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Sources of Stress in Latino Women Experiencing  
Unemployment After a Plant Closure

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INTRODUCTION

Since Lazarsfeld's (1932) now classic study of the "unemployed community" of Marienthal, studies to date have documented the numerous deleterious effects to workers and their families of job loss due to a plant closure (Aiken, Ferman and Sheppard 1968; Bluestone and Harrison 1980; Romero 1983; Wilcock and Franke 1963). When the Starkest Tuna Cannery shut down on October 14, 1984, approximately 3,200 workers had lost their jobs after a series of worker lay-offs. Approximately 1,600 of these workers were female and, of these, about 970 were Latina women predominantly of Mexican origin. For decades, the Starkist plant, located in Wilmington, the southern-most part of the city of Los Angeles, had been a major employer of Latino female laborers. This plant was unionized, with the average worker earning over \$7.00 per hour.

Unemployment due to factory shutdowns has emerged as a major social issue in the 1980s. A growing number of U.S. corporations are "strategically" closing down their U.S. plants and are relocating elsewhere, often outside the U.S., in order to capitalize upon cheaper labor in the new location. From 1969 to 1976 shutdowns and industrial relocations are estimated to have eliminated 22 million jobs in the U.S. (Bluestone and Harrison 1980). In California alone, 1,800 plants closed their doors, displacing some 176,000 workers between January 1980 and April 1984 (State of California 1985).

These state and national deindustrialization trends have impacted and continue to impact negatively upon the economic welfare of women, and the impact of these trends is particularly strong upon Latino women. Latino men and women versus non-Latinos are disproportionately represented in the occupations of operatives (23 percent versus 12 percent), and general laborers (7 percent versus 4 percent), while being underrepresented in the ranks of professional and technical workers (9 percent versus 17 percent) and in management (7 percent versus 12 percent) (U.S. Department of Commerce 1984). Moreover, changing job requirements that emphasize the need for specific and technical skills now threaten to eliminate or to redefine the work conducted by operatives and unskilled laborers, the types of job occupied most often by blue collar Latino laborers (Romero 1986).

A common assumption about women as laborers made in past unemployment research has been that their participation in the labor force is optional (Schlozman 1979). This assumption suggests that when unemployed, such women should be less susceptible than are males to personal, familial or social sources of stress (Rundquist and Sletto 1938). Additionally, this view suggests that women, especially Latino women, who are accustomed to the role of homemaker, should not object to job loss nor to a return to this role, particularly since they are supported by their husbands (Rundquist and Sletto 1936). However, current demographic data indicate that the number of Latino families headed and maintained by women have continued to increase since 1970. In 1983, women maintained 23 percent of Latino families (U.S. Department of Commerce 1984). Thus, the assumption must be questioned that participation in the labor force is entirely optional for Latino women, and that these women are not adversely affected by job loss. There is indeed a

need to examine the nature and extent of the stress subsequent to job loss that affects unemployed Latino women.

#### Unemployment and Life Stress

Job loss is usually an involuntary and uncontrollable exit from the labor force. Because of its uncontrollable nature, job loss is usually a major life event with significant short- and long-term consequences (Folkman 1984). The level of stress related to job loss generally peaks at the time of unemployment, although these stress levels may rise intermittently across long time periods if efforts to procure a new job reap rejection and prolonged unemployment (Bakke 1940; Powell and Driscoll 1973). Stressful consequences of job loss include the loss of valued possessions (e.g., a home, an automobile and furniture), and disrupted relations with others. Wilcock and Franke (1963), in their study of the effects of permanent lay-offs and long-term unemployment on psychological adjustment, have noted that deterioration of family and interpersonal relations have their roots in problems created by financial insecurity accompanying job loss.

The chronic stress of prolonged unemployment is a critical factor in any systematic investigation of the psychological impact of unemployment on Latino women. Indeed, it has been noted that the duration of unemployment following termination may be an even more critical factor than the overall unemployment rate itself when measured in terms of the economic and psychological impact of job loss on workers and their families (Romero 1986). With regard to health, it is chronic and unrelenting stress, rather than intense but acute stress, which promotes various psycho-physiological disorders such as high blood pressure, duodenal ulcers and compromised immune function (Fleming, Baum and Singer 1984). Chronic unremitting stress also promotes depression and demoralization (Kraus and Markides 1985). Thus, job loss and its long-term consequences are a major threat to health, both somatic and psychological. A perusal of prior research on unemployment due to plant shutdowns has revealed two limitations: (1) unemployment has been examined in narrow, economic terms to the exclusion of a focus on its psychological impacts; and (2) previous studies have primarily focused upon shutdowns in communities in the northeastern United States where the work force has been predominantly Anglo and male; no comparable studies exist on the impact of job loss on collectively displaced minority women workers, particularly for displaced Latino female workers.

The present paper presents a descriptive analysis of specific stressors in three stress domains: family, occupational and economic. It examines the psychological impact of the shutdown for 108 of these Latino women who had one or more children. Roberts and Roberts (1982) have emphasized the need for more data, even of a descriptive nature, on the mental health of Latinos. Moreover, Kraus and Markides (1985) have noted that little is known about the factors that mediate the impact of employment and unemployment on the well being of Latino women.

The present study examines the following questions: (1) What are the major family, occupational and economic stressors which impact upon Latino women with children following joblessness due to plant closure?; (2) Which of these stressors--family, occupational or economic--are perceived by these women as being most stressful?; and (3) How are these stressors related to other important psychological variables, i.e., age, level of acculturation (Hispanicity: being monocultural Spanish-speaking versus having bilingual/bi-cultural skills) (Tienda and Guhleman 1985), life satisfaction, anxiety, depression, and somatization (the occurrence of bodily aches and other symptomatology)?

## METHODS

### Participants

The original participants in this study were 114 Latino females who were former employees of the Starkist Tuna Cannery in Wilmington, California. These participants agreed to respond to a psychological survey of their life experiences before, during and after the plant closure. This survey was administered in Spanish to all subjects. The present analysis is restricted to the responses of 108 of these 114 women who had one or more children, and focuses upon family, occupational and economic stressors following job loss. These women were interviewed approximately 18 months after their job loss. Based upon a revised listing of eligible Latino women from the list of tuna plant employees, a total of 822 women were eligible for inclusion in the present study. Of these, 614 (74.7 percent) were married and 208 (25.3 percent) were single. For this total sample of 822 women, the mean age was 41.2 years (SD = 11.2); average years working for Starkist was 8.7 (SD = 6.17), and average pay was \$7.29 (SD = 0.44). The present sample of 108 Latino females was very similar to Latino females of the total sample in terms of mean age (42.8 years) and mean years of working at the tuna plant, 7.9 years (SD = 4.9). Also, similar to the total sample, the proportion in the sample of 108 women who were married was 77.8 percent versus the proportion of single women, 22.2 percent. Thus the present sample of 108, as compared on these variables to the total sample, appeared to be representative of the larger sample of Latino women who were laid off from the Starkist plant.

Additionally, the group of 108 women who participated in the present study ranged in age from 29 to 62. Eighty-four of these women were married or lived with a partner. All 108 women had one or more children, with a mean of 4.67 children, and with the number of children ranging from one to 12. The mean income for these subjects was \$501 to \$800 per month, while average disposable income (available income after bills are paid) was \$0 to \$25 per month. The majority of these 108 women (n = 103) were foreign-born, with a range of seven to 35 years' U.S. residence (a mean of 15.79 years).

Regarding ethnicity, 95 (88 percent) of these women identified themselves ethnically as "Mexican from Mexico," eight as "Mexican Americans," three as being from "Central America," two as "Black Latinas" and one as "other." Regarding their religious backgrounds, 104 (96 percent) identified themselves as Catholic. A revised version of the five-point acculturation scale (Cuellar, Harris and Jasso 1980) was used to assess level of acculturation. This scale ranges from "Spanish-speaking/mainly Latino" (1), to "bilingual/bicultural" (3), to "English-speaking/mainly Anglo American" (5). The mean acculturation scale score for this group of women was 1.68 (SD = 0.53), with ranges from 1.0 to 3.22. These scores indicated that this group of women was predominantly of low acculturation ("Spanish-speaking/mostly Latino") in cultural orientation. Mean level of education was 5.0 years (SD = 2.7) with 95 percent having 0 to 9 years of education. The majority of these women (82 percent) indicated that their lives had not yet returned to normal, and 77 percent remained entirely unemployed.

### Instruments

The 20 page survey questionnaire to which the women responded consisted of 11 sections: (1) Employment History, (2) Emotional Reaction to the Plant Closure; (3) Personality of the Worker, (4) Impact upon the Family, (5) Potential Stressors, (6) Coping Responses, (7) Social Supports, (8) Health Status and Health Habits, (9) Psychological Symptomatology (anxiety, depression, somatization), (10) Social Impact of Job Loss, and (11) Demographic Information. The items from the psychological symptomatology section consisted of anxiety, depression and somatization scales taken from the Symptom Check List 90 (SCL-90). The internal consistency (coefficient alpha) and test-retest reliability coefficients for each of these scales are all above .80 (Derogatis 1977). The present study examines data on the potential stressors, psychological symptomatology and demographic information sections of the larger survey questionnaire.

### Potential Stressors

This section of the questionnaire included items in three domains: family, occupational and economic stressors that are associated with plant shutdown.

Respondents were asked to rate (1) if the potentially stressful event had occurred since the time of the shutdown; and (2) the perceived stressfulness of the event only if that event had occurred. All items in abbreviated form are presented in Table 1.

All potential stressors were scored on a Likert scale from "not at all stressful" (1) to "extremely stressful" (5). Reliability analyses for the items in these three domains indicated that with each domain, these items had a sufficiently high internal consistency coefficient to be usable as separate scales, i.e., a coefficient alpha greater than .70.

#### Procedure

Data collection for the present study was conducted over a three-month period. A list of names, addresses and telephone numbers of former Starkist workers was obtained from the Starkist Corporation. Spanish surname and ethnic identification as Latino were used as the initial criteria for identifying potential participants (Aday, Chiu and Anderson 1980). A letter written in Spanish and in English explaining the purpose of the study and requesting participation was mailed to 930 Spanish surnamed women from the list. However, additional recruitment efforts included outreach via announcements in the local community, such that eligible Latino women not readily identifiable by Spanish surname were also considered for the study. Both written and telephone contacts were used to increase the likelihood of contacting all potential participants. After all mail and telephone contacts, 114 women were recruited into the study.

In each data collection session participants were interviewed individually or as part of a small group of six or less. Participants were guided through the survey by a team of one to four trained Latino female research assistants. To assure quality of data collection while also collecting data in as efficient a manner as possible, the data collection mode was tailored to the needs of the individual women. Depending upon literacy level, some women required individualized interviews, while other women were able to write in their answers to the forced choice survey themselves while a trained research assistant guided them through each of these items. All sessions were conducted in Spanish and took place in a large meeting hall of the local Catholic Church in Wilmington. This church was chosen as the data collection site since community leaders serving as consultants to the study had indicated that the women would feel most comfortable participating at the church, when compared with participation at the grounds of the tuna processing plant or the union office. These data collection sessions varied in length from about one hour to over two and a half hours, depending upon the participant's level of education and literacy. Following completion of the questionnaire, respondents were paid \$5.00.

#### RESULTS

Table 1 presents potential stressor items for each of the three domains: family, occupational and economic. Column 1 presents the percentage of women who reported experiencing each potentially stressful event. Column 2 indicates the mean stress value of each event, only as perceived by those women who experienced the event. For each domain, items are presented in rank order by the proportion of women experiencing those events. These data are based upon the responses of the 108 of these 114 women who had one or more children.

## Frequency and Stressfulness of Life Events

In the family domain, the most stressful item in terms of the percentage of the women who experienced it (84 percent) and also in terms of perceived stress impact ( $M = 3.47$ ) was, "Life conditions were inadequate for raising a family." A frequently occurring, albeit less stressful family event, was "I expended great effort to provide for my family." The mean Family Stressor scale score of  $M = 3.19$  suggested that, as a group, these family-related stressors, when they did occur, were considered to be "somewhat" stressful.

A larger proportion of these women experienced greater numbers of potentially stressful life events in the occupational stress domain. All but one of the six occupational stressor items were experienced by at least 75 percent of these women. The mean Occupational Stressor scale score of  $M = 3.84$  suggested that, as a group, these women experienced the events in this domain as being "very" stressful. The most frequent and most stressful events of this domain were: "I was saddened to remember my job at Starkist," ( $f = 94$  percent,  $N = 4.03$ ), and, "I lack the skills necessary to find the job I want" ( $f = 92$  percent,  $M = 3.96$ ).

The life events of the economic stressor domain based upon the Economic Stressor scale ( $M = 3.68$ ) were rated by these women as being more stressful than those of the family domain, but less stressful than those of the occupational domain. The most frequently occurring and most stressful economic domain items were: "It was difficult to buy presents for my family" ( $f = 97$  percent,  $M = 3.85$ ); and "There were times when I had no money" ( $f = 92$  percent,  $N = 3.79$ ). These frequently occurring items were generally perceived as being "somewhat-to-very" stressful.

## Psychological Correlates of Stressful Events

A second set of analyses shown in Columns 4 to 9 in Table 1 are zero-order correlations of these potential stressor items with six variables: age, acculturation, life satisfaction, anxiety, depression and somatization. For this analysis, the stress value of each item was assigned a value of 1 (not stressful) for participants not experiencing that particular event, under the plausible working assumption that events which have not yet occurred are not stressful.

Only one item was positively correlated with age. This item was, "I was discriminated against due to my age" ( $r = .40$   $p < .001$ ). It was not surprising that the older women felt more age discrimination in their job seeking efforts than did the younger women (see Table 1).

Different sets of life events appeared as stressors for the unacculturated women versus their more acculturated peers. Several occupational stressor events appeared as significant occurrences for low acculturation women, while those in the family and economic domains were important sources of stress for the more acculturated women. Regarding the occupational stressor events, the less acculturated women reported experiencing greater levels of stress due to: lacking needed job skills, losing contact with co-workers, and having difficulties finding a job because of being of Latino background.

By contrast, the more acculturated women (those having a greater degree of bilingual/bicultural skills) felt stressed by family events in which they had to spend money on themselves instead of their family and in which their personal goals were in conflict with those of their family. In the economic domain, these more acculturated women also experienced greater levels of stress regarding difficulties in paying bills on time, being contacted by creditors, and having to ask for a loan from a bank or other agency. Two items from the family stressor domain were positively correlated with self-reported level of life satisfaction. These were: "I expended great efforts to provide for my family," and "It was difficult for my children to understand my job loss." These items suggest that many of these women may have felt high levels of life satisfaction and perhaps fulfillment in exercising the social role of mother and caretaker, despite considerable effort and stressfulness involved in enacting this role.

Anxiety and depression scale scores were observed to co-vary in similar ways with items of the economic and family domains, while no significant relationship was observed between anxiety and depression with items from the occupational stressor domain. Seven of the eight items of the economic stressor domain had significant positive correlations with both the anxiety and depression scales (see Table 1). For these women, the item most strongly correlated with anxiety and depression scale scores was "It was difficult

to pay bills on time." Only the item, "I had to ask for a loan from my family," was not correlated with anxiety and depression for these Hispanic women (see Table 1).

In the family domain, the item correlating most strongly with anxiety and depression was, "I reacted to frustrations by yelling at my children." Other family stressors associated with elevated levels of anxiety were: "I expended great efforts to provide for my family," "Life conditions are inadequate for raising my family," "It was difficult for my children to understand my job loss," and, "My personal goals are in conflict with those of my family." By contrast, elevated depression scale scores were observed only for the items, "I reacted to frustrations by yelling at my children," and "I felt that relations with my children had worsened." Here themes of threats to the role of ideal mother, including negative mother-child relations, appeared to be associated with depression.

Somatization was most strongly correlated with economic stressors. As with anxiety and depression, the presence of somatic complaints was most strongly correlated with the item, "It was difficult to pay my bills on time." Other items associated with somatic complaints involved difficulties paying the rent, being contacted by creditors, and needing to ask a financial institution for a loan. Thus, a positive association between economic and somatic problems was apparent.

## DISCUSSION

### Chronic Effects of Unemployment

In this sample of 108 women who were unemployed due to plant closure since October of 1984, life events in the occupational stressors domain, those events related to efforts to re-enter the labor market, were rated as most stressful (toward being "very stressful"), as compared with life events in the economic and family domains. It is noteworthy that the present stressfulness ratings were obtained about 18 months after job loss, thus challenging the view, for women of this population, that the stress of job loss dwindles with time. To the contrary, the present results challenge the view that the impact of unemployment is immediate and short-term (Ferman and Gardner 1979), and that these unemployed Latino women would not become distraught as the result of job loss. Also challenged is the view that job loss should not be stressful since their involvement in the job market is entirely optional.

In opposition to these assumptions, the present results suggest that employment for these low acculturation Latino women is a necessary and desirable activity. Accordingly, job loss constitutes both a specific stressful life event and a chronic stressor, particularly since the majority of these women have remained unemployed despite efforts to find another job. The majority of these women reported enjoying their job at Starkist, and several women during the course of these data collection sessions asked whether the tuna plant was to re-open and asserted that they would return immediately if that were the case.

Studies on the impacts of plant shutdowns indicate that workers terminated from stable, unionized factory jobs can expect to experience a discontinuous history of re-employment (Aiken et al. 1968; Bluestone and Harrison 1980). While these studies have primarily assessed the re-employment experiences of white males, the present findings indicate that Latino women appear to suffer a similar fate. Over 75 percent of the participants in this study continue to experience a difficult re-entry into the labor market, as illustrated by the fact that the majority are still unemployed some 20 months after their initial termination.

Although further research is needed to relate deficits in personal and financial resources to the mental health outcomes of Latino women following termination, the results of the present study call attention to the apparent unabated economic instability experienced by these women following involuntary job termination. Ferman and Gardner (1979) emphasize that situational stresses generated by resource insufficiency can have profound effects on the physical and mental health of displaced workers. Thus, length of unemployment and re-employment experiences do not by themselves have a direct negative effect on mental health, but are linked to resource sufficiency levels. The greater the economic cushion, the less the stress impact of joblessness. The correlational analyses of the present study indicate that seven of the eight items of the economic stressor domain had significant positive relationships with both anxiety and depression. Generally, a life imbalance consisting of many financial

and other obligations, coupled with few resources and many vulnerabilities produces tenuous life conditions which are consistent with high stress living (Cox 1978).

More specifically, the present findings lend support to resource sufficiency as an important antecedent of stress among Latino women undergoing unemployment. In the three stress domains, it was the economic stress items that were most frequently experienced. It is important to note that 90 percent of these women reported difficulties in purchasing basic daily needs, such as food and clothes. These results underscore the seriousness of their level of economic deprivation following termination. Over 70 percent reported difficulty in paying their rent and other bills. Again, the importance of this finding is emphasized by the fact that these events are still perceived to be somewhat stressful even after 18 months following termination. This finding suggests that Latino women terminated as the result of a plant shutdown may be at high risk for entrapment in a spiraling cycle of poverty; escape becomes progressively more difficult with the passage of time.

#### Acculturation and Skills Deficit

The chronic unemployment or underemployment experienced by most of these women was based in part on their lack of transferable skills. Previous research has shown that situations or events positing a threat to personal competency appear to be sources of considerable stress (McCrae 1984). Among these unemployed Latino women, threats or conflicts concerning oneself as being noncompetitive in the U.S. job market created greatest levels of stress for the least acculturated women. A limited ability to speak English and a lack of vocational skills needed for doing other types of work appeared to be job-related deficits which were most disturbing for these least acculturated women. Such perceived skills deficits may also have contributed to the perceptions among the least acculturated women of being discriminated against in the job market due to their Latino background. Age itself was not associated with stress for almost all of these life events, except in the specific case of perceived discrimination due to age. By contrast, the women of this group who were relatively more acculturated appeared to be affected more so by the stress of emerging conflicts over culturally incongruous values, such as conflicts over individual versus family goals (Dressler and Bernal 1982). Also, threats over the inability to meet financial obligations were more stressful for these comparatively more acculturated women.

Thus, the type of threat presented by specific life events appeared to be moderated by level of acculturation. The low acculturation women appeared distraught by issues involving rejection by the mainstream economic system while, by contrast, the more acculturated women were distraught by inescapable economic obligations, and by conflicts over personal advancement versus complete devotion to family needs. The present results, as related to level of acculturation, may offer some suggestions to aid in interpreting the findings of the Los Angeles Epidemiologic Catchment Area (LA-ECA) study (Hough et al. 1983). The LA-ECA study found that lifetime prevalence rates of four mental disorders increased with increases in level of acculturation, indicating that the more acculturated Latinos had greater rates of mental disorder than did their low acculturation peers (Burnham et al. 1986). Among Latinos, certain stressors associated with greater levels of acculturation may increase vulnerability to certain types of mental disorders.

#### Social and Family Roles

The present results also underscore the importance of the family, and of the social role of motherhood as a source of stress as well as a source of life satisfaction in women of this population. Perlin and Schooler (1978) have emphasized the importance of social roles as life situations that affect level of exposure to various potential life stressors. Similarly, Lazarus (1 tercer@polisci.ucla.edu984) has emphasized the importance of role-related commitments as partial determinants of vulnerability to stress when certain events occur which threaten these commitments or one's ability to meet them. It may be that most of these Latino women are accepting of the traditional maternal role, a role which emphasizes devotion to children and family and which encourages personal sacrifices for their sakes (Carrillo 1982; Falicov 1982). The present data suggested that life events that threatened the ability of most of these Latino women to live up to these cultural role ideals of motherhood might increase psychological distress. More specifically, for these women, elevated depression scale



scores were correlated with impaired relations with their children and with reacting to frustrations by yelling at their children, events suggestive of growing difficulties in meeting culturally sanctioned expectations of the ideal nurturing mother. Moreover, it appeared that the occurrence of stressful economic events, which threaten competency as an economic provider, also act as stressors associated with elevations both in levels of anxiety and depression, while some of these events were also associated with a greater number of somatic complaints.

The present findings emphasize the need to further expand the scope of unemployment research. Such research should examine the impact of unemployment due to plant shutdowns as it affects the worker's family as well as how it affects the worker him- or herself. Given that families mediate the crisis of unemployment with great variability based upon the prior organization of the family (Cavan and Ranck 1938; Figley and McCubbin 1983; Komarovsky 1940), further research on the impact of unemployment on Latino women is needed to assess her role within the family, and the significance of her role as both a mother and a wage-earner.

## CONCLUSIONS

The present study has provided simple descriptive level analyses that provide greater detail than have previous studies on the sources of unemployment stress in Latino women. These results corroborate, in part, the view that psychological adjustment for many Latinos is greatly influenced by family conflict, since family relations are given great importance in traditional Latino culture (Lang, Munoz, Bernal and Sorenson 1982). However, various studies have presented inconsistent findings regarding relationships between measures of psychological well-being and marital status, employment status and economic hardship. For example, Roberts and Roberts (1982) found that employed women had fewer depressive symptoms than did their homemaker peers in one sample, although this result was not replicated in a second sample from the same locale. Kraus and Markides (1985) have found that employment outside the home had beneficial psychological effects for Mexican American women in general, although the beneficial effects on depression scale scores were greater for divorced and separated Mexican American women than for their married peers. Thus, Kraus and Markides have emphasized the need to control for confounding variables and to examine the possible influence of interactions across various levels of one or more moderator variables.

The present descriptive analyses do suggest that differential patterns of stress are apparent for this group of women, as moderated by level of acculturation. Future research on stressors in unemployed Hispanic women should be guided by a multivariate model, particularly in temporal analyses of stress-coping-outcome relationships (Cervantes and Castro 1985). The present study provides descriptive results that suggest new hypotheses on the impact of various families, occupational and economic stressors on the psychological well-being of unemployed, low acculturation Latino women.

The present study offers timely information on family, occupational, and economic stressors, and their psychological correlates, for Latino women who have suffered unemployment due to a plant shutdown. The findings of the present study may help to dispel a myth of "benign stress" associated with female unemployment in general, and with Latino female unemployment in particular. It is hoped that the results of the present study will stimulate further interdisciplinary research on the psychological impact of plant shutdowns on workers and their families. It is hoped that the present research stimulates debate by the academic community regarding the types of occupational, health and mental health services which are needed, and the critical points at which they should be provided to victims of plant shutdowns. More explicit guidelines should be offered and greater responsibilities taken by organized labor, corporations, and concerned communities on how to best meet the needs of workers at risk. Greater leadership is also needed from public policy makers who should stimulate debate on social legislation which intends to ameliorate as much as possible the potential negative effects of unemployment due to plant shutdowns.

1.A competing assumption is that events which have not yet occurred, yet which are anticipated, can nonetheless have some remarkable stress impact. The alternate assumption that event non-occurrence is not stressful was used in the present correlational analyses, since this group of women were not asked to anticipate the stressfulness of events which might occur in the future. Moreover, this assumption and the recoding of values where non-occurrence was

assigned a value of no stress was conducted in order to create a correlationall matrix which is based upon the entire sample of 108 women.

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