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Academic achievement among immigrant and U.S.-born Latino adolescents: Associations with cultural, family, and acculturation factors

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Abstract

This study examined proximal risk and protective factors that contribute to academic achievement among 130 Latino students. Participating students were 56.2% female and 35.3% foreign-born (mean age = 11.38, SD = .59). Acculturative stress, immigrant status, child gender, parental monitoring, traditional cultural values, mainstream values, and English language proficiency were explored in relation to academic achievement. Higher levels of parental monitoring, English language proficiency, and female gender were associated with higher grades, while mainstream values were associated with lower grades. In addition, a significant interaction between acculturative stress and immigrant status was found, such that higher acculturative stress was related to poorer grades for U.S.-born students in particular. Thus, parental monitoring and female gender are potential protective factors, while identification with mainstream values and low English language proficiency are risk factors for poor grades. U.S.-born students may be particularly vulnerable to the effects of acculturative stress.

Keywords

Latino; adolescents; academic achievement; cultural values; acculturation

As the Latino population in the United States continues to grow (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011) increasing attention is being turned toward understanding the risk and protective factors of immigrant-Latino and U.S.-born Latino children and families. Indeed some research documents increased risk for psychological distress and low academic achievement among

Latino immigrants due to increased stress associated with immigration, acculturation, and poverty (Hao & Bonstead-Bruns, 1998; Stevens, 2008; Thoman & Suris, 2004). However, research also indicates that Latino immigrants often fare better than their second and third generation counterparts, possibly due to the protective benefits of cultural values and norms (Harker, 2001; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2001). This study focuses on exploring potential risk and protective influences on academic achievement among immigrant and U.S.-born Latino middle school students.

There are clear disparities in educational attainment when looking at Latinos and the general population in the U.S., with Latinos being at increased risk of dropping out of high school and having academic achievement that falls below that of their non-Latino white peers (National Center for Education Statistics, 2007). Academic achievement can be conceptualized to include a student's grade point average (GPA), standardized test scores, credits earned, and graduation rates. Much of the research focuses on GPA as this represents a key aspect of achievement that influences future educational attainment (e.g., Witkow & Fuligni, 2011). In addition, many colleges have grade requirements that go beyond what is required for graduation. For example, some colleges require a minimum of a "C" in core academic classes, while high schools allow grades as low as a "D" to be considered passing. Thus grades on core academic classes tend to be good indicators of academic achievement.

One possible barrier to academic success for many Latino youth may be acculturative stress. Acculturation is defined as the process of learning and adapting to a new culture (Berry, 2003), while acculturative stress refers to any decline in physical, psychological, or social functioning resulting from the acculturation process (Berry, 1990). For Latino youth, acculturative stress related to incongruent cultural values and practices, language difficulties, and discrimination is associated with increased anxiety and depression (Crockett et al., 2007), which can in turn interfere with academic functioning (Masten & Curtis, 2000; Zychinski & Polo, 2011). Particularly, discrimination experiences related to ethnicity have been linked to poor grades, low academic self-efficacy, and more internalizing symptoms among Latino students (Berkel et al., 2010). Research also suggests that some Latino students face additional stress due to family obligations and responsibilities that can interfere with academic functioning (Flook & Fuligni, 2008). Finally, language difficulties, such as limited English language proficiency, can be a significant barrier to academic success, especially for immigrant students (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2010).

Despite increased stress however, immigrant Latino youth often fare better than their more acculturated (U.S.-born) Latino peers. Latino immigrants have a lower prevalence rate of mental health disorders than those who are born in the United States, despite facing extreme poverty (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2001). Conversely, more acculturated Latino students report lower academic aspirations and less academic investment or motivation (Fuligni, 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Though second and third generation Latino students often still face acculturation stress and discrimination like their immigrant counterparts, contributing to poor academic and mental health functioning, research suggests that the loss of ties to protective aspects of Latino culture are also predictive of this troubling trend (Gonzales et al., 2008).

Much of the literature has examined immigrant and generational status to document these patterns. More recently, efforts have focused on more clearly identifying the mechanisms that may contribute to poor academic achievement among Latino students, especially more acculturated students. In a study of Mexican origin students, the influence of immigrant status on academic engagement and externalizing problems was mediated by traditional cultural values (Gonzales et al., 2008). Thus, traditional cultural values served as a protective factor that was related to greater academic engagement and fewer behavioral problems (Gonzales et al., 2008). In another study, traditional Mexican American values served as a risk reducer between discrimination stress and academic functioning (Berkel et al., 2010). Additional research has focused on a key aspect of traditional values—familism, or maintaining close bonds with one's family, fulfilling familial obligations, and drawing on family support. Traditional cultural values, such as familism, predicted fewer classes missed and greater academic effort among Latino adolescents (Esparza & Sánchez, 2008). Further, among students whose mothers have low educational attainment, familism was positively associated with grades (Esparza & Sánchez, 2008). These studies highlight the importance of examining the protective processes that may promote resilience among Latino youth in the United States.

Although this research suggests that maintaining ties to traditional cultural values is protective generally, other research suggests that there are exceptions. For example, family obligation among high school students can result in increased stressors in both school and family domains, which predicts poorer academic performance long-term (Flook & Fuligni, 2008). In addition, some research suggests that acculturation is linked to worse functioning (e.g., Dumka et al., 2009), while other research suggests that maintaining a strong cultural identity along with a positive relationship to mainstream culture is most adaptive (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2005).

Along with traditional cultural values, parental monitoring is consistently linked to better academic achievement. Traditional cultural values appear to promote parental monitoring (Niemeyer, Wong, & Westerhaus, 2009), while parental monitoring is, in turn, associated with fewer problem behaviors among peers and in the classroom (Dumka, Gonzales, Bonds, & Millsap, 2009). In a nationally representative sample, parental monitoring and involvement was linked to better academic achievement in high school, which was in turn associated with future academic performance in young adulthood (Gordon & Cui, 2012). Other research suggests that inadequate parental monitoring predicts problem behavior, including poor school performance, among Latino adolescents (Barrera, Biglan, Ary, & Li, 2001).

Additional research is needed to further clarify the proximal risk and protective factors that contribute to academic achievement in both immigrant and U.S.-born Latino students. It is particularly important to examine interrelationships between risk and protective factors and to understand the unique contributions of such factors to academic achievement. Thus, the current study examines associations between key risk and protective factors—acculturative stress, immigrant status, parental monitoring, traditional cultural values, and mainstream values—and academic achievement among immigrant and U.S.-born Latino middle school students. We also examine the influence of child gender and English language proficiency.

Taken together, these constructs are consistent with an integrative theoretical model (García Coll et al., 1996) that includes both constructs salient to Latino populations specifically (e.g., acculturative stress) as well as constructs that are also relevant to developmental processes across populations (e.g., parental monitoring). Integrative models for studying developmental processes also incorporate factors across multiple contexts including social position, risk factors, adaptive cultural factors, family influences, and child characteristics. The current study examines risk and protective factors across family, cultural, and socio-demographic contexts.

We hypothesize that parental monitoring, immigrant status, traditional cultural values, and English language proficiency will be associated with higher academic achievement, while acculturative stress, U.S.-born status, and mainstream cultural values will be associated with lower academic achievement. In addition to examining main effects of these factors on academic achievement, we will explore possible moderating effects of U.S.-born status on the relationship between acculturative stress or cultural values on academic achievement.

Method

Participants

One-hundred thirty Latino students were recruited from a large urban middle school in southern California. Classrooms with high proportions of English Learners were targeted in order to recruit immigrant students. In the larger study, a total of 331 students were targeted for recruitment from 12 classrooms. A total of 273 (82.48%) parents returned a signed consent form; 170 (62.27%) parents provided consent for their child to participate in the study. Of the students with consent, 130 parents provided additional consent to access academic records giving us a final sample of 130 students with complete academic records that were included in this study.

Participating students were primarily in the sixth grade (93.1%), with 3.8% ($n = 5$) in seventh grade and 3.0% ($n = 4$) in eighth grade. Participants ranged in age from 11 to 14 years, with a mean age of 11.38 ($SD = .59$). The sample included more girls ($n = 73$; 56.2%) than boys ($n = 57$; 43.8%). Forty-four students (35.3%) were born in another country. The majority of immigrant children were born in Mexico ($n = 30$; 68.2%) followed by El Salvador ($n = 10$; 22.7%) and other Latin American countries including Honduras, Ecuador, Columbia, and Guatemala ($n = 4$; 9.1%). In addition to including a high proportion of immigrant youth, 94.6% of students' mothers and 96.2% of students' fathers were born outside of the United States.

Procedure

Brief recruitment announcements were conducted in English and Spanish in homeroom classrooms targeted for participation. Recruitment letters and consent forms were provided for students to deliver to their parent. Youth surveys were administered to students in groups, with all forms being read aloud by study staff and additional staff providing individual assistance to students as needed. Students had the option of completing the surveys in English or Spanish. A total of 21 students (16.2%) elected to complete the survey

in Spanish. Six months after the Time 1 survey, students were again surveyed in groups at a time approved by the school for Time 2 assessments. As an incentive for participation, students received one \$10 merchandise gift card at Time 1 and one \$15 merchandise gift card at Time 2. At Time 1 (fall semester), demographic factors, parental monitoring, acculturation stress, and English language proficiency were assessed. At Time 2 (spring semester), cultural values were assessed. Final grades for the fall and spring semesters were obtained from official academic records. Because cultural values were measured in the spring semester, they were only included in analyses of spring semester GPA.

Measures

All measures, recruitment materials, consent forms, and assent forms were available in English and Spanish. Spanish versions of materials without an existing translation were created through the recommended procedure of translation, back-translation, and subsequent reconciliation of discrepancies (Marín & Marín, 1991).

Demographic Variables—During the baseline assessment (Time 1), youth completed a demographic questionnaire assessing age, gender, current grade in school, racial/ethnic background, and their place of birth, along with that of their mother and father.

Parental Monitoring—The Parental Monitoring Scale (Li, Feigelman, & Stanton, 2000; Silverberg, 1991) was used to assess adolescents' perceptions of parents' tracking and supervision of their whereabouts and activities. This 6-item scale includes items such as "When I go out at night, my parent(s) know where I am" and "I talk to my parents(s) about the plans I have with my friends." Response options range from "never" (0) to "always" (4). Cronbach's alpha in this sample was .81.

Cultural Values—Assessment of traditional (Mexican American) and mainstream cultural values was assessed with the Mexican American Cultural Values Scale (MACVS; Knight et al., 2010). The MACVS is a 50-item scaled developed to measure values associated with traditional Mexican culture and Anglo/mainstream culture in order to capture the underlying value dimensions associated with the processes of acculturation (Knight et al., 2010). Adolescents rated how much they believed each item on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (Not at all) to 5 (Completely). Average scores were calculated for the Mexican American Values subscale (36 items assessing familism-support, familism-obligations, familism-referent, respect, religion, and traditional gender roles) and the Mainstream Values subscale (14 items assessing material success, independence and self-reliance, and competition and personal achievement). Cronbach's alphas in this sample were .94 (Mexican American Values) and .84 (Mainstream Values).

Acculturation Stress—Relevant acculturation stressors for youth were assessed using a modified version of the Bicultural Stressors Scale (BSS; Romero & Roberts, 2003). The original BSS consist of 20 items covering family stressors, discrimination stressors, language stressors, and peer stressors. The BSS has demonstrated good internal consistency in a large sample of immigrant and U.S.-born youth of Mexican descent ($\alpha = .92$ and $.93$, respectively). For the current study, a shortened form of the measure was developed by

including discrimination stressors (5 items; e.g., “I feel uncomfortable when others make jokes about or put down people of my ethnic background”), relevant language stressors (2 items about difficulties with English; e.g., “I have had problems at school because of my poor English”), and a relevant peer stressor (1 item; “I have felt that others do not accept me because of my ethnic group”). For each of the eight items, adolescents indicate how stressful the experience has been on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (“not at all stressful”) to 4 (“very stressful”) and mark “does not apply” if they have never had the experience. A mean acculturation stress score was created by calculating the average rating across the items. The modified version of the scale demonstrated adequate internal consistency in the current sample ($\alpha = .76$).

English Language Proficiency—The student’s English as a second language (ESL) classification, determined by their score on the California English Language Development Test (CELDT; California Department of Education, 2007) was obtained from school records. The CELDT is a standardized test that measures a student’s English language proficiency in listening, speaking, reading, and writing. The test is administered upon enrollment to students whose primary language is not English with the goals of determining their level of English language proficiency (ELP) and assessing the progress of limited English proficient students on a yearly basis. Based on their performance on the CELDT, students are assigned to a specific level of an ESL class or a mainstream English class. In the current study, 61.4% of students were placed in an ESL class across 5 levels of proficiency (1–5). The remaining 38.6% students were placed in a mainstream English class (coded as a 6). English language proficiency was coded based on these placements using a scale from 1–6, with higher scores indicating greater proficiency.

Grades—Fall and Spring grades in math, social studies, science, and English were obtained from school records. A grade point average (GPA) for grades in these four core academic classes was calculated for each semester. Due to the variability in elective courses taken and the non-academic nature of some courses (e.g., physical education) our measurement of academic achievement focuses on performance in core academic classes.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Descriptive statistics and correlations among variables are reported in Table 1. Independent samples *t*-tests were conducted to examine whether there were differences between immigrant and U.S.-born students on the primary variables included in this study, consistent with a prior examination of this data (Author, 2011). Significant differences were found for acculturation stress ($t = 2.31, p = .02$) and English language proficiency ($t = -5.83, p < .01$). Immigrant students reported significantly more acculturation stress and lower English language proficiency ($M = 1.31, SD = .74; M = 3.40; SD = 1.87$) than U.S.-born students ($M = 1.00, SD = .69; M = 5.00, SD = 1.24$). We also examined gender differences and found a significant difference for parental monitoring ($t = -3.39, p < .01$), Fall GPA ($t = -3.54, p < .01$), and Spring GPA ($t = -2.21, p < .01$). Female students reported higher levels of parental monitoring ($M = 3.72, SD = .38$) and higher Fall and Spring GPA ($M = 2.88, SD = .80; M =$

2.84, $SD = .77$) compared to male students ($M = 3.39$, $SD = .71$; $M = 2.32$, $SD = .98$; $M = 2.52$, $SD = .86$).

Regression Analyses

Regression analyses were conducted to examine relationships between hypothesized risk and protective factors and academic achievement. Two separate regression models were conducted with dependent variables including Fall GPA and Spring GPA. English language proficiency, immigrant status, child gender, parental monitoring, and acculturation stress were entered as independent variables for the Fall GPA regression model. These same independent variables along with traditional and mainstream values were entered in the Spring GPA model. Given the brief interval between assessments (one semester) and the fact that cultural values were only assessed at Time 2, we constructed two separate cross-sectional regression models predicting Fall and Spring GPA. In addition we explored possible interactions of immigrant status with acculturation stress and cultural values. To guard against multicollinearity, interaction terms were calculated by first centering continuous variables and then creating a product of the relevant variables (Aiken & West, 1991). Non-significant interaction terms were dropped from the final models.

The regression model for Fall GPA was significant, $F(6, 125) = 3.64$, $p < .01$, $R^2 = .16$. Gender emerged as significantly related to Fall GPA, with female gender being associated with higher grades. In addition, a significant interaction between acculturative stress and immigration status was found. To further explore the interaction, we conducted post hoc probing as recommended by Holmbeck (2002). Simple slope analyses revealed that the slope for acculturation stress and GPA was significant for U.S.-born students, such that higher acculturative stress was related to poorer grades ($b = -.42$, $p = .03$). The slope was not significant for immigrant students ($b = .15$, $p = .27$). See Figure 1.

The regression model for Spring GPA was also significant, $F(7, 123) = 5.39$, $p < .01$, $R^2 = .25$. English language proficiency was significantly related to Spring GPA, with greater proficiency associated with higher grades. Mainstream values were also associated with Spring GPA, with more identification with mainstream values being linked to lower grades. Finally, parental monitoring was associated with Spring GPA, such that more monitoring was linked to higher grades. Acculturative stress, Mexican American values, and mainstream values did not significantly moderate the association between immigrant status and Spring GPA, so these interaction terms were not included in the final model (Acculturative Stress $\times$ Immigrant Status, $\beta = .11$, $p = .19$; Mexican American values $\times$ Immigrant Status, $\beta = -.02$, $p = .85$; Mainstream values $\times$ Immigrant Status, $\beta = -.05$, $p = .68$). See Table 2 for a summary of final regression models.

Discussion

This study examined demographic, cultural, and parental influences on academic achievement among immigrant and U.S.-born Latino middle school students. Students who reported higher levels of parental monitoring earned higher grades in the Spring semester. In addition, female gender and greater English language proficiency were associated with higher grades. On the other hand, greater identification with mainstream cultural values was

associated with lower grades, and higher acculturative stress was associated with lower grades, particularly among U.S.-born Latino students.

Parental monitoring and awareness of children's whereabouts is frequently thought to decrease risk for delinquency and drug or alcohol use (Forehand, Miller, Dutra, & Chance, 1997; Halgunseth, Ispa, & Rudy, 2006), but was also related to higher grades in this study. Parental monitoring has been linked to higher academic motivation and educational aspirations among Latino children (Plunkett & Bámaca-Gómez, 2003). This study provides additional support that parental monitoring is associated with positive youth adjustment, including academic achievement. Thus, intervention with Latino families could encourage appropriate parental monitoring while balancing adolescents' need for increasing autonomy.

In this study, female adolescents demonstrated higher academic achievement compared to their male counterparts. This finding is consistent with other research documenting that Latina girls tend to outperform Latino boys in high school and are more likely to attend college (Riegle-Crumb, 2010). Adolescent girls tend to be more academically oriented, associate with peer groups that are also school oriented, and spend more time on homework (Buchmann & DiPrete, 2006; Riegle-Crumb, 2010), while boys are more likely to get in trouble at school, spend less time on homework or academic-related activities (Jacob, 2002). In this study, girls also reported more parental monitoring, which was associated with better grades. Thus, higher levels of monitoring among Latina girls may support their academic achievement.

Not surprisingly, English language proficiency was also associated with better grades. Immigrant students reported lower levels of English language proficiency than U.S. born students, increasing their risk for academic difficulties. Lack of proficiency in English is associated with lower reading and math achievement (Halle, Hair, Wandner, McNamara, & Chien, 2012). Thus, both boys and students with lower English proficiency may need extra support in reaching academic goals. Tutoring and mentoring programs may need to make extra efforts to reach out to these students. Additionally, increased parental monitoring of boys may also improve academic achievement.

In this study, identification with mainstream cultural values was associated with lower academic achievement. Contrary to hypotheses and to other research (e.g., Gonzales et al., 2008), identification with traditional Mexican American values was not associated with higher grades. It is possible that the adoption of mainstream values for both immigrant and U.S.-born Latino students, rather than maintenance of traditional values, is most important in the context of academic achievement. For Latino students, mainstream values such as material success, independence, and competition/personal achievement do not translate into academic achievement, but were linked to lower grades in this study. Identification with mainstream values may indicate assimilation, which has been linked to adjustment problems (Miranda, Estrada, & Firpo-Jimenez, 2000). It is also possible that identification with mainstream values among Latino students, specifically, is problematic. For example, Latino students are disproportionately exposed to poverty and discrimination (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Smith, 2012; Pérez, Fortuna, & Alegría, 2008), which are major barriers to realizing mainstream values such as material success and personal achievement (e.g., Berkel

et al., 2013). Thus, adoption of mainstream values within a context of poverty and discrimination may be detrimental for Latino students.

Identification with mainstream values could also reflect acculturation conflicts between Latino adolescents and their parents. For many Latino adolescents, immigrant parents have high expectations for educational achievement as this is often a primary reason for immigration to the U.S. (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995). Identification with mainstream values may reflect a rejection of traditional values, including parental values and emphasis on education. Alternatively, identification with mainstream values among students with immigrant parents may lead to increased stress from incongruent acculturation experiences, acculturation conflicts, and decreased parental support. These factors could, in turn, affect academic achievement.

Acculturative stress was also linked to worse grades, but only for U.S.-born Latino adolescents. In this study, nearly all parents were immigrants suggesting that U.S.-born adolescents may be more vulnerable to acculturative stress stemming from incongruent acculturation experiences with their immigrant parents. Intergeneration conflicts resulting from differing values and varying degrees of acculturation within the family unit have been linked to depression, school trouble, and delinquency (Bui, 2009; Dennis, Basañez, & Farahmand, 2010). However, immigrant students actually reported higher levels of acculturation stress, but this stress did not negatively impact their grades. Thus, immigrant status operated as a promotive factor that counteracted the negative impact of acculturative stress (e.g., Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005). Immigrant students may be better able to manage acculturative stress possibly due to close ties with and support from family. Immigrant students may be more closely tied to a traditional cultural orientation where family closeness is maintained and parents and children alike are adjusting to immigration. Other research suggests that potentially detrimental environments can be successfully adapted to when there is a reasonable person-environment fit (Roosa et al., 2009). Immigrant Latino students may be better able to adapt to acculturation stress as they are living in a context where their family members are also adapting. U.S. born students with immigrant parents may not have the same contextual support or similarity to their parents.

Although this study adds to the growing literature that recognizes the risk associated with identifying solely with mainstream culture as well as family protective factors such as monitoring, it has some limitations that are important to note. True prospective analyses were not possible due to timing of measurements, which limits the ability to make any causal conclusions. Though the use of academic records and state language exams are strengths of the current study, only adolescent self-reports were obtained for parental monitoring, acculturative stress, and cultural values. Future research should incorporate both adolescent and parent report to gain a broader understanding of the family and cultural processes relevant to academic achievement. In addition, future research should explore more specific cultural values in addition to the broad categories of Mexican American values and mainstream values, which were examined in this study.

Despite limitations, this study has some important implications. In particular, this study suggests that intervention and prevention efforts should work with students to foster

academic engagement throughout acculturation processes. In this study, identification with mainstream values was negatively associated with grades. Perhaps assimilation without maintaining connections to culture of origin is particularly toxic, or perhaps identification with mainstream values in families with immigrant parents is especially stressful. Either way, this study suggests that encouraging adoption of mainstream values among Latino students could be detrimental to academic success. This is an important area for additional research. This study also highlights the need to support parental monitoring and provide extra support for male students and students with low English proficiency as they may be at increased risk for low academic achievement. Finally, this study suggests that U.S.-born students are still affected by acculturative stress and may be more vulnerable to the effects of such stress, possibly due to acculturation differences with their immigrant parents. Intervention and prevention programs should be sensitive to such differences, and perhaps work towards supporting students in developing bicultural identities (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2005).

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Figure 1.

Regression lines for relationship between acculturative stress and Fall GPA as moderated by child immigrant status.

Note: Values calculated holding English proficiency, child gender, and parental monitoring at the mean value; b = unstandardized regression coefficient; SD=standard deviation.

Table 1

Correlations and Descriptive Statistics

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
1. English Language Proficiency	–								
2. Mexican American Values	–.15	–							
3. Mainstream Values	–.18*	.58**	–						
4. Immigrant Status	.46**	–.07	–.07	–					
5. Gender	–.01	.09	–.12	–.01	–				
6. Parental Monitoring	–.04	.18*	–.01	–.11	.29**	–			
7. Acculturation Stress	–.26**	.14	.16	–.20**	.01	–.01	–		
8. Fall GPA	.08	–.03	–.19*	–.01	.30**	.23**	–.05	–	
9. Spring GPA	.35**	–.07	–.24*	.11	.19*	.25**	–.03	.74**	–
<i>M</i>	4.47	3.82	2.89	.66	.56	3.57	1.10	2.62	2.70
<i>SD</i>	1.65	.65	.78	.47	.50	.57	.72	.93	.82

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ ^a $\chi^2 = .30, p = .58.$

Table 2

Regression Models

	Fall GPA			Spring GPA		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β
English Language Proficiency	.03	.06	.06	.17	.05	.35**
Mexican American Values	–	–	–	.06	.13	.05
Mainstream Values	–	–	–	–.23	.22	–.22*
Immigrant Status	–.05	.19	–.02	.03	.16	.01
Gender	.41	.17	.22*	.14	.14	.08
Parental Monitoring	.28	.15	.17	.32	.12	.23**
Acculturation Stress	–.42	.19	–.33*	.10	.10	.09
Acc Stress $\times$ Immigrant Status	.57	.23	.35*	–	–	–

*
 $p < .05$
**
 $p < .01$