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Changes in Family Cohesion and Acculturative Stress among Recent Latino Immigrants

GLADYS E. IBAÑEZ, Ph.D. [Assistant Professor],

Department of Epidemiology, Florida International University, 11200 SW 8 Street, Miami, Florida 33174

FRANK DILLON, Ph.D. [Associate Professor],

Florida International University, 11200 SW 8 Street, Miami, Florida 33174; Miami, Florida; frdphd@gmail.com

MARIANA SANCHEZ, Ph.D. [Post-doctoral Associate],

Florida International University, 11200 SW 8 Street, Miami, Florida 33174; Miami, Florida; msanche@fiu.edu

MARIO DE LA ROSA, Ph.D. [Professor and CRUSADA Director],

Florida International University, 11200 SW 8 Street, Miami, Florida 33174; Miami, Florida; delarosa@fiu.edu

TAN LI, Ph.D. [Assistant Professor], and

Department of Biostatistics, Florida International University, 11200 SW 8 Street, Miami, Florida 33174; Miami, Florida; tanli@fiu.edu

MARIA ELENA VILLAR, Ph.D. [Associate Professor]

Florida International University, 11200 SW 8 Street, Miami, Florida 33174; Miami, Florida; mevillar@fiu.edu

Abstract

Family relationships can serve as an important source of support during the acculturation process; yet, how the stress related to acculturation, or acculturative stress, may impact family functioning across time is not clear. Participants ($n = 479$), between the ages of 18-34 were recruited using respondent driven sampling methodology. Findings suggest family cohesion decreased over time; however, it decreased less for those reporting more acculturative stress. The implication is that for those Latino immigrants who struggle to adapt to their new host culture, family remains a source of support more so than for those who do not struggle as much.

Keywords

family cohesion; family; acculturative stress; Latino; Hispanic; immigrants

INTRODUCTION

At present Latinos are the largest ethnic/racial minority group in the United States and account for approximately 54 million people, or 17% of the U.S. population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014). The Latino population is expected to triple in size and account for most of the nation's population growth from 2005 to 2050 (Pew Hispanic Center, 2009). Although there has been a recent drop in Latino immigration, the unprecedented population growth of Latinos in the United States historically has been fueled in part by immigration. There are over 40 million Latino immigrants living in the U.S.; and of these, 11.7 million are estimated to be unauthorized immigrants (Pew Research, 2013; Preston, 2013).

Once immigrants arrive in the United States, their process of adapting to the U.S. begins. This adaptation process, or *acculturation* process, has been defined as the manner by which immigrants' attitudes and behaviors merge with those of the predominant cultural group as a result of exposure to the new culture (Berry, 1997). The acculturation process is accompanied by stressors related to being in a new culture and away from their family and friends. Stressors may consist of psychological or social stressors encountered by an individual due to an incongruence of beliefs, values, and other cultural norms between their country of origin and the country to which they have immigrated (Cabassa, 2003). That is, *acculturative stress* is usually brought about by post-immigration factors such as language barriers, difficulties assimilating to beliefs, values, norms of the dominant culture, and perceived feelings of inferiority, and discrimination (Berry, 1997).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Acculturative Stress

Acculturation refers to the process of cultural and psychological changes that occur when two or more cultural groups are in regular contact with each other (Berry, 2005). In facing acculturation, Berry (2005) proposed that immigrants adapt to their new host culture and maintain their culture of origin to varying degrees. That is, they may adapt to both cultures (integration), primarily the host culture (assimilation), maintain the culture of origin only (separation), or adopt neither culture (marginalization). Contextual factors can also influence the acculturation process such as the pre-immigration context (e.g., the reason for the immigration), as well as the post-immigration context (e.g., the degree to which the host culture is open to the immigrant group) (Berry, 2005; Caplan, 2007).

Acculturative stress is a stress reaction to life events related to the acculturation process (Berry, 2005; Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987). The majority of studies on acculturative stress focuses on the post immigration context, and emphasizes the troubles and losses that occur when adapting to new belief systems and social roles (Hovey, 2000). However, these studies assume a loss without examining the pre-immigration context. An exception to this is a recent study by Negy and colleagues (2009) who found that the pre-immigration expectations of how life was going to be in the U.S. were related to acculturative stress. For Latino immigrants, the more discrepancy between expectations of how life in the U.S. would be like and what it actually is, the more acculturative stress is reported (Negy, Hammons, Reig-Ferrer, & Carper, 2010). Although this study accounts for pre-immigration context to

some degree, it focused on one intra-psychic aspect: expectations. It is unclear whether other factors in the pre-immigration environment, especially important systems within the Latino culture such as the family, are associated with acculturative stress experienced across time.

In a recent study, Caplan (2007) touched on the importance of environmental or systemic factors on acculturative stress by exploring three contextual dimensions related to acculturative stress: instrumental/environmental, social/interpersonal, and societal. Previous studies on acculturative stress have focused on *instrumental/environmental* stressors, which refer to stressors related to day-to-day living such as language barriers, poverty, and unemployment. Studies that examine predictors of acculturative stress among adult Latino immigrants have found Spanish speaking and a short time of residence in the U.S. related to high levels of acculturative stress among a sample of recent Latino immigrants (Miranda & Matheny, 2000). *Social/interpersonal* stressors are related to changes in relationships, roles, and cultural norms due to immigration such as changes in family cohesion and social status. In order to examine losses or changes in relationships, however, researchers must first learn more about these relationships such as family relationships prior to immigration. Hovey (2000) found that social/interpersonal stressors such as separation from family and family dysfunction were related to high levels of acculturative stress. Low levels of income have also been cited as playing a prominent role in increase levels of acculturation stress among immigrants (Finch & Vega, 2003; Hovey, 2000), whereas the association between age and acculturative stress has mixed results (Torres, 2010).

Finally, *societal stressors* refer to discrimination, political, and historical stressors related to undocumented status and immigration in general (Caplan, 2007). For example, whether the primary reason for migrating to the U.S. was voluntary or involuntary is a societal stressor that has been linked to acculturative stress (Gil & Vega, 1996). Salgado de Snyder et al. (1990) conducted a comparison study of Central American versus Mexican immigrants, and found that Central American immigrants who fled their home country due to civil war and human rights abuses had greater psychosocial stress than their Mexican counterparts who were more likely to migrate for economic reasons. Another societal stressor related to acculturative stress is documentation status (Arbona, Olvera, Rodriguez, Hagan, Linares, & Wiesner, 2010; Caplan, 2007). Perez and Fortuna (2005) found that undocumented immigrants experienced greater number of stressors including occupational and economic hardship and fear of deportation than those who were documented.

Family Cohesion

The importance placed on the family is the cornerstone of the Latino culture. *Familismo* or *familism* is the cultural value that refers to a strong commitment to members of the immediate as well as extended family (Gallo, Penedo, Espinosa de los Monteros, & Arguelles, 2009). Familism is characterized by a strong sense of family cohesion, emotional bonds between family members, and a need to belong and be accepted by family members (Gallo, et al., 2009; Sabogal, et al., 1987). Latino families can act as a support system and a resource especially during the years immediately following immigration (Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin & Peres-Stable, 1987) including serving as a buffer against stressors related to immigration (Dillon, De la Rosa, & Ibañez, 2013; Rumbaut & Rumbaut, 1976).

Yet family functioning itself may change as a result of immigration which can result in its own stress and conflict (Heymann, et al., 2009). Little is known about how acculturative stress may impact family functioning across time. However, recent work from Smokowski, Bacallao, and colleagues shed some light on the complex ways that family functioning may change through the acculturation process such as less time spent as a family due to work schedules, the child taking on the role of ‘cultural broker’, or differential rates of acculturation between family members (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007; Smokowski, Rose, & Bacallao, 2008). In addition, one study reported family cohesion as a way to cope with stressors in the new host cultural system among Mexican immigrants (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007). In an earlier study based on the current longitudinal research study, Dillon, De la Rosa, & Ibañez (2013) found that recent Latino immigrants who reported more acculturative stress also reported a greater decline in family cohesion from pre-immigration to 1 year post immigration. This study attempts to build on this earlier study by examining the effect of acculturative stress on changes in family cohesion from pre-immigration, first year post migration, and 2 years post migration.

The Present Study

Using Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) Ecological model as a guide, the current study examines the influence that an *exo-systemic* level factor (acculturative stress) may have on a *micro-systemic* level factor (family cohesion). The research questions are as follows: 1) what socio-demographic variables are related to change in family cohesion; and 2) how is acculturative stress related to change in family cohesion controlling for socio-demographic variables. Based on previous research, it is hypothesized that the more acculturative stress reported, the more family cohesion decreases, and family cohesion will continue to decrease across time more for those who report higher acculturative stress than those who do not.

METHODS

Sample

The sample for the present study consists of those participants that met the specific study criteria and completed the baseline assessment ($n = 527$). Four hundred and nineteen participants were retained in the second wave of data collection (79% retention rate), which occurred approximately 12 months after the baseline assessment. Four hundred and seventy-nine participants were interviewed in a third wave of assessments (91% retention rate), which occurred approximately 24 months after baseline. Data from retained participants after 24 months ($n = 479$) were analyzed to test study hypotheses. Fifty-four percent of the sample were male ($n = 260$) and 46% female ($n = 219$). The mean age of the sample was 29.0 (range: 20 – 38). The education levels were as follows: 16% college degrees, 34% some college, 36% high school or equivalent degree, and 13% less than a high school. Twenty-eight percent ($n = 134$) of the participants reported being undocumented.

In terms of nativity classification the majority were of Cuban descent at 42% ($n = 201$), followed by Colombians (19%; $n = 91$), Hondurans (12%; $n = 56$), and Nicaraguans (9%; $n = 43$). Guatemalans, Venezuelans, and Peruvians, each represented between 2% and 4%.

Bolivians, Uruguayans, Argentines, Chileans, Costa Ricans, Dominicans, Ecuadorians, Salvadorians, Mexicans, Panamanians, each represented less than 2%.

Procedures

The present study is a longitudinal study that examines both pre and post immigration family cohesion for recent immigrant Latinos ages 18 - 34 residing in Miami, Florida, and how acculturative stress relates to changes in family cohesion. Data was collected at baseline (within 12 months of immigrating in which pre-immigration factors were assessed retroactively), at 12 month follow up, and 24 month follow up. The age range of the sample was chosen a priori because the main purpose of the overall study was to collect data on risk behaviors such as alcohol use and sexual risk behaviors, which are more likely among young Latinos (Loue, Cooper, & Fiedler, 2003). Participants were followed for a period of two years, and the eligibility criteria was being 18-34 years old Latino/a who immigrated to the United States from a Latin American country 12 months or less prior to the interview. For longitudinal retention purposes, participants also were required to provide corroborative sources in the U.S. and in their country of origin.

The larger longitudinal study included standardized post immigration measures of acculturation stress, social support, substance use and HIV risk behaviors, along with a variety of both pre and post immigration demographic variables, pre-immigration assets, social capital, and drug/alcohol/psychological treatment history. Those measures that did not already have a validated Spanish translated version were translated by research center staff. Specifically, the measures went through a process of a) translation/back translation, b) modified direct translation, c) and checks for semantic and conceptual equivalence to ensure accurate conversion from English to Spanish. In an effort to account for any within-group variability, a review panel for the modified direct translation consisted of individuals from various Latino subgroups representative of the Miami-Dade county population. This process generated some slight modifications in question wording, for a small minority of items. Only the measures regarding family cohesion, acculturative stress, and socio-demographic factors were analyzed for present study.

Participants were given the option to have the interview administered in English or Spanish. Given that the sample consisted of all recent immigrants, all interviews were conducted in Spanish as anticipated. Interviews were completed in a location agreed upon by both the interviewer and participant. Most were administered in the participant's home. Interviews were audio recorded and reviewed by research assistants for quality control purposes.

All interviewers were fluent in both English and Spanish and given a total of four days of training. One day on general interviewing techniques and procedures, safety, cultural competence, and human subjects' issues; one day on administration of interview protocol; and two days involving practice and shadowing of interview protocol. These interviews were audio recorded and listened to by experienced interviewers to assure adequate quality prior to considering the interviewer adequately trained.

Respondent driven sampling was used as the primary strategy for recruitment into the study. Although this sample of convenience poses limitations to external validity, this technique has

shown to be an effective strategy in recruiting participants from hidden populations (Salganik & Heckthorn, 2003). Undocumented Latino immigrants, in particular, tend to be a hidden population due to the sensitivity of their legal status in the United States. However, recent immigrants regardless of documentation status can also be a hard-to-reach population, and therefore an appropriate population for respondent driven sampling (Johnston & Sabin, 2010). Taking this into account, respondent driven sampling was considered to be the most feasible sampling approach in order to capture a good representation of both the documented and undocumented immigrant Latino population. This technique involved asking each participant (the seed) to refer three other individuals in their social network who met the eligibility criteria for the study. The procedure was followed for seven waves for each initial participant (seed), at which point a new seed would begin. A sample independent of the initial seeds can be achieved within a handful of recruitment waves; therefore, the limiting rule was undertaken in the effort to avoid skewing the respondent sample (Heckathorn, 1997; Salganik & Heckathorn, 2003).

Measures

The demographics section of the survey consisted of items asking participants to report their age, gender, annual household income (post immigration) adjusted for the number of dependents, education level (1=less than high school, 2=completed high school, 3=some college, 4 = bachelor's degree, or 5= post graduate), months living in the U.S. as of the baseline interview, ability to speak English well (1=Speak/Understand a little English to 5 = Don't speak any other language), whether they immigrated with family or friends (0=came to the U.S. alone, 1=came to U.S. with family members/friends), documentation status (0=undocumented, 1=documented), and language spoken in post-immigration neighborhood (1= only English to 5 = Only Spanish).

The validated Spanish version of the immigration stress subscale from the *Hispanic Stress Inventory Scale –Immigrant Version* (Cervantes, Padilla, & Salgado de Snyder, 1990) was used to measure acculturative stress. This scale is a measure of psychosocial stress-event experiences for Latino immigrants. It has been widely used with this population (Ellison, Finch, Ryan, & Salinas, 2009; Loury & Kulbok, 2007). The instrument contains 18 questions. First, the participant reports whether or not they experienced a particular stressor. The *Stressful Event* scale is the sum of reported stressful events. If the stressor was experienced, then a subsequent follow-up question is asked regarding the appraisal of how stressful that particular event was to the respondent (1 = *not at all* to 5 = *extremely*). The *Appraisal Stress* scale is the sum of reported stressful events. A test-retest reliability coefficient for the Immigration Stress scale has been reported as .80 ($p < .001$) with Cronbach's alpha coefficient equal to .85 (Cervantes et al., 1990). The present study found similar Cronbach alpha for this scale (.75). An overall acculturative stress total score was calculated by multiplying the immigration-related stress and the immigration stress appraisal scores.

The Family Cohesion subscale of the Family Functioning Scale (Bloom, 1985) was administered to participants to assess pre-immigration family cohesion. The Family Functioning Scale has been used successfully with Latino populations before and has shown

good reliability (see Lester, Stein, Bursch, Rice, Green, Penniman, & Rotheram-Borus, 2010, and Marelich, Murphy, Payne, Herbeck, & Schuster, 2010 for some recent examples). Participants were asked to rate on a 4-point Likert scale (1 = *very untrue* to 4 = *very true*) how true five items are for their own family over their lifetime. Sample items are ‘people in my family really help and support one another’ and ‘my family didn’t really do things together’. The subscale has evidenced adequate reliability estimates and discriminant validity (Bloom, 1985) and yielded a Cronbach’s alpha value of .79 in the present study.

Data Analysis Plan

First, frequencies were conducted for the total sample for all study variables. Bivariate correlational analyses were conducted for all continuous variables (i.e., Pearson Product Moment) and dichotomous variables (i.e., Spearman correlations) to examine the individual association between each predictor variable and family cohesion. Next, we conducted general linear mixed models (GLMM) to test whether acculturative stress is associated with change in family cohesion across three time points after controlling for demographic variables for recent Latino immigrants.

FINDINGS

Descriptive statistics for all categorical variables are shown in Table 1; and for continuous variables, descriptive statistics (i.e., means and standard deviations) as well as bivariate correlations are shown in Table 2. Family cohesion was negatively correlated with acculturative stress, and acculturative stress was negatively correlated with income.

Table 3 presents the mixed model estimates (PROC MIXED in SAS) with family cohesion score as the outcome from pre- to post-immigration (baseline, 12 month follow-up, and 24 month follow-up). In the mixed model, time was treated as a continuous variable with baseline being coded as 1, the 12 month follow up coded as 2, and the 24 month follow up coded as 3. The Model 1 estimates show that family cohesion scores decreased significantly over time ($b = -0.03$, $SE = 0.02$, $p < 0.05$), and increased significantly with English language proficiency ($b = 0.04$, $SE = 0.02$, $p < 0.05$). Undocumented participants reported significantly lower family cohesion score than documented participants ($b = -0.13$, $SE = 0.03$, $p < 0.001$). The participants who came to US alone reported significant lower family cohesion score than those who came to US with family or friend ($b = -0.12$, $SE = 0.03$, $p < 0.001$). The Model 2 estimates show that after controlling for these variables, increases in acculturative stress were associated with decreases in family cohesion scores ($b = -0.02$, $SE = 0.01$, $p < 0.001$). However, there was a significant interaction effect between acculturative stress and time on family cohesion score ($b = 0.01$, $SE < 0.01$, $p < 0.01$). Specifically, although family cohesion decreases as acculturative stress increases, it decreases less over time for those who experience more acculturative stress.

DISCUSSION

Summary of Findings

Latino culture tends to value a very strong sense of family, or *familism*, which refers to the cultural value that emphasizes family relationships and places family goals over personal

goals (Marin & Marin, 1991). In the present study, recent Latino immigrants reported that family cohesion decreased over time. This is congruent with previous studies that found traditional cultural values may weaken the longer immigrants live in their new host country (Gallo, et al., 2009; Schwartz, 2007). This finding also supports the Dillon et al. (2013) study, which looked at family cohesion across two time points and found similar results. What is surprising is the interaction effect between acculturative stress and time on family cohesion. It seems that the decrease in family cohesion across time was less pronounced for those actually reporting higher levels of acculturative stress than those with lower levels of acculturative stress. This finding does provide some support for Bacallao & Smokowski's (2007) qualitative study which found familism to be a cultural asset to both Mexican parents and adolescents. In their study, Bacallao & Smokowski (2007) found that Mexican immigrants relied on family cohesion, trust, and mutual support to cope with the stressors associated with the new system (p.62). In the present study, this association was found across time and for a diverse sample of immigrants. That is, recent immigrants experiencing a high level of acculturative stress or more likely to maintain family cohesion and use family as a resource. It could also be that those who report more acculturative stress may not be accessing resources in the community and are more likely to use informal sources of support such as family. It could also mean that those who are slower to adapt to their new host culture and experiencing more acculturative stress, are also more likely to maintain important traditional cultural values such as familism. Future research should examine whether this association between family cohesion and acculturative stress across time is evident by Latino subgroups, and the importance of including contextual factors. Our sample consisted of various Latino subgroups with different historical and socio-political backgrounds which may influence how they perceive acculturative stress. For example, in Horevitz & Organista's (2013) review of the Mexican health paradox literature, the fact that some Latino subgroups report negative health outcomes while others do not suggests the importance of utilizing an ecodevelopmental framework to examine the impact of the acculturation process on health outcomes. By using an ecodevelopmental lens, future research could study the impact of contextual factors on the association between family cohesion and acculturative stress.

The findings indicate that traditional values such as family cohesion, or familism, among Latinos does erode with time spent in the United States, even when living in a city heavily influenced by the Latino culture such as Miami. Yet, for those who may be struggling to adapt, the family seems to be a potential source of support more so than for those who may be adapting quicker and have access to other resources.

Limitations

The present study has several limitations worth noting. First, it is based on a respondent driven sample. However, given that this population is difficult to access, especially undocumented immigrants, the use of respondent driven sampling was the appropriate sampling method and was implemented successfully. Second, the study relied on self-report assessments, which makes the sample susceptible to providing socially desirable responses. Because some of the responses were about pre-immigration factors, it was also open to response bias since the answers were asked retroactively. To limit these effects, we used

psychometrically appropriate measures and the staff included experienced Latino interviewers who were extensively trained in culturally appropriate interviewing techniques. Despite these limitations, this is one of the few studies that examine both pre-immigration and post immigration family cohesion among Latino immigrants. Lastly, the fact that a diverse range of countries was represented in our sample may have contributed to variance in our outcomes. Immigrants from different countries with different sociopolitical contexts may experience varying degrees of acculturative stress. However, any variance was minimized by assessing the documentation status and reason for immigration. With that said, the diversity in the sample is also one of the strengths of the study because it contributes to the literature on ethnic minority populations that are understudied. The continued immigration to the U.S. from an array of Latin American countries makes this an important population to study. The present study also contributes to the literature on how family functioning changes throughout the immigration process and how acculturative stress experienced by recent Latino immigrants living in their new environment impact family functioning. By gaining a clearer understanding of these associations, healthcare providers may be able to best help recent immigrants and their families not only adapt but thrive in their new community.

Implications

There are research, and practical, implications from these findings. For research, it is important to take into account not only the post-immigration context but the pre-immigration context. For example, future studies could examine and compare the composition of an immigrant's personal network before and after immigration and how it relates to stress. Also, because parents and children may be adapting to the host culture differently, future studies could also include other family members to learn more about the mechanisms in which acculturative stress process influences family cohesion, and family functioning may be changing throughout the acculturation process. Using a dyadic focus to examine acculturation would also be interesting (e.g., parent-child, within couple).

Another future direction for research is the association between family functioning and other health outcomes besides acculturative stress. Horevitz and Organista (2013) discuss the Mexican health paradox in which recent immigrants tend to report better health outcomes; and that these health outcomes are not the same for Latino subgroups. These findings support the notion posed by other researchers that an ecodevelopmental framework for understanding factors related to health and the acculturation process need to include contextual and multi-systemic factors (Castro, Shaibi, & Boehm-Smith, 2009; Horevitz & Organista, 2013). For example, more research is needed on how acculturative stress may be different for immigrants living in a city where the majority is composed of a minority group such as Miami. Are immigrants less likely to experience acculturative stress than immigrants who live in a place where they are a small minority? In addition, more research is needed to examine family, and other systems, such as cultural assets and how they relate to other health outcomes besides acculturative stress. A better understanding of how immigrants may be utilizing their family system as a substitute for other community resources is needed.

In terms of practical implications, it is important for service providers to link immigrants with services, both formal and informal; and to teach immigrants how to access resources

outside of the family in coping with their new environment. More intervention studies are also needed to reduce acculturative stress by utilizing the resources available to recent immigrants, of which family is one. For example, *Familia Adelante* is an intervention based in Miami that attempts to reduce familial stress by reducing acculturative stress (Cervantes, Goldbach, & Santos, 2011).

CONCLUSION

In sum, the present study suggests that family cohesion does decrease the longer an immigrant lives in the U.S., but that family cohesion will decrease less for those who are experiencing more acculturative stress than for those who are experiencing less acculturative stress. It suggests that recent Latino immigrants do indeed utilize the family system as an important source of support and buffer against acculturative stress. More research is needed to explore the association between the family system, acculturative stress, and other systems.

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TABLE 1

Descriptive Statistics for Categorical Variables (N = 479)

Variables	n (%)
Gender	
Female	219 (46)
Male	260 (54)
Education	
< High School	62 (13)
High School	174 (36)
Some College+	165 (34)
Came to US *	
Alone	231 (48)
Family	183 (38)
Other	61 (13)
Primary Language **	
English or Both languages equally	88 (18)
Spanish	390 (81)
Immigration Status	
Undocumented	134 (28)
Documented	344 (72)
Speak English Well ***	
Not well	146 (31)
Fairly well	206 (43)
Well/Very well	124 (26)

* Missing data (n=4);

** missing data (n=1);

*** missing data (n=3)

TABLE 2

Pearson Correlation Coefficients for All Continuous Variables at Time 3 (N = 479)

Variables	Mean (SD)	1	2	3	4	5
1. Family Cohesion	3.54 (0.49)	1.00				
2. Months in the U.S. ⁺	6.82 (3.14)	−0.04	1.00			
3. Age	29.09 (4.93)	0.01	0.09	1.00		
4. Household Income	2499 (2105)	−0.02	0.09	−0.07	1.00	
5. Acculturative Stress [#]	6.02 (4.56)	−0.09 [*]	0.01	0.04	−0.16 ^{***}	1.00

[#]Missing data for 5 participants;⁺Number of months in the U.S. at baseline.^{*}p < .05,^{***}p < .001

TABLE 3

General linear mixed models estimates of family cohesion as a function of acculturative stress (N = 479)

Explanatory variables	Model 1 estimates (SE)	Model 2 estimates (SE)
Intercept	3.61 (0.13) ***	3.80 (0.30) ***
Gender ^a	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.06)
Age	<0.01 (<0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Immigration Status ^b	-0.13 (0.03) ***	-0.09 (0.08)
Education Status ^c	0.03 (0.02)	<-0.01 (0.03)
Employment Status	0.02 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.07)
Annual household income (adjusted for dependents)	<0.01 (<0.01)	<-0.01 (<0.01)
Immigration with family or friend ^d	-0.12 (0.03) ***	-0.12 (0.06)
Primary language in community ^e	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.04)
English language proficiency ^f	0.04 (0.02) *	<0.01 (0.04)
Months in US	<-0.01 (<0.01)	<0.01 (0.01)
Acculturative stress	<-0.01 (<0.01)	-0.02 (0.01) ***
Time	-0.03 (0.02) *	-0.11 (0.13)
Gender × time		<-0.01 (0.03)
Age × time		<-0.01 (<0.01)
Immigration Status × time		-0.02 (0.04)
Education Status × time		0.02 (0.02)
Employment Status × time		0.03 (0.03)
Annual household income (adjusted for dependents) × time		<-0.01 (<0.01)
Immigration with family or friend × time		<0.01 (0.03)
Primary language in community × time		0.01 (0.02)
English language in proficiency × time		0.02 (0.02)
Months in US × time		<-0.01 (<0.01)
Acculturative stress × time		0.01 (<0.01) **

SE standard error.

The explanatory variables with "X" represent the longitudinal effects of the explanatory variables on the rate of decline in family cohesion from pre to post immigration.

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$d^* < .05$,
**
 $p < .01$,

 $p < 0.001$.
 a 0 = female, 1 = male.
 b 0 = undocumented, 1 = documented.
 c 1 = less than high school, 2 = high school, 3 = some training/college after high school, 4 = bachelor's degree, 5 = graduate/professional studies.
 d 0 = came to US alone, 1 = came to US with family member(s) or friend.
 e 1 = only English to 5 = only Spanish.
 f 1 = Speak/Understand a little to 5 = Don't speak any other language.