

Acculturation Stress and Mental Health in Latin American Migrants: A 2010- 2024 State of the Art Review*

[English version]

Estrés por aculturación y salud mental en migrantes
latinoamericanos: una revisión del estado del arte del 2010 - 2024

Estresse de aculturação e saúde mental em migrantes latino-
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María Del Pilar Ospina Grajales**

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1529-0085>
CvLAC https://scienti.minciencias.gov.co/cvlac/visualizador/generarCurriculoCv.do?cod_rh=0001502754
Colombia

Sebastian González Castro***

<https://orcid.org/0009-0007-8660-0435>
CvLAC https://scienti.minciencias.gov.co/cvlac/visualizador/generarCurriculoCv.do?cod_rh=0002287628#
Colombia

Abstract

Objective: To analyze research on the relationship between mental health and migration, identifying the creation of this field from the acculturation stress category

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** PhD in Social Sciences, Sociologist. Universidad de Caldas. Email: maria.ospina@ucaldas.edu.co

*** Psychologist, Universidad Católica de Pereira. Email: sebastian.gonzalez.9920@gmail.com

and its investigation in migrant populations of Latin American origin. **Methodology:** Documentary review analysis was favored. Eighteen studies were found that account for approaches to the relationship that has been defined: acculturation stress and mental health in migrants. This aspect guided the eligibility criteria and exclusion from the study. **Results:** The importance of intercultural psychology in developing the concept of "acculturation" was identified, which describes migration's effects on individuals' mental health. The development of this issue in migrants in high-income countries is identified from approaches that do not include intersectional variables and are dominated by quantitative studies. **Conclusions:** An advance was found to be made in the relationship between mental health and migrations from acculturation stress approaches in international migrations of people of Latin American origin. However, it remains a marginal object of study. The review concluded that mental health is not relevant in studying migratory experiences. The concept of "acculturation" is critically exposed, which implies the adaptation of the migrant outside the provisions of the receiving societies, enhancing or reducing the mental health risks of migrants.

Keywords: stress; acculturation; migration; mental health (obtained from UNESCO thesaurus).

Resumen

Objetivo: analizar investigaciones sobre la relación entre salud mental y migraciones, identificando la construcción de este campo desde la categoría de estrés por aculturación y su indagación en poblaciones migrantes de origen latinoamericano. **Metodología:** se privilegió el análisis de revisión documental. Se encontraron dieciocho estudios que dan cuenta de abordajes sobre la relación que se ha definido: estrés por aculturación y salud mental en migrantes, aspecto que guio los criterios de elegibilidad y exclusión del estudio. **Resultados:** se identificó la importancia que para la psicología intercultural tuvo el desarrollo del concepto de «aculturación», el cual describe los efectos que tiene la migración en la salud mental de los individuos. Se identifica el desarrollo de este tema en migrantes en países de ingresos altos desde enfoques que no incluyen variables interseccionales y con prevalencia de estudios cuantitativos. **Conclusiones:** se halló un avance en la relación entre salud mental y migraciones desde los abordajes del estrés por aculturación en las migraciones internacionales de personas de origen latinoamericano, sin embargo, sigue siendo un objeto de estudio marginal. Se concluye que la salud mental no es una cuestión relevante en el estudio de las experiencias migratorias. Se expone críticamente el concepto de «aculturación» que implica la adaptación del migrante al margen de las disposiciones de las sociedades receptoras, las cuales potencian o reducen los riesgos de salud mental de los migrantes.

Palabras clave: estrés; aculturación; migración; salud mental (obtenidos del tesouro de la UNESCO).

Resumo

Objetivo: analisar pesquisas sobre a relação entre saúde mental e migração, identificando a construção desse campo a partir da categoria de estresse de aculturação e sua investigação em populações migrantes de origem latino-americana. **Metodologia:** foi privilegiada a análise da revisão documental. Foram encontrados 18 estudos que dão conta de abordagens da relação definida: estresse de aculturação e saúde mental em migrantes, aspecto que orientou os critérios de elegibilidade e exclusão do estudo. **Resultados:** foi identificada a importância para a psicologia intercultural do desenvolvimento do conceito de “aculturação”, que descreve os efeitos da migração sobre a saúde mental dos indivíduos. Identificamos o desenvolvimento desse tópico em migrantes de países de alta renda a partir de abordagens que não incluem variáveis interseccionais e com prevalência de estudos quantitativos. **Conclusões:** foi encontrado um avanço na relação entre saúde mental e migração a partir das abordagens do estresse de aculturação na migração internacional de pessoas de origem latino-americana, porém, ainda é um objeto de estudo marginal. Conclui-se que a saúde mental não é uma questão relevante no estudo das experiências migratórias. O conceito de “aculturação” é exposto de forma crítica, o que implica a adaptação do migrante fora das disposições das sociedades receptoras, o que potencializa ou reduz os riscos à saúde mental dos migrantes.

Palavras-chave: estresse; aculturação; migração; saúde mental (extraídas do tesouro da UNESCO).

Introduction

Migration processes have been transversal throughout humanity's history. However, the rise of globalization —added to social, economic, environmental, and political problems— has increased migration worldwide and in Latin America and has taken an essential place within the contemporary socio-political landscape. Interest in this phenomenon has been gaining ground in the field of psychology. Intercultural psychology developed the concept of "acculturation," which describes the effects that migration has on individuals in their process of "adaptation" to a new society and its impact on people's mental health, seeking to explain it through the concept of "acculturation stress".

Taking into account how migratory processes in Latin America have been developing for approximately 10 years, this study aimed to identify the state of the art on this issue by reviewing studies focused on acculturation stress and the mental health of Latin American migrants between 2010 and 2024. This is one of the periods with the greatest dynamism in South-South migration phenomena, from the theoretical approaches in which migration and mental health are related in the perspective of adaptation and acculturation.

Theoretical Foundation

Migration and Mental Health.

Migration is a structural phenomenon throughout human history (Gutiérrez et al., 2020). It consists of the displacement of one or more people within a familiar or foreign territory (*World Health Organization* [WHO], 2016) (Internal and international migration). The nature of migration is dynamic and multidimensional (Cabieses et al., 2018). This can be understood in light of migratory processes that occur as a result of the deepening socioeconomic and political problems related to social and political instability (Sheller & Urry, 2016; Monetti, 2017; Canales et al., 2019).

In general, individual or collective migratory movements, to another city or country, seek to improve the possibilities of vital development of individuals or groups (Soto et al., 2019; Economic Commission for Latin America [ECLAC], 2006). However, migration generates economic, political, social, and cultural effects both in the host society and in the expelling societies. Likewise, it can create a series of individual problems that are reflected in harmful conditions

for mental health (Urzúa et al., 2017b). Migration is a phenomenon in which the relationship between structural aspects such as economics, politics, and culture with subjective aspects is noticed; hence, considering it as an object of study within psychology is crucial.

Likewise, the literature around this issue has highlighted that migratory processes significantly benefit the society of origin and the recipient. Thus, for example, when there are migration processes in sectors of an economically active society, sending remittances and the availability of jobs are promoted. Consequently, there is a decrease in inherent conflicts based on material and subsistence difficulties. In the receiving society, an increase in the supply of skilled labor and diversification of culture is observed (Gutiérrez-Silva et al., 2020).

In contrast, the adverse effects on the home society include the loss of human capital and the disintegration of families. The impact of this is reflected in demographic change with the increase in the elderly population (Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Center [CELADE], 2012) and conflicts in socialization processes; for example, in the framework of the upbringing of children by grandparents or the extended family. For the receiving society, the negative impact is reflected in the discourses that expose migrants as the cause of the displacement and elimination of jobs and new pockets of poverty; this promotes xenophobia and discrimination toward them (Rodicio & Sarceda, 2019; Bekteshi, 2024).

According to the Migration Data Portal of the International Organization for Migration (IOM), in the mid-2020s, there were 280.6 million migrants worldwide, corresponding to 3.6% of the world population (IOM, 2020). In Latin America, the migrant population increased by 66% between 2010 and 2019, meaning that 42.7 million people migrated from their origin (Acuña-Alfaro & Khoudour, 2020). Latin American countries with the highest migration rate in the region are Venezuela, Colombia, and Brazil (IOM, 2020). The tightening of migration policies in the countries of the European Community and the United States could explain the increase in migration processes within Latin America (ILO, 2017) or what is commonly called "south-south migration."

Due to economic and political circumstances, the migratory flow has increased significantly within Latin America since 2010. The paradigmatic case for its effects in the region is the migration of Venezuelan citizens to neighboring countries, both as a destination and as a region to transit through (Aldana & Isea, 2018).

Given the dynamic nature of migration, authors such as Álvarez (1993) have proposed that migratory processes are divided according to the duration of the displacement and the distance traveled. On the one hand, finding three subdivisions is possible: a) short-term migration, b) long-term migration, and

c) permanent migration. On the other hand, the typology based on the distance traveled is subdivided between long-distance or transcontinental trips, and those that are short-distance occurring between neighboring (border) countries, or in non-neighboring countries but on the same continent (Álvarez, 1993). Another way of understanding migration is by its multi-causal origin. Migrations can be due to ecological, economic, and political causes such as war and persecution (Ayuda en Acción, 2022).

Theoretical Approaches to Migrant 'Adaptation' from the Acculturation Category

Migration promotes an encounter between different cultures and people. Consequently, arriving in a new host society is a "culture shock" that has repercussions on the migrant and the host population (Urzúa et al., 2017a). The migrant must "learn" or incorporate a series of behaviors that allow him or her to participate in the dynamics of the receiving society (Urzúa et al., 2017b); these extend to the adoption of values, norms, and affiliation references (Berry, 2008). These experiences, necessary to achieve "adaptation" or incorporation into the social environment of arrival, have been called "acculturation" (Berry, 2006; Urzúa et al., 2021). From this definition, a certain unidirectionality can be seen in the responsibility of "adaptation" that falls on the migrant, where the provisions of the receiving societies concerning the values surrounding solidarity, multiculturalism, inclusion, and diversity that favor the reception of migrants are left aside.

Berry (1997) developed a two-dimensional theoretical-explanatory model from a cross-cultural perspective that seeks to revise the concept of "Cultural Shock" used by different authors in the 1970s to describe the impact of adapting to a new society (Orozco, 2012). Although there are other dimensions to the definition of acculturation stress, Berry's proposal has been developed from the cross-cultural approach (Fajardo et al., 2008). This concept of Berry is interesting insofar as it implies a negative feeling or state toward the phenomenon of migration regarding the idea of "shock," which is understood as synonymous with rupture in cultural, mental, and emotional terms.

In acculturation, from Berry's model, adaptation to the receiving society is characterized by the possibility of guiding the process based on two general strategies the migrant can opt for. In the first, the migrant seeks to preserve his or her traditions of origin; in the second, he or she directs their efforts to assimilate the customs of the society of origin from the approach and contact with the natives (Berry, 2001). Four specific strategies are derived from these

strategies that potentially allow them to integrate with greater or lesser difficulty, namely: a) integration, b) assimilation, c) separation, and d) marginalization (Berry, 2001; Silva et al., 2016). As can be seen, Berry's and Urzúa's positions are similar in terms of their unidirectional and non-reciprocal perspective on the migrant-receiving societal relationship, in which the different strategies generally depend on the agency capacity of migrants.

Solé (2002) has commented that integration societies seek to maintain their stability through adjustment mechanisms of their elements; so, a new subject will generate conflict; the latter will act as an integrating element of the migrant to the receiving society. From this reading, the reconciliation of the factors previously noted as unbalanced in that recipient-migrant societal relationship is achieved through the second level of this theoretical development called "adaptation." This assumes that the actors involved in the migratory process, as well as the migrant and receiving society, have managed to integrate the culturally acquired knowledge that both possess to facilitate communication mechanisms (Aliaga-Sáez, 2020).

These strategies do not obey a linear process; on the contrary, their use is mediated by factors that lead the migrant to opt for any of these options and, at any time, take another (Orozco, 2012). As Jurado et al. (2017) mention, these can be the similarity of the cultures encountered, the receptivity of the society of arrival, the psychological or adaptation characteristics of the migrant, and the reasons why migration occurred. This allows concluding that no migratory experience is the same for the individuals or host societies involved.

What Is Meant by Acculturation Stress?

The difficulties posed by the acculturation process usually generate an increase in stress levels in the migrant, which is why this phenomenon will be called "acculturation stress" (Urzúa et al., 2017a). The theoretical model maintains that there are different types of stressors triggering acculturation stress: a) interpersonal, b) instrumental, c) social, and sociocultural expressed (Arbona et al., 2010; Sevillano et al., 2013).

The effects of acculturation do not only affect the adult population; as has been found in some studies, children and adolescents also experience acculturation stress (Urzúa et al., 2017a). Research reports that the acculturation stress of parents or primary caregivers usually extends to minors, expressed in the increase in their anxiety levels (León, 2014). In this age group, information is still limited, as studies have focused on the adult population (Urzúa et al., 2019). The literature

has few validated measurement instruments that evaluate acculturation stress in children and adolescents (Mena et al., 1987; Suárez-Morales et al., 2007).

As Nina-Estrella (2018) states, the study of acculturation stress has focused on immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers. Usually, studies do not focus on the distinction between these categories; on the contrary, the concept of “migrant” encompasses all the realities of the migratory process (Levitt & Glick, 2004). This fact could bias the characteristics of migrants and their migratory experience and, therefore, the results of the studies (Fajardo et al., 2008).

Migration and Public Health: Bridges with Mental Health

Although processes such as acculturation, integration, and/or assimilation pose a challenge for migrants at the psychological or individual level, migration does not necessarily predispose the individual to mental health problems (García-Campayo & Sanz, 2002). However, in some cases, host societies have poor health infrastructure for the care of this population or have migration policies that can be strict and restrictive (Ruiz & Rodríguez, 2020). This can amplify the vulnerabilities of migrants and accentuate the problems of social integration in the places of destination (ECLAC, 2006), a fact that harms only their physical as well as their mental adaptation conditions, as a result of the structural barriers of the host sites (Baeza-Rivera et al., 2024).

In that sense, previous studies suggest that poorly adaptive acculturation strategies in conjunction with a hostile host society are associated with decreased individual well-being and quality of life (Urzúa et al., 2015). This could be explained by the increased reporting of symptoms of mental health disorders in the migrant population (Temores-Alcántara et al., 2015), such as feelings of isolation and rejection (Lee et al., 2013b), anxiety (Hovey & Magaña, 2002), psychosomatic diseases (Bekteshi & Van Hock, 2015), sleep disorders and abuse of psychoactive substances (Arcury et al., 2018). Likewise, the stressful experience can become an inability to adapt to everyday life events (Collazos et al., 2008), and foster the presence of risk behaviors (Rodríguez-Montejano et al., 2015), both physical and psychological. Since stress has repercussions on mental health, researchers have considered that acculturation stress should be taken as a public health problem (Vásquez-Ventura & Ortega-Jiménez, 2021; Akhavan et al., 2004).

Methodology

This work addressed the research development of acculturation stress in migrant populations of Latin American origin from the perspective of psychological studies between 2010 and 2024. The review was guided by a documentary analysis strategy, consisting of collecting, analyzing, and synthesizing the results reported in the previous literature to discuss them critically (Fortich, 2013). This facilitates, on the one hand, the current understanding of the subject studied and, on the other hand, promotes the problematization of emerging results and concepts (Zillmer & Díaz-Medina, 2018), as well as the state of knowledge regarding a research field of psychology. Regarding the selected articles that were analyzed, the recommendations of Page et al. (2021) are followed, who argue that defining eligibility and exclusion criteria delimited by the scope of the study's objective is necessary. To achieve this, the following inclusion criteria were used: 1) research results on acculturation stress in migrants of Latin American origin between 2010 and 2024, 2) the study should explicitly address acculturation stress, and 3) the results should be presented in scientific articles in Spanish, English or Portuguese, published in databases of indexed journals. Likewise, the following exclusion criteria were considered: 1) all those studies not carried out with Latin American migrants and 2) that were not part of the reports published in indexed journals.

The databases consulted were PubMed, Redalyc, Scielo, and Scopus; likewise, a manual review was carried out using the Google Academic search engine. An advanced search filter was designed and used in the databases consulted under job eligibility criteria.

The final evaluation and inclusion of the articles were carried out manually from the Mendeley bibliographic management program. First, records published between 2010 and 2024 ($n=1031$) were obtained and manually evaluated by the reference manager. The documents were eliminated based on three filters: a) based on the title, b) based on the summary, and c) discarded for not having complete access to the document. Additionally, ($n=6$) articles obtained by other means were added for a total of ($n=18$) studies that meet the inclusion criteria, of which ($n=15$) are carried out with adult subjects and ($n=3$) schooled adolescents participate. These are primarily quantitative studies, and only ($n=1$) is qualitative. In general, the objectives of the studies sought to establish associations between acculturation stress and mental health variables.

Quantitative studies used to a greater extent the Social, Attitudinal, Family and Environmental Acculturative Stress Scale (Safe) developed by Mena et al. (1987) and its version for children and adolescents (SAFE-C) (Chávez et al., 1997). To a lesser extent, self-elaboration scales and the acculturation stress scale were

used in Latin American migrants (Ramírez et al., 2012). Notably, most studies were conducted with the Latin American migrant population in the United States (n=10), as opposed to studies conducted with Latino migrants in Latin America (n=7) and European countries (n=1).

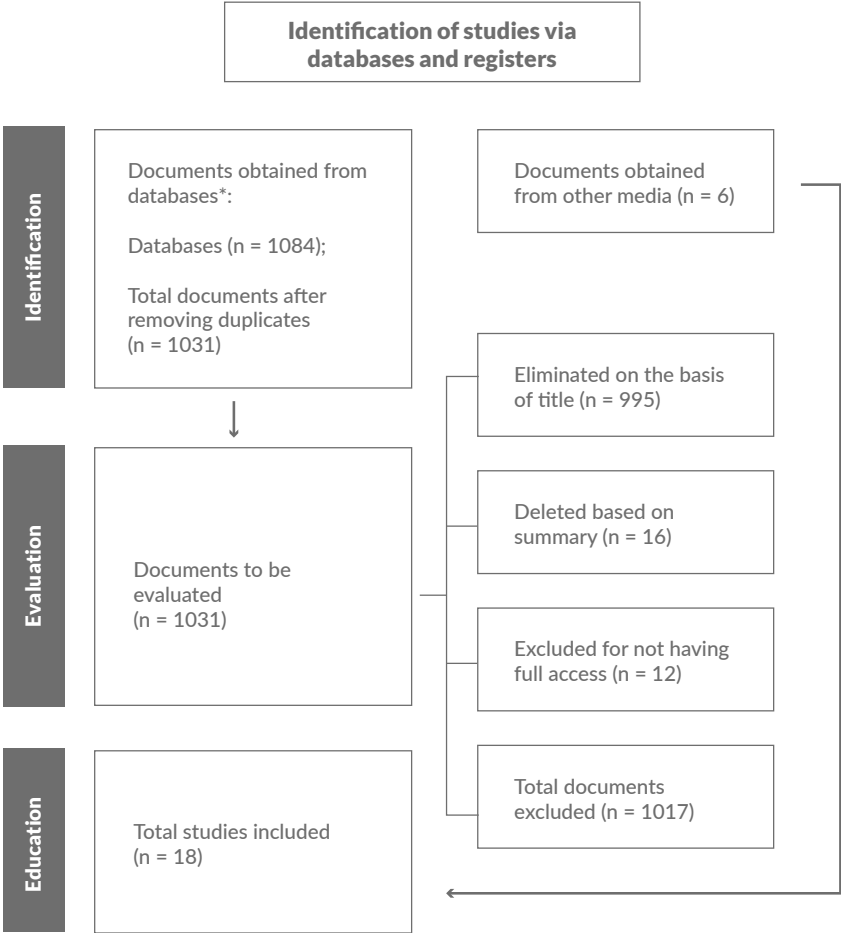


Figure 1. Selection and Evaluation of Scientific Articles Workflow.

Based on the review of the state of the art of acculturation stress and its effects on the mental health of Latin American migrants between 2010 and 2024. The findings of the critically selected articles were explored and compared. The final results are summarized in the table below:

Table 1. *Characteristics of the Research Articles Included in the Review.*

Author, Year	Design Type/ Analysis Type	Objective	Sample	Results
(Ugalde-Watson et al., 2011)	Quantitative/ exploratory analysis	Characterize acculturation stress in Colombian refugees and its impact on mental health.	100 adult Colombian refugee participants residing in Costa Rica; (Male = 43%, Female 57%).	Mental health associated with stress due to adaptation to the host society
(Sorbal et al., 2010)	Quantitative, cluster analysis, analysis of variance	Check the acculturation styles proposed by Berry (2006).	750 schooled adolescents of Latin American origin based in Spain (Male 53%, Female= 46% F).	"Separate" acculturation style, high average score with respect to psychoactive substance use
(Lee et al., 2013a)	Quantitative/ multivariate analysis	Identify whether acculturation stress predicts alcohol consumption.	57 Latin American migrants residing in the United States (Male= 52%, Female= 48%).	Acculturation stress does not have a significant association with alcohol consumption
(Cano et al., 2014)	Quantitative/ route study	Examine the association between acculturation stress and depressive symptoms.	115 university students of Mexican origin (Male = 34%, Female = 65%).	High acculturation stress scores are associated with higher depressive symptoms
(Rodríguez-Montero et al., 2015)	Qualitative/ Exploratory	Describe the experience of women who have been deported for use of psychoactive substances.	12 women deported from the U.S.	Acculturation stress can condition the emergence of HIV risk behaviors.
(Urzúa et al., 2016)	Quantitative/ bivariate correlation analysis	Verify the relationship between acculturation stress and the presence of symptoms associated with mental health problems.	431 immigrants residing in Chile for a minimum period of 6 months (Male= 48%, Female= 52%).	Differences with exogroup were significantly associated with the presence of symptoms associated with mental health problems

Author, Year	Design Type/ Analysis Type	Objective	Sample	Results
(Da Silva et al., 2017)	Quantitative/bi-variate analysis, multiple regression	Latina women report increased acculturation stress	530 Latina women in Florida	Acculturation stress and negative religious coping are associated with psychological distress
(Bakhshaie et al., 2018)	Quantitative/bi-variate analysis	Examine the role of anxiety with acculturation	142 Latino adults (Male= 14%, Female= 86%).	Acculturation stress is indirectly associated with anxiety and mood disorders
(Simmons & Limbers, 2019)	Quantitative/t-test for independent samples, Cohen coefficient	Examining Acculturation Stress in Latino Adolescents	168 Latino adolescents –278 non-Latino adolescents enrolled in school	Acculturation stress has a significant association with eating habits
(Zvolensky et al., 2020)	Quantitative/independent mediation models	Evaluate the relationship between acculturation stress and anxiety and smoking.	359 adult Latino smokers (Male= 62%, Female 48%).	Indirect effects were found between acculturation stress, anxiety and cigarette dependence
(Mera-Lemp et al., 2020)	Qualitative / Pearson correlation analysis, cluster analysis	Establish relationships between acculturation orientation, acculturation stress, and psychological well-being.	194 Latin American migrants residing in Chile (Male= 50%, Female= 50%).	Acculturation stress has a significant association with separation-prone acculturation orientation ($r = 0.33$; $p < 0.001$).
(Zvolensky et al., 2021)	Quantitative/bi-variate analysis	Explore the influence of acculturation stress with anxiety and symptoms of depressive disorders among people latinas.	142 Latino adults (Male= 14%, Female= 86%).	Acculturation stress was found to predict the presence of symptoms of depressive disorders.

Author, Year	Design Type/ Analysis Type	Objective	Sample	Results
(Salas-Wright et al., 2021)	Quantitative/ multinomial regression	Identify subtypes of young people according to their participation in risk behaviors according to factors of cultural stress theory.	It shows 402 young people (from 10 to 17 years old; 56% men).	Identification of 5 classes of risks.
(Baeza-Rivera et al., 2022)	Quantitative/ transversal	Characterize 3 groups of immigrants from acculturative stress, discrimination and acculturation.	150 immigrants in Araucania from Colombia, Venezuela and Haiti.	The 3 groups used the integration strategy. The acculturation process presented differences according to the country of origin.
(Angelucci et al., 2023)	Quantitative	Describe acculturation stress in Venezuelan immigrants.	1,038 immigrants between the ages of 18 and 30.	Being a woman, not having a job and being a minor predicts more stress due to cultural differences.
(Huamani et al., 2023)	Quantitative	Examine the relationship between acculturative stress and socio-demographic variables.	Venezuelan migrants.	Significant relationships between acculturative stress and health-related quality of life (physical and mental health).
(Baeza-Rivera et al., 2024)	Quantitative	Develop an instrument to measure acculturative stress.	283 migrants in Chile	The findings show psychometric properties with high reliability and validity, as well as cultural relevance. The instrument is appropriate for intra-regional migrant population in Latin America.

Author, Year	Design Type/ Analysis Type	Objective	Sample	Results
(Bekteshi, 2024)	Quantitative	Investigate acculturative stress and its impact on the psychological distress of Mexican immigrant women in the United States, with special attention to the contextual factors that influence these experiences.		Acculturative stress was found to contribute to psychological distress in Mexican immigrant women due to satisfaction with the decision to move to the U.S., language, family, experiences of racial discrimination, and the ability to make the decision to move.

Results

The findings of the critically selected articles were explored and compared based on the review of the state of the art of acculturation stress and its effects on the mental health of Latin American migrants in the period between 2010 and 2024. Most of the studies found have been carried out in upper-middle-income countries, such as the US., Chile and Spain. Additionally, research is lower in low- or middle-income countries. This is consistent with what was reported in the literature review by Meyer et al. (2017), who explored the scientific production of mental health effects in migrants.

This could suggest that at present the effects of acculturation stress on mental health have not been widely covered in lower-income countries. Therefore, one might say that this low proportion is explained by marginal approaches to migration in undeveloped countries. This is a possible effect of the migratory dynamics of expulsion and not of reception, added to the fact that within the processes of human mobility, issues related to physical survival are prioritized, leaving the mental as a marginal issue (Astorga-Pinto, 2019). That is, the most tangible aspects (material and legal) of migration processes are exalted, and the interpersonal, social, and mental aspects are marginalized.

However, the contributions of Ugalde-Watson et al. (2011) are essential from the perspective of understanding the different dimensions of stress as part of the migratory processes that encompass travel preparation, economic difficulties at the place of arrival, and the process of "adaptation" and/or cultural

integration. Therefore, the analysis of this issue requires multidimensional and diverse perspectives as part of the framework for understanding the complexity of migratory experiences to aspects related to mental health.

The widespread use of non-probabilistic sampling strategies for convenience can be mentioned relating to population selection. This phenomenon could be explained by the difficulty researchers have in accessing accurate data on population sizes in each country (Urzúa et al., 2016). As mentioned above, migration can occur in different ways, marginalizing this population and, therefore, making it invisible within demographic censuses and population characterization processes.

The studies lack an adequate characterization of the population at migrant status, type of migration, or socioeconomic conditions levels. As mentioned, these distinctions are crucial to understanding the phenomenon; they limit the scope of the results concerning their theoretical and practical implications in creating strategies for identifying and mitigating acculturation stress (Fajardo et al., 2008). However, the most recent studies have an approach in which origin and nationality are distinguished. This is based on the dynamics of displacement in Latin America concerning the expulsion of Venezuelan citizens to intracontinental locales and their characteristics in terms of acculturation stress, integration, and psychosocial factors (Angelucci et al., 2023; Huamani et al., 2023; Baeza-Rivera et al., 2022; Salas-Wright et al., 2021; Baeza-Rivera et al., 2024), an important differentiating element for the approach to these research objects.

The term “migrant” is generalized in regards to the weakness of differential approaches to the analysis of the phenomenon. However, as has been explained, migratory experiences are not the same for everyone. Each migrant has particular identities that mark differential patterns as migration is considered a human phenomenon and consequently diverse. The migrant is subject to a situation of vulnerability in many aspects: physical, political, and economic, but the emotional and mental issues must be given relevance as a matter of priority care and health. This goes beyond the order of the personal to become a public matter.

Along the same lines, no study is considered from a gender perspective or considers the differentiation of the LGTBIQ+ population. This could be due to different particularities, but gaps regarding intersectional approaches in migration and mental health are highlighted. This would expand the analyses of what it means to be a migrant and, in turn, part of a sexual, racial, ethnic, or religious minority, as shown by the work of Baeza-Rivera (2022) in the comparison of three diasporas, where ethnic-racial characteristics are related to greater exposure to discrimination.

Regarding the differences between age groups, studies with adults focus on the relationship of acculturation stress with symptoms associated with mental health diseases. In contrast, studies with adolescents pay greater attention to

risk behaviors related to mental health problems, such as the use of psychoactive substances, alcohol, or antisocial behavior (Rodríguez-Montejano et al., 2015; Sorbal et al., 2010; Lee et al., 2013a).

This is not the general approach of studies with adolescent migrants, as reported in the systematic review carried out by Rubio (2020). However, it is necessary to highlight the scarcity of studies on children, who, as has been shown in studies with migrants, may also show problems in their mental health as a result of acculturation stress (León, 2014). These derive from the traumatic processes through which migratory experiences are carried out and the processes of socialization and adaptation that derive from them.

Likewise, the qualitative research found is scarce. These findings are also described in systematic reviews with broader inclusion criteria, such as Vásquez-Ventura et al. (2021) and Rubio (2020). The mainly quantitative approach to social and mental health phenomena ignores the more subjective implications of the phenomenon in question. This could provide nuances to the conception between acculturation processes and their correlation with mental health (Vilar & Eibenschutz, 2007), as well as the exposure of the migrants' voices and experiences.

The findings suggest that acculturation stress has a direct impact on the mental health of migrants, expressed in the presence of symptoms of depression and anxiety, as well as the presence of eating disorders and smoking (Simmons & Limbers, 2019; Zvolensky et al., 2020). However, these data are not conclusive, given that there have not been any longitudinal studies that account for the appearance of acculturation stress and the presence of diagnosable mental health disorders (Urzúa, 2016) or that can account for pre- and post-migration stress levels.

Following Rubio (2020), these studies approach mental health from a disease-centered perspective, which does not allow an extensive understanding of the effects of acculturation stress on mental health. This is a field still under construction but of great relevance not only for the development of psychology but also for the enrichment of migration studies.

The studies evaluated using the Berry model for acculturation (Berry, 1997) and acculturation stress (Berry, 2001) as a theoretical substrate. The results confirm the explanatory usefulness of these models and predict their effects on mental health. This is positive for creating efficient strategies to improve migrant socialization processes within the receiving culture and society (Fajardo et al., 2008).

Most of the studies that start from Berry's model have the replication of this model from the acculturation, integration, separation, assimilation, and marginalization as their purpose (Sorbal et al., 2010). They seek to identify

the synergies and conflicts of cultural order in the processes of acculturation mediated in migratory experiences of people of Latin American origin in countries such as Spain, the United States, and some Latin American countries. The mention of the country stands out because the language factor is fundamental in the processes of integration into host societies and a variable that could mediate stress reduction (Bekteshi, 2024) and the configuration of social networks and social support (Da Silva et al., 2017).

Berry's perspective should not be taken as conclusive or entirely explanatory of the acculturation process as his vision only references the attitudes of migrants in adapting to the environment of the receiving society. This vision eliminates the role that women should have during migration processes as, unstated but understood, it considers migration as a "personal choice". This can be seen in the approaches present in the research explored here since the receiving society plays a passive or contextual role and its effect on the process of acculturation and positive reception that reduces the social and emotional damages in the migrant population. A product of tensions concerning the processes of regularity, access to work and social integration, is not exalted.

Conclusions

This review of the state of the art infers that studies on acculturation stress and its implications on the mental health of migrants of Latin American origin have limited results. Studies are generally based on Berry's two-dimensional acculturation and acculturation stress model. The results of the studies evaluated by this review agree that this explanatory model is empirically validated. However, they do not seem to provide novel elements to it.

These studies account for the effects of acculturation stress on the mental health of Latin American migrants outside of a public health system that does not value this phenomenon and mental health as part of the fundamental aspects of migration experiences. This could make other conditions that add to the vulnerabilities of the migrant population concerning affective, emotional, and mental health aspects invisible.

Highlighting the limited production of studies on acculturation stress in low- and middle-income countries that could currently be host societies for migrant populations is necessary. This does not in itself indicate the absence of efforts to investigate the phenomena related to migration and the mental health of this population; it is feasible that in these countries, there are antecedents framed with other types of theoretical elements different from those explored in this

review or, that the circumstances and material difficulties prioritize the logics of physical subsistence before mental and/or emotional ailments. The studies are framed in the instrumental, physical, and existential assessments of the migratory experience, and the social, interpersonal, subjective, and emotional are relegated.

As a field of study under development within psychology, the findings highlight the importance of strengthening research with differential approaches and an intersectional perspective. This is to extend the results to historically marginalized populations and subject them to new violations in a migrant condition. Likewise, the investigations must have a qualitative or mixed approach since this would account for subjective processes. Migrants' words, narratives, and versions of their experiences will shed important light on the relationship between migration and mental health.

This is important in the logic of what most of the studies found reveal, which warns of the relevance of the different moments of the migratory experience as triggers of stress or anxiety. That is, reviewing the conditions of departure, transit, arrival, reception, and return of migrants as possible triggers of mental health conditions related to migratory processes is essential. On the other hand, factors such as language, social networks, and supportive communities are central aspects of the acculturation-integration relationship and in the reduction of stressors for migrants.

Finally, the two-dimensional approach evident in Berry's theory is questioned, in which the processes of integration, assimilation, separation, or marginalization depend on the strategies taken by the migrant, even though the receiving society can also carry out integration processes or reception policies that positively take into account the culture of migrants. That is, new approaches that distort the purposes of acculturation understood traditionally, in which migrants are naturalized to strip themselves of their origins and adapt to the host society. An aspect that can result in a deterioration of the mental health conditions of migrants and potential generators of stress.

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