jamieson & Romer, 2008; Mejía & McCarthy, 2010; Peña et al., 2008; Zayas, 2011; Zayas & Pilat, 2008).
 - Bicultural stress has been associated with worse mental health outcomes (Castillo et al., 2008; Forster et al., 2014; Mejía & McCarthy, 2010; Piña-Watson et al., 2015; Romero et al., 2007).
 - Extensive body of research also documented the negative effects of discrimination across a variety of ethnic/racial minority groups (Benner et al., 2018; Korous et al., 2017)

Unique Stressors and Acculturation

- It should also be noted the unique stressors experiences by immigrants may also modify the impact acculturation has on adaptation as well.
- For example,
 - Biculturalism may be less advantageous when person is discriminated against (Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, 2011).
 - These individuals may resist acculturating because they are not fully recognized (a process of “reactive identification”; Verkuyten, 2005).
 - May be viewed as “perpetual foreigners” (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; R. M. Lee, 2005; Lee et al., 2017).





The Macro-Level of Analysis: Berry's Extended Framework

- As proposed by Berry (1974), the views and expectations of members of the larger society are also important to examine.
- From the point of view of the larger society,
 - When separation is forced by the dominant group it is called Segregation.
 - Assimilation when sought by the dominant group is termed either Melting Pot or Pressure Cooker
 - **Melting Pot:** Immigrants merge their identity with the **larger society** in the pursuit of general goals.
 - **Pressure Cooker:** Immigrants are forced to give up their culture and adopt that of the receiving society.
 - Marginalization, when imposed by the dominant group is termed Exclusion.
 - When diversity maintenance and equitable participation are widely-accepted features of the society as a whole, integration is called Multiculturalism.

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The Macro-Level of Analysis: Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM)

- Poses acculturation product of the host majority and immigrant groups as influenced by state integration policies.
- Conceptualizes acculturation on a continuum of ideologies that shape the public policy of Western countries (see Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997).
- Identifies four key societal ideologies:
 - **Pluralist:** Newcomers should uphold the host country laws but free to maintain individual and heritage cultural values.
 - **Ethnist:** State should mandate newcomers' public and private values to be in alignment with the host country.
 - **Civic:** Newcomers are free to maintain heritage values, but will not be publicly supported in their desire to do so.
 - **Assimilation:** Newcomers must adopt public values and many of the private values of the dominant culture.

The Macro-Level of Analysis

- State policies and attitudes towards migrants:
 - Shape immigrants' own acculturation and
 - Differentially impact effect of various acculturation orientations.
 - Extent to which biculturalism is adaptive may depend on the settings in which acculturation takes place (Birman, Trickett, & Buchanan, 2005).
 - In context marked by multiculturalism, endorsement of multiple cultural streams is more likely to facilitate positive adaptation (Schwartz & Unger, 2010).
 - In contrast, in societies marked by Ethnist or Pressure Cooker ideology, assimilation may serve to be the most adaptive strategy.
 - To date, limited cross-site/cross-cultural research has been conducted though to support these hypothesis.

The Meso-Level: Nationality and Reception

- It is critical to acknowledge the high variability that exists within ethnic groups when it comes to examining acculturation (Umaña-Taylor, Diversi, & Fine, 2002).
 - Inconsistent findings may reflect lack of consideration of within-group differences.
 - Specific nationality of group members is important for many reasons.
 - Mark differences across nationality in terms of language, dialect, wealth and resources, history of colonization, history and exposure to US, and cultural values and rituals.
 - Within a given context of reception, individuals from different groups may receive differential treatment by the receiving society (Ennis et al., 2011; Harachi et al., 2001).

The Micro-Level: The Family

- Caregivers differentially encourage children to gravitate/avoid aspects of their cultural heritage and the receiving culture (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006).
 - Umaña-Taylor, Bhanot, and Shin (2006) referred to this phenomenon as *familial ethnic socialization*.
 - Several studies have found that presence of heritage-cultural symbols increases likelihood that youth will retain or adopt their heritage culture (Schwartz et al., 2007; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2006).
 - Regarding acquisition/rejection of US culture, caregivers' attempts are less effective in shaping youths' US cultural adoption (Schwartz et al., 2007).
 - Peers, school, and media may play a greater role.
 - On the other end, it is also likely that youth play an active role in transmitting US values and culture to their parents (Padilla, 2006).

The Micro-Level: The Family

- Differential Acculturation Theory (DAT; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980)
 - Caregiver–child gaps in acculturation affects family and mental health.
 - Recent conceptualizations has employed a bidimensional approach, suggesting that family problems can emerge when adolescents
 - (a) adopt US culture more quickly than their caregivers.
 - Caregivers may perceive certain US-based behaviors and/or attitudes as disrespectful or as a rejection of traditional ways of behaving (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001)
 - (b) relinquish or unable to maintain their heritage culture relative to their caregivers.
 - May make it difficult for adolescents and caregivers to communicate with each other.
 - Recent studies has provide partial support for DAT, finding that differential endorsement of heritage culture is associated with family conflict.



Questions

Culturally Adapted Evidence-Based Interventions (EBIs)

A Review of Those Developed for Hispanic/Latinx Youth

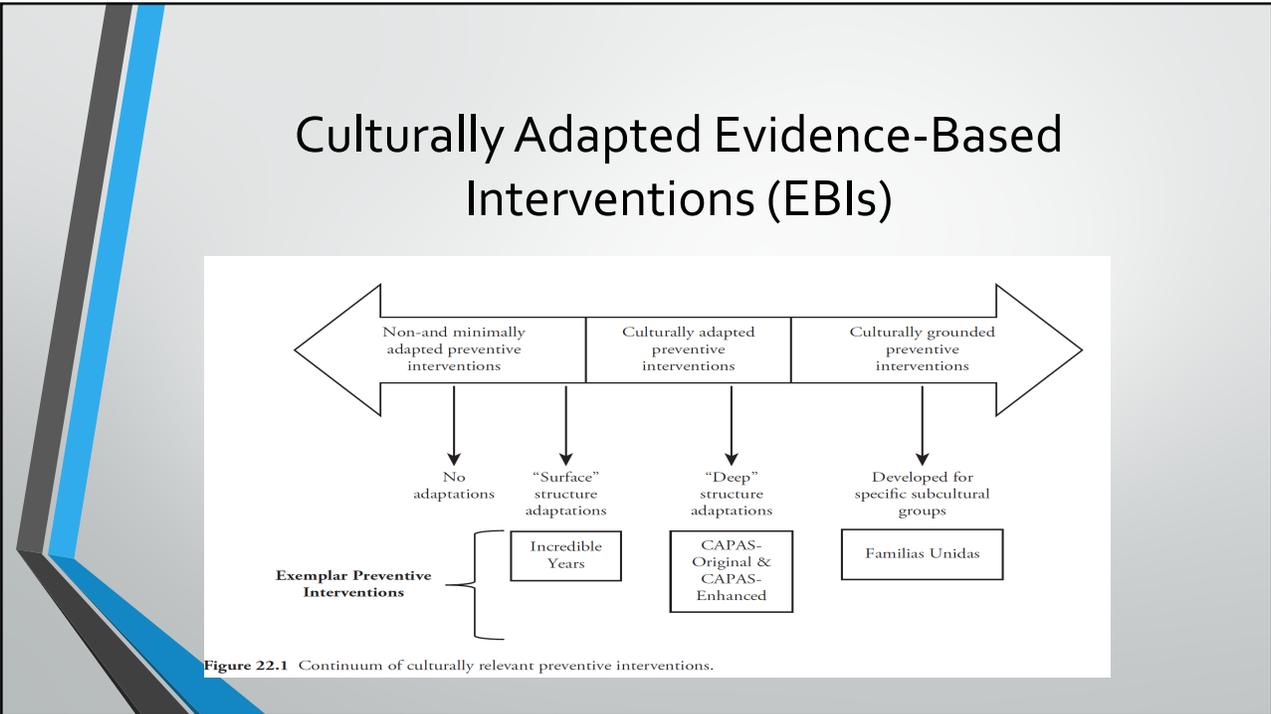


Figure 22.1 Continuum of culturally relevant preventive interventions.

Culturally Adapted Evidence-Based Interventions (EBIs)

- Distinction between Surface and Deep Structural Adaptation
 - Surface Adaptation
 - Modifications of EBI such that changes made to presentation strategies.
 - Features are changed to better match characteristics of the target population.
 - Common Strategies
 - Peripheral: Materials packaged to convey relevance to a particular group.
 - Evidential: Evidence of impact of health issues on target group.
 - Linguistic: Using the dominant/native language of target group.
 - Constituent-Involving: Involving those indigenous to population.

Culturally Adapted Evidence-Based Interventions (EBIs)

- Distinction between Surface and Deep Structural Adaptation
 - Deep Structural Adaptation
 - Core components of the EBI are modified to address potential mediators of change relevant to specific target population.
 - Alternatively, core components are retained but meaning and/or method of delivery are modified to better match needs of specific population.
 - In working with Hispanic/Latinx population, often involved incorporation of themes associated with immigration stress and challenges of navigating two cultures.

Culturally Adapted Evidence-Based Interventions (EBIs)

- Culturally adapted interventions are those that build on existing EBIs to enhance their relevance for a particular subcultural group.
- Include one of the following four basic features (Griner & Smith, 2006):
 - (1) the integration of culturally and contextually relevant variables,
 - (2) intervention delivery by professionals of the same cultural background as intervention consumers
 - (3) high accessibility and flexibility in delivery to account for the life demands of intervention consumers, and
 - (4) the consideration of resources from systems relevant to intervention consumers (e.g., extended family, community)

Culturally Adapted Evidence-Based Interventions (EBIs)

- **Criando con Amor: Promoviendo Armonía y Superación (CAPAS;** Domenech Rodríguez et al., 2011)
 - Represents a culturally adapted version of Parent Management Training, the Oregon Model (PMTO).
 - Based on social interactional learning theory.
 - Focuses on promoting parental involvement, teaching children new skills, improving parental monitoring, and enhancing family problem solving skills.
 - Building on these core components, the CAPAS integrates them under the cultural value of familismo.

Culturally Adapted Evidence-Based Interventions (EBIs)

- **Criando con Amor: Promoviendo Armonía y Superación (CAPAS;** Domenech Rodríguez et al., 2011)
 - **Modifications made to EDI**
 1. Manuel was translated to Spanish
 2. Based on focus groups, major goals for children structured around
 - superación (i.e., educational attainment that exceeded that of the parents)
 - educación (e.g., raising competent and respectful children)
 3. Metaphors were framed around dichos (Hispanic sayings).
 4. Cultural values were integrating into parenting goals and strategies.
 5. Opportunities for discussion around differential acculturation were included.

Evidence-Based Interventions (EBIs)

- ***Familias Unidas*** (Prado et al., 2007; 2012)
 - In contrast to CAPAS, represents a culturally grounded family-based EBI to work specifically with Hispanic adolescents and developed utilizing
 - A community-based participatory research model
 - An ecodevelopmental theory which integrates
 - Socialoecological theory
 - Developmental Theory
 - Emphasis on Social Interactions

Evidence-Based Interventions (EBIs)

- *Familias Unidas* (Prado et al., 2007; 2012)
 - Focus of Intervention is on:
 - Address cultural issues related to having to raise children in a foreign country.
 - Includes topics of immigration stress and acculturation.
 - Additionally address concerns raised by parents centered around lack of social support and connection with social contexts relevant to youth's lives (e.g., school/peers)

Evidence-Based Interventions (EBIs)

- *Familias Unidas* (Prado et al., 2007; 2012)
 - Intervention Delivery
 - Includes 8 multiparent groups and 4 family sessions.
 - Multiparent groups address issues of social isolation.
 - Family sessions
 - Address differential acculturation by placing parents in role of change-agent roles.
 - Provide skills necessary to facilitate parent-adolescent bonding and family cohesion.

Prevention Program: Promoting Biculturalism

- Entre Dos Mundos (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2005, 2017)
 - Represents a culturally grounded prevention program focused on developing of biculturalism among immigrant families.
 - Primary Goal
 - Helps families adjust to life in US and avoid stress/problems associated with assimilation within family (e.g., acculturation gap) and externally
 - Modality
 - Utilizes psychodramas to decrease acculturation stress among immigrant adolescents and their parents.

Prevention Program: Promoting Biculturalism

- Entre Dos Mundos (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2005, 2017)
 - Underlying theoretical model argues that
 - Acculturation stress and intergenerational conflict negatively impacts youth's functioning
 - Biculturalism and family adaptability can minimize acculturation stress and conflict, thereby decreasing adolescent mental health problems.
 - Program formatted around 8-sessions utilizing a multifamily group format in weekly sessions centered around key topics.

Prevention Program: Promoting Biculturalism

- **Entre Dos Mundos (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2005, 2017)**

- | | |
|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How are we as a family changing as we adapt to life in the United States? How do we as a family balance demands from two different cultures (our culture of origin and the US host culture)? 2. What worries do adolescents have for their parents? What worries do parents have for their adolescents? How can we help each other decrease some of these worries? How can we comfort one another? 3. When cultural conflict arises, how can we remain united with each other as a family when we have different perspectives? | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. How can we handle discrimination at school and at work? In what ways can family members support each other during or after these experiences? 5. In what ways do adolescents participate in school? In what ways do adolescents wish to participate in school? (Same questions for parents.) 6. How can we strengthen our relationships with non-Latino Americans (peers, teachers, coworkers) outside of our families? 7. What does our future look like in 10 years? (Developing bicultural identities) 8. Review, integration, evaluation, and closure (graduation ceremony, fiesta). |
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Prevention Program: Promoting Biculturalism

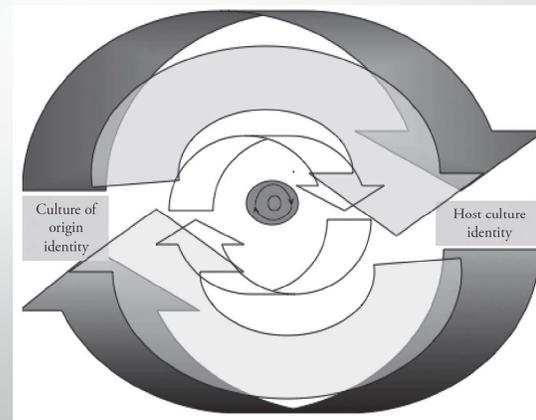
- **Entre Dos Mundos (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2005, 2017)**
 - Action-Oriented Groups are utilized to fully engage participants.
 - Consistent with psychodramas, a variety of techniques are utilized
 - **Role Reversal:** Protagonist takes role of another person.
 - **Doubling:** Group member offers briefly steps into the role of protagonist.
 - **Mirroring:** Protagonist is removed so they may gain distance.
 - **Empty Chair:** Protagonist pretends to have conversation with someone.
 - **Enactment:** Act out ones internal thoughts, emotions, reality, or fantasy.

Prevention Program: Promoting Biculturalism

- Entre Dos Mundos (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2005, 2017)

- Example Activity

- Visualizes discrepancy between parents/youth on acculturation.
 - Portrays acculturation not as a linear process but as a dynamic cycle.
 - Reduces fears of "losing ones' child".
 - Serves as starting point for more discussions differences in standing.

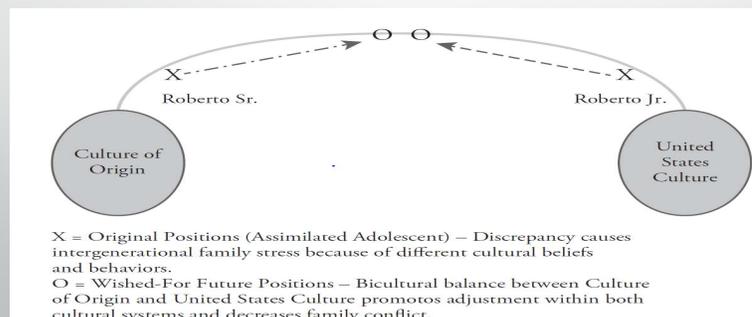


Prevention Program: Promoting Biculturalism

- Entre Dos Mundos (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2005, 2017)

- Example Activity

- Participants may utilize a spectrogram instead to discuss current standing, thoughts/feelings centered on that, and hoped-for-standing.



Summary Remarks

- As is the case in most things, more research is needed to
 - better conceptualize the process of acculturation,
 - the unique stressors experienced by immigrants (and children of immigrants),
 - And understand how individual and contextual factors interact to predict cultural change and mental health.
- That being said,
 - Research as highlighted the benefits of biculturalism across a variety of immigrant populations and context.
 - Overwhelming research has highlighted the deleterious effects of various stressors faced by immigrants on mental health, emphasizing the need for efficacious and effective intervention and prevention programs.
 - A burgeoning body of research has developed evidence-based tools and techniques for promoting cultural adaptation and reducing these stressors among immigrant families.



Questions