

THE DEVELOPMENT AND VALIDATION OF A SCALE FOR CULTURAL
WEALTH COPING WITH LATINA/OS

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by

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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the dissertation entitled

THE DEVELOPMENT AND VALIDATION OF A SCALE FOR CULTURAL WEALTH COPING WITH LATINA/OS

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DEDICATION

In the spirit of my study findings, I want to dedicate my dissertation to family. I must start with two people, my parents and first teachers, Juan Francisco Kanagui Lopez and Ana Lorena Kanagui Leal. In coming to this country you gambled everything in the hopes of giving your children a better life. I humbly offer you this work and this doctoral degree as validation of all the sacrifices you have made for our family. I trust that your ultimate satisfaction comes from the fact that you raised four happy, loving children who contribute to the world in positive ways. I cannot reach deep enough in my heart to adequately express my gratitude. *Con todo mi corazon--gracias*. To my siblings, Juan, Cynthia, and Seyi, you are all more talented than I could ever hope to be. Thank you, brothers and sister, for your encouragement, your friendship, your love, and for being my favorite people of all time. I would also like to thank my family-in-law, the Muñoz family, who have supported me all the way from East Los Angeles from the beginning of this journey. In particular, I would like to acknowledge my *suegra*, Feliciana Muñoz Oropeza, for giving of her time and effort when I needed her most. To my all of my extended family in the States and in Mexico, thank you for being my army in this endurance challenge--we did it!

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Overview

Coping has been one of the mostly widely studied concepts in psychology for the past 35 years (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004). The numerous studies conducted in the area is indicative of the high degree of interest in understanding how individuals cope and problem solve stressful situations. Although coping research has added immensely to how we understand human problem-solving and resilience, the field continues to face challenges in understanding this phenomenon. More recently, critics note that the field has struggled to adopt a more contextualized understanding of coping (Coyne & Racioppo, 2000; Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004). The coping literature continues to overlook the cultural context as studies in the field continue to report normative samples primarily comprised of White college students, in spite of the dramatic demographic shifts occurring in the U.S. As such, coping research and coping instruments have largely reflected the behavior of monocultural and monolingual individuals, thus providing only a restricted understanding of this construct. Although some have made efforts to create more culturally specific measures of coping (Heppner, et al., 2006), to date, no scale exists that examines coping specifically within the fastest growing racial/ethnic minority group in the U.S., Latina/os.

There are several reasons why expanding our understanding of coping constructs within the Latina/o population is beneficial for research and practice. First, given the rate of growth of the Latina/o population and their projected growth in the next decade, their psychological and physical well-being is becoming a national imperative (Keppel, 2007). Latina/os comprise 16 percent of the U.S. population and it is estimated that they will grow to comprise nearly 30.2 percent of the U.S. population (132.8 million) by the year

2050 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). Between 2000 and 2010, the Latina/o population grew by 43 percent, which is over four times the growth of the total population. Although Latina/os are the fastest growing minority group in the U.S., they are more likely to live in poverty and have lower educational attainment than their White, Black and Asian counterparts. However, in spite of significant barriers experienced in this country, Latina/os comprise a large part of the occupational and education sectors, which suggests coping and resilience in the face of significant obstacles. In 1993, the Surgeon General's National Hispanic/Latino Health Initiative called for a "relevant and comprehensive behavioral and biomedical research agenda for Hispanics" (Marin, Amaro, Eisenberg, & Opava-Stitzer, 1992). The initiative recognized various barriers to such an agenda, one of which included the lack of culturally appropriate instruments for use in research on Latina/os. Specifically noted was that measures being used for research with Latina/os lacked attention to culture, language, and values of the group. Nearly 17 years later, the paucity in culturally relevant measures for Latina/os continues to exist.

Second, further understanding the distinctive way in which Latina/os cope may help expand current understanding of what coping is and how coping strategies are mobilized. Although limited, existing coping research with Latina/os has shown that they may cope in unique ways that differ from their mainstream Anglo counterparts (Culver et al., 2004; Edwards, Moric, Husfedt, Buvanendran, & Ivankovich, 2005; Padilla & Borrero, 2006). For example, the collectivistic nature of the Latina/o population is reflected in coping studies that suggest that social support and familial support are particularly important for Latina/os (Abraido-Lanza & Revenson, 1996; Chiang, Hunter, & Yeh, 2004; Constantine, Alleyne, Caldwell, McRae, & Suzuki, 2005). Although some

studies have begun examining differences in coping between individualistic and collectivistic cultures, there has been a call to expand this further to include a larger social-cultural context (Heppner, Wei, Neville, & Kanagui-Muñoz, 2013; Wong & Wong, 2006). The present study aims to address this call with a particular emphasis on the Latina/o population.

In sum, Latina/o individuals and families may possess unique assets including biculturalism and bilingualism that may aid uniquely in coping with stressful situations (Orellana, Dorner, & Pulido, 2003). Latina/os as a whole may face unique challenges (e.g. racism, immigration) that may impact their coping strategies and experiences. For example, some studies have indicated that in high stress or discriminatory contexts, avoidant coping may be used with more frequency by Latina/os (Edwards & Romero, 2008), and may be adaptive for racial/ethnic minorities in these contexts (Gonzales, Tein, Sandler, & Friedman, 2001). Further some researchers have posited that passivity or avoidance may be more culturally congruent for individuals from collectivist cultures and have argued for more precise measurement of this phenomenon (Moore & Constantine, 2005). Particularly in Latino culture *destino* (fate) and *fatalismo* (fatalism), or the belief that events in life may be out of one's control and/or in the hands of God, may influence their appraisal of stressors and coping responses (Comas-Díaz, 1989; Falicov, 2000; Strug, et al., 2009). Studying the unique ways that Latina/os cope can help broaden current understanding of how people cope by including the voices of those that have been largely omitted from study samples.

Finally, studying coping among Latina/os will help broaden the current U.S. coping measurement literature. Researchers have noted that the cultural context in the

coping literature has been largely overlooked with most Western psychology studies focusing on White, monolingual college samples (Heppner, et al., 2006). Research with Latina/os requires methodological considerations that have gone largely unaddressed in instrument and assessment development studies. In recent years, researchers have argued for replacing translation-driven approaches with concept-driven approaches to reach linguistic and cultural equivalence in assessments (Erkut, et al., 1999) However, translation-driven approaches continue to be used in spite of serious validity concerns. A result of this focus is a limited understanding of coping in the present literature that may not generalize to the various populations within the U.S and around the world. Current research in Latina/o coping has largely utilized coping inventories that were created and developed in a predominately White, Western cultural context. It is imperative that future research not only reexamines and validates widely used coping instruments for use with Latina/o populations, but more importantly promotes the creation of new, culturally conscious measurement. The present study aims to address these gaps by creating a linguistically and culturally conscious instrument to examine Latina/o ways of coping.

Coping is a complex process that involves a myriad of environmental, cultural and personality factors. As such, the present study was grounded in three main conceptual frameworks. First, a person-environmental model was utilized following suggestions from previous research including Lewin (1936), Moos (1984, 2002), and most recently Heppner, Wei, Neville, and Kanagui-Munoz (2013). In this approach, coping was conceptualized as an act within a cultural context that includes norms, customs, and values that impact the coping process (Cross, 1995; Heppner, et al., 2013;

Lam & Zane, 2004; Marsella & Scheuer, 1988; Wang & Heppner, 2011). Researchers have noted that cultural context was largely overlooked with most studies focusing exclusively on White college samples (Heppner, et al., 2006).

Latina/os in the U.S. are a heterogeneous group comprised of various nationalities, races, and immigration histories that share a common language and some fundamental cultural values (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). In order for coping to be properly assessed in Latina/os, researchers have to be sensitive to both between and within group differences. Broadly speaking, Latina/o culture has a collectivistic orientation, which centers on the family unit (*familismo*). As a result, values within the culture promote harmonious and pleasant social interactions (*simpatia*) and warm interpersonal connections (*personalismo*). Values of respect (*respeto*) promote knowing one's place in a hierarchical relationship structure and deference to those with higher status (Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin, and Perez-Stable, 1987). Finally, religion and spirituality play an important role within the Latina/o culture. Latinos practice a wide range of religions, with Catholicism as the most widely practiced denomination within the Latina/o culture. Latina/os may also incorporate spiritual practices and folk medicine in addition to, or in place of, Christian belief systems (Falicov, 2000). Understanding these nuances when creating measurement items is essential to capturing a more complete picture of coping among Latina/os.

The second influential model in item development is the Community Cultural Wealth model (Yosso, 2005). Drawing from Oliver and Shapiro's (1995) work that differentiated White wealth and Black wealth, Yosso developed a model that maintains that Communities of Color are not culturally poor. The Community Cultural Wealth

model incorporates six capital domains. *Aspirational capital* describes the ability of Communities of Color to hold on to hopes and dreams in spite of the significant barriers they face in the U.S. *Familial capital* is described as the support and cultural knowledge that is nurtured within the family unit. *Social capital* refers to the resources and various types of support available through peer and social networks. *Navigational capital* accounts for the skills people of Color mobilize in order to move through the various institutions in the U.S. in spite of financial and linguistic barriers. *Resistance capital* describes skills gathered through a history of resisting oppression in Communities of Color. *Linguistic capital* refers to skills and resources acquired as a result of knowing more than one language. This model has moved away from deficit thinking and towards a more holistic understanding of the resources of Communities of Color.

Although interest in cultural wealth and strength-based approaches for Communities of Color has increased, research in the area remains relatively theoretical and qualitative in nature (Monkman, Ronald, & Theramene, 2005; Stanton-Salazar, 2001). Additionally, existing scales of various forms of capital (e.g. social capital) have largely been normed with White, middle class populations. Since the concept of cultural wealth is deeply rooted in a particular cultural context, it is necessary for scales examining the role of this construct to be created and normed with the target population in mind. According to Padilla and Borsato (2008), “psychoeducational assessment is made culturally appropriate through a continuing and open-ended series of substantive and methodological insertions and adaptations designed to mesh the process of assessment and evaluation with the cultural characteristics of the group being studied” (p. 6). In sum, it is imperative that we understand the resources these populations use in

order to survive and thrive. To date no studies have quantitatively examined the role of community cultural wealth in coping to better mental health outcomes for minorities, and more specifically Latina/os.

Third, researchers have called for a more narrow focus of coping in order to “define the dimensions of relevant situations without relying solely on ambiguities of cognitive appraisal” (Coyne & Racioppo, 2000). As a whole it has been recognized that people exhibit coping flexibility, which allows them to use a variety of coping strategies when faced with different situations with varying degrees of stress and challenge (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). Dispositional approaches, which have dominated in the coping literature, largely assume that individuals apply trait-like styles across various situations. However, recent research has shown that individuals identify certain coping strategies as helpful in some situations and not in others (Heppner et al, 2006). For example, Heppner et al. (2006) found that in a sample of Taiwanese students certain coping behaviors (e.g. religious/spirituality coping) was relevant for some situations but not in others (e.g., natural disasters vs. relationship issues). While the literature has recognized that situation-specific coping is a very important aspect of coping, there continues to be a need to refine these concepts through further testing (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004). In order to better understand the differential coping across various situations, the present study examined coping across six common stressful situations that Latina/o individuals often experience.

Purpose of the Study

In summary, coping within the Latina/o population has not been adequately explored. As the Latina/o population continues to grow, it is critical that we continue to

examine barriers the community faces in the U.S., but equally focus on their resilience and use of coping strategies in context. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to create a Cultural Wealth Coping scale for Latina/os (CWC-L) that addresses ethnocentric gaps in the existing coping literature by following a person-environment theoretical model as well as a strength-based perspective through assessing the use of cultural assets. The present study will examine the development of inventory items, test the psychometric properties of the inventory for 544 Latina/o adults, and provide initial reliability and validity estimates for the scale. By gaining a better understanding how Latina/os use cultural wealth, researchers can further investigate how cultural wealth and its domains affect coping and resilience.

Phase I- Item Development and Survey Construction

CWC-L Scale Development

Research Team and Construct Identification. Item development involved a multi-step process. The initial item generation was conducted in a research team setting at a large Midwestern university. The team was composed of 3 Latina/o and 5 non-Latina/o doctoral students, 1 Latina faculty member with an expertise in Latina/o issues, and 1 non-Latina/o faculty member with an expertise in coping. The purpose of the item generation was to create items related to the desired cultural wealth frameworks, and also generate coping items unrelated to the frameworks but relevant to Latina/o culture. In the final stage of the survey refinement, five bilingual Latina/o community members who were representative of the target sample (i.e., Latina/o adults) were solicited to further develop and refine items for the scale via member checks and feedback about the survey's cultural and linguistic equivalence.

Coping Domains and Item Generation. Items were written to reflect one of several guiding frameworks. First, Latina/o cultural values served as the foundation for the conceptualization of items. Thus, items were generated to reflect a focus on a collectivistic context with common values discussed in the literature (e.g., personalismo, familismo, simpatia, fatalismo). Second, Yosso's Cultural Wealth model was utilized to guide item development. Finally, current coping research on Latina/os was reviewed and utilized to further generate and refine items.

Language also played an important role in the initial item generation. In order to more closely approach cross-cultural and linguistic equivalence, the dual focus approach by Erkut, Alarcon, Garica Coll, Tropp, and Vazquez Garia (1999) informed the process

of the scale construction. Four of the 10 research members that participated in initial item generation were bilingual. Items were developed simultaneously in English and Spanish and were only accepted into the item pool if they made sense with regard to the language and cultural context of Latina/os. Translation and back translations (between Spanish and English) was conducted during the item-generation stage, and also at the final stages of item development by two separate evaluators in order to ensure content and conceptual equivalence (Heppner et al., 2006; Mallinckrodt & Wang, 2004). The initial pool of over 80 items was revised and refined; 50 items consisted the final CWC-L inventory with 5 items representing each of the capital domains outlined by Yosso (2005).

Instructions. To establish the context for the situation-specific instrument, instructions were developed indicating that respondents would:

Select one situation from the list below that has been the most stressful to you in the past 6 months: (a) Financial difficulties, (b) academic difficulties, (c) family difficulties, (d) relationship difficulties, (e) employment difficulties, (f) physical or mental health difficulties.

All items were written to assess how helpful the particular coping strategy was in managing the stressful situations. Participants were asked to rate the helpfulness of the specific item on a Likert-type scale: 1= *not helpful at all in my situation*, 2= *slightly helpful in my situation*, 3= *Moderately helpful in my situation*, 4= *Very helpful in my situation*, and 5= *Extremely helpful in my situation*.

Inventory refinement. After the initial items refinement, the CWC-L was pilot-tested with a group of 12 Latina/os and 5 non-Latina/os to generate feedback for further refinement of items. Consultation with Dr. Tara Yosso, creator of the Community

Cultural Wealth Model on items was also completed. Oral and written feedback was requested and incorporated into the inventory to eliminate typos, ambiguity in language, or confusing items. Inventory instructions were also refined after feedback in order to maximize legibility and ease of taking the survey for all participants.

Demographics and Contextual Information. A demographic survey was included to obtain additional information regarding participants age, gender, income, marital status, place of birth, years in the U.S., generational status, racial/ethnic identity, highest level of formal education and English proficiency.

Two batteries were administered. Both forms included the demographic form, the Psychological Acculturation Scale, Satisfaction with Life Scale, Multidimensional Scale of Social Support, and the CWC-L (50-items) questionnaire. Additionally, Form A included the Problem Solving Inventory and Problem Focused Style of Coping; Form B included the Collectivistic Coping Scale and the Brief Symptoms Inventory-18.

Brief Symptom Inventory-18 (BSI-18; Derogatis, 2000). The BSI-18 is an inventory designed to measure psychological distress in medical and community populations. The self-report instrument consists of 20 items assessing the distress associated with a variety of symptoms on 5-point rating scale (0 = *not at all*, 4 = *extremely*). The inventory primarily measures three dimensions: somatization, depression and anxiety. Scores from each subscale range from 0 to 24 with higher scores indicating higher distress in that domain. A Global Severity Index (GSI) score is determined from the summation of responses from the 18 items and is considered the best single index of distress; and will be used in this study; scores range from 0 to 72, with higher scores indicating higher severity. The BSI-18 is highly correlated (.91-.96) with

the parent instrument Symptom Checklist-90-Revised (SCL-90; Derogatis, 1994), which were in turn derived from the Hopkins Symptom Checklist (Derogatis, Lipman, Rickels, Uhlenhuth, & Covi, 1974). With a community sample the BSI-18 has shown adequate overall internal consistency (.74) and as well as for individual scales (.79-.89; Derogatis, 2001). The BSI-18 has been used extensively in other cultures and is available in multiple languages, including Spanish. In this study, the BSI alpha coefficient was .92 ($M=32.78$, $SD=12.61$)

Collectivist Coping Styles Inventory (CCS; Heppner, et al., 2006). The CCS is a situation-specific inventory that examines collectivistic styles of coping. The scale consists of 30 items and consists of 5 factors: (1) Acceptance, Reframing, and Striving (ARS; 11 items), (2) Family Support (FS; 6 items), (3) Religion and Spirituality (RS; 4 items), (4) Avoidance and Detachment (AD; 5 items) and (5) Private Emotional Outlets (PEO; 4). For this study, only Factor 1 and Factor 4 were used. Respondents are asked to choose one situation from a list of 17 common stressful or traumatic events (adapted from Traumatic Event Survey-Lifetime; Gershuny, 1999) and to rate the helpfulness of a particular coping strategy on a 5-point scale (1= *used but of no help at all*, 5 = *a tremendous amount of help*) with regard to the specific situation they selected. Sample strategies include, “through prayer or other religious rituals”, “waited for time to run its course”, and “saved face by not telling anyone”. Higher mean scores on each of the factors indicates that those strategies were more helpful for coping with their situation. The CCS was associated with other well-established coping inventories (PSI) and higher scores on the ARS and FS factor were positively related to problem resolution and lower psychological distress. Conversely, higher scores on the AD and PEO factors were

related to lower problem resolution and higher levels of psychological distress, specifically posttraumatic stress. The internal consistency for the CCS was .87 and the factor alphas ranged from .76 to .90. Test-retest correlations for the CCS total (.77) and factors (.70-.91) were adequate with the exception of the ARS factor ($r=.56$). The original means and standard deviations of the CCS ARS and AD were ARS ($M= 3.11$, $SD= 1.2$) and AD ($M= 2.4$, $SD =1.3$). Overall, the measure was found to be a psychometrically sound measure of collectivist coping. Although the CCS has not been extensively studied with the Latina/o population, given that the inventory is tailored for collectivist values, it seemed appropriate for use with Latina/os. Given that individual factors were used, no alpha coefficient is reported. In this study, the means for the CCS ARS ($M= 2.5$) and CCS AD ($M=1.38$) were lower than the original study.

Multidimensional Scale of Social Perceived Social Support (MSSPS; Zimet, Dahlem, Zimet, and Farley, 1988). The MSSPS is a measure of social support. The 12-item measures social support in three domains including family, friends, and significant other. Items are rated on a 7-point scale (1= *very strongly disagree*, 7= *very strongly agree*) with higher scores reflecting a higher level of social support. Example items include, “There is a special person who is around when I am in need” (Significant Other), “My friends really try to help me” (Friends), and “My family really tries to help me” (Family). Original validation of whole MSSPS revealed adequate internal reliability (.88), as well as individual Significant Other (.91), Family (.87), and Friends (.85) factors. The MSPSS has yielded adequate results for various populations including pregnant women, European adolescents, urban adolescents, and pediatric residents (Canty-Mitchell & Zimet, 2000; Zimet, Powell, Farley, Werkman, and Berkoff, 1990).

The MSPSS has also shown good reliabilities with the Latino population as well. One study with Mexican American youth demonstrated high internal consistency for the total MSPSS scale (.86) and for Family (.88) and Friends (.90) factors (Edwards, 2004). In this study, the MSPSS alpha coefficient was .92 ($M=65.04$, $SD=15.30$).

Problem-Focused Style of Coping Scale (PF-SOC; Heppner, et al., 1995). The PF-SOC identifies 3 styles of coping: reflective, reactive or suppressive. The 18-items self-report questionnaire asks how often a person engages in each item on a 5-point scale (1= *almost never*, 5= *almost all of the time*). Sample items include: “I think my problems through in a systematic way” (Reflective Style), “I act too quickly, which makes my problems worse” (Reactive Style) and “I spend time doing unrelated chores and activities instead of acting on my problems” (Suppressive Style). Higher scores on the Reflective Style and lower scores on the Reactive and Suppressive Style scales indicate greater problem-solving abilities. The PF-SOC has been found to have adequate construct, concurrent, and discriminant validity (Heppner, et al., 1995). Coefficient alphas for the PF-SOC are adequate, ranging from .73 to .77. The means, standard deviations, and score ranges for the PF-SOC are as follows: reflective style: $M = 22.9$, $SD = 5.2$ (range of possible scores 7 - 35). Suppressive style: $M = 12.7$, $SD = 4.2$ (range of possible scores 6 - 30). Reactive style: $M = 13.7$, $SD = 4.1$ (range of possible scores 5 - 25). The PF-SOC was found to be related to psychological distress, depression and anxiety. Test-retest reliabilities over a 3-week period have been moderate ranging from .65 to .71 in individual subscales. The PF-SOC has not been extensively examined with Latina/os and was translated into the Spanish language for this study. In this study, the PF-SOC alpha coefficient was .84 ($M=64.43$, $SD=10.67$).

Problem-Solving Inventory-Short Form (PSI; Heppner & Petersen, 1982). The PSI measures people's perceptions regarding their problem solving behavior. The original instrument consists of 32 items that are self-rated on a six-point scale ranging from strongly *agree* (1) to *strongly disagree* (6). The PSI contains three subscales: the Problem-Solving Confidence (PSC) subscale consisting of 12 items (e.g. "I trust my ability to solve new and difficult problems"), Approach-Avoidance Style (AAS) consists of 16 items (e.g. "When confronted with a problem, I tend to do the first thing that I can think of to solve it") and Personal Control (PC) consists of 5 items (e.g. "Even though I work on a problem, sometimes I feel like I'm groping or wandering and not getting down to the real issue"). The present study used a short form of the PSI that was 12 items (PSC, 4 items; AAS, 6 items; PC, 2 items). The PSI can be scored as subscales or as a single measure of problem-solving appraisal by summing items. High scores on the PSI indicate lower perception of problem-solving confidence, an avoidance style, and lack of personal control. Alpha coefficients for the PSI range from .72 to .90 across diverse populations (Heppner & Wang, 2003; Heppner, Witty, & Dixon, 2004). Test-retest scores range from .80 at two weeks, .81 over 3-4 weeks and .60 over a two-year period. Furthermore, the PSI has been found to be related to psychological health and problem-solving behaviors (Heppner, et al., 2004). In this study, the PSI alpha coefficient was .80 ($M=53.60, SD=8.28$).

Psychological Acculturation Scale (PAS; Tropp, Erkut, Coll, Alarcon, & Garcia, 1999). The Psychological Acculturation Scale is a 10-item scale designed to measure acculturation focused on psychological attachment to and belonging within the Latina/o or Anglo-American culture. Items on the PAS are scored on a 9-point Likert-type scale

ranging from 1 (*only Hispanic/Latino*) to 9 (*only Anglo/American*) with a bicultural orientation defining its midpoint. Example items for the PAS include “With which group(s) of people do you feel you share most of your beliefs and values?” and “With which group(s) of people do you feel most comfortable with?” Internal consistencies from the original study show adequate reliability for both English (.83) and Spanish (.85) versions. Subsequent studies have also demonstrated adequate reliabilities for different subgroups within the Latina/o population including Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, and Cubans. In this study, the PAS alpha coefficient was .92 ($M=42.09$, $SD=11.85$).

Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; Diener, et al., 1985). The SWLS is a measure of global life satisfaction. The brief measure has five items, which are rated using a 7-point scale (1= *strongly disagree*, 7= *strongly agree*) to assess satisfaction with life. Items include, “In most ways my life is close to ideal” and “I am satisfied with my life”. A review of SWLS shows that it has exhibited strong internal consistency (.79-.89) over several studies with diverse populations (e.g., multiple college samples, nurses, clinical patients, veterans). Additionally, test-retest have provided low to adequate reliability over varying periods of time (.50-.84 for 2 week to 4 year intervals; Pavot & Diener, 1993). The SWLS is positively associated with other measures of life satisfaction and well-being and is negatively associated with negative psychological distress (Diener, et al., 1985). The SWLS is available in several languages, including Spanish, and has been found to be an adequate cross-cultural index of life satisfaction (Pavot & Diener, 1993). In this study, the BSI alpha coefficient was .87 ($M=39.13$, $SD=6.26$)

Participants and Procedures

A total of 688 participants with more than 10% possible responses completed were received from the online survey (Form A: 255; Form B: 433). Only cases with 80% completed responses were retained for the analyses (N=544). Data from Form A and Form B of the survey were combined and randomly split in order to reduce possible group-specific characteristics. Study 1 (N=282) consisted of 93 cases from Form A and 189 cases from Form B. Study 2 (N=262) consisted of 97 cases from Form A and 165 cases from Form B. Chi-squared and t-test analyses revealed that Study 1 and 2 samples did not have significant differences with regard to all demographic variables (all $ps < .05$). Of the total cases, 22 respondents completed the Spanish language survey.

Data Collection Procedure. Data for this study were collected using an online survey data collection tool, Qualtrics (<http://www.qualtrics.com/>). The survey link was distributed through list serves, social media outlets, and direct emails. Two forms of the survey were distributed via two separate links. Both forms included a broad based demographic form, PAS, CWC-L, and PSI. Additionally, Form A included the CCS and BSI-18, while Form B included the PF-SOC and MSPSS. Of the 970 people who viewed the link, 547 completed and submitted the survey for a response rate of 56.4%. Specifically, the response rate for Form A was 58.6% and 52.7% for Form B. The response rate is considered to be adequate based on recent literature on web-based data collection and response rates (Cook, Heath, and Thompson, 2000). Participants were offered the chance to win one of seven Visa gift cards in the amount of \$50 dollars. Additionally, after 250 surveys were collected, a donation of \$250 dollars was made to a major Latina/o based psychological association. All study incentives and procedures were reviewed and approved by the University of Missouri Institutional Review Board (IRB).

Phase II –Study 1: Exploratory Factor Analysis & Initial Internal Reliability Test

Method

Preliminary Analysis. The sample for Study 1 was examined for data accuracy, normality of distributions, univariate and multivariate outliers, and missing values. Three items were deleted in Sample 1 due to extremely skewed responses. No extreme univariate outliers were identified. However, 12 cases were identified as multivariate outliers and were deleted. In addition, missing data was replaced (in which missing data were less than 5% of the total responses) using the estimated maximization (EM) procedure in SPSS. A total of 282 cases were examined .

Participants. The sample for Study 1 consisted of 282 Latina/o individuals (206 women, 76 men) with ages ranging from 18 to 64 years of age, with a mean age range of 25-29 years of age. The majority of the sample was of Mexican descent (N=219), followed by South Americans (N=17), Central Americans (N=14), Puerto Ricans (N=9), Cubans (N=5), and other Latina/o descent (N=19). The majority of the sample were U.S.-born (N=208) and the remainder were born outside of the U.S (N=74).

Exploratory Factor Analyses for Initial Item Selection

As part of the item selection process, three items were first deleted due to a high degree of skewness. In addition, several criteria for the factorability of a correlation were used. First, correlations were used to determine reasonable factorability; it was confirmed that all 47 items correlated .3 with a least one other item. Secondly, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was .893, well above the commonly recommended value of .6. Next, the Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant ($\chi^2(1081) = 5440$, $p <$

.01). Given these overall indicators, factor analysis was deemed suitable for 47 CWC-L items.

Due to the exploratory nature of this study and anticipated co-variance between factors, parallel analysis (Brown, 2006; Franklin, Gibson, Robertson, Pohlmann, & Fralish, 1995; Kahn, 2006) was used to determine the number of factors to extract for each category. Initial eigenvalues suggested that an 8 factor model. In addition, a scree test suggested seven factors. Thus, solutions for four, five, six, seven, and eight were examined using varimax and oblimin rotations of the factor loading matrix. The following item selection criteria were used: (a) loadings at least .40 on one factor (Floyd & Widaman, 1995) and (b) cross-loadings not exceeding .30. The seven-factor solution with 25 items that accounted for 51.47% of the total variance after rotation was preferred because: (a) factors joined in a way that were conceptually appropriate and supported by existing research, and (b) the insufficient number of primary loadings and difficulty interpreting the other models.

Factor 1 was labeled *Collective Capital* coping (CSC: five items; accounting 24.10% of the total variance). These items reflect utilization of external resources and networks gain resources or information to solve problems. The items reflected use of both immediate resources (e.g., family) to more expanded networks (e.g., public spaces). Further, the types of support requested from the collective included information, material resources, and instrumental support. The highest loading items were: *Asked family members if they could help me solve my problem*, and *Looked for information in public places (e.g. supermarket, churches)*.

Factor 2 was labeled *Distress Management Strategies* (DMS: five items; accounting for 5.64% of the variance). The DMS factor refers to items reflecting strategies that are meant to indirectly manage distress caused by the stressful situation via avoidance, distraction, or enduring. The item content suggested that individuals made efforts to detach themselves from thoughts or emotions related to the stressful life situation. The highest loading items were: *Made efforts to not think about my problems*, and *Acted like everything was okay*.

Factor 3 was named *Spirituality Capital* (SC: three items; accounting for 4.13% of the variance). These items reflected coping strategies related to religious beliefs or spiritual activities. Item content suggests that individuals were coping by aligning themselves with a religious or spiritual group and practicing rituals (i.e., reading the Bible, praying). The highest loading items were: *Prayed to God, Saints, or family members who are no longer living for help*, and *Decided to leave things in the hands of God or destiny*.

Factor 4 was labeled *Linguistic Capital coping* (LC: three items; accounting for 3.1% of the variance). The LC factor refers to the use of language, dialect, or informal words to cope with stressful situations. Item content suggested that language is an important aspect of exchanging or gathering helpful information to solve problems. Language appeared to be important in expression but also instrumental in accessing information from a variety of sources. The highest loading items were: *Used another language, dialect, or informal words to speak with other people that could help me*, and *Used other words or phrases in another language to better express myself*.

Factor 5 was labeled *Cognitive Resilience Capital* (CRC: three items; accounting for 2.75% of the variance) and refers to an individual's ability to cope by maintaining hope and optimism in spite of the stressful life event. This factor is drawn from Yosso's (2005) *Aspirational Capital* domain. The item content reflected cognitive efforts by individuals to motivate themselves and continue to strive for a solution in spite of barriers. The highest loading items were: *Kept my hopes and dreams alive during difficult times*, and *Continued to seek possible solutions in spite of difficulties*.

Factor 6 was labeled *Peer Capital* (PC: three items; accounting for 2.09% of the variance) and refers to the use of friendship networks to cope with stressful life problems. Item content reflected seeking emotional and instrumental support from friends. The factor differs from social support in that the items all contain the word "friend" indicating a greater degree of closeness in the network. Importantly, the factor does not include items related to family or wider networks but friends specifically. The highest loading items were: *Sought emotional support from friends*, and *Talked to friends to receive advice and gain a new perspective regarding my problem*.

Finally, Factor 7 was labeled *Cultural Legacy Capital* (CLC: three items; accounting for 1.88% of the variance) and refers to individual's ability to cope with stressful situations by remembering how others from their culture have overcome difficult situations. Item content reflected individuals drawing motivation to cope with difficult situations by recalling sociopolitical barriers (e.g., oppression, racism) experienced by people in their culture. The highest loading items were: *Remembered all of the things that I or people from my culture have overcome successfully in the past*

(e.g., racism, oppression), and *Reminded myself of all the sacrifices people have made to overcome obstacles (e.g., racism, oppression) so that I could succeed.*

Internal consistencies. The corrected-item correlations for the 25 items were all positive and ranged from .09-.54. The alpha coefficients were as follows: Total CWC-L (.87); Collective Coping (.75); Distress Management Strategies (.68); Spirituality Capital (.84); Linguistic Capital (.74); Cognitive Resilience Capital (.69); Peer Capital (.81); Cultural Legacy Capital (.81). In sum, these initial estimates indicate acceptable levels of internal consistency for each factor as well as the total score.

Normative Information. The means for the overall helpfulness of the coping strategies (range: 1= *not helpful at all in my situation*, 5=*extremely helpful in my situation*) for each factor, and the total scores were as follows: CWC-L total ($M= 2.66$, $SD=1.32$), Collective Coping ($M=2.24$, $SD=1.27$); Indirect Coping ($M=2.48$, $SD=1.27$); Spirituality Capital ($M=2.54$, $SD=1.48$); Linguistic Capital ($M=2.22$, $SD=1.33$); Cognitive Resilience Capital ($M=3.53$, $SD=1.22$); Peer Capital ($M=2.9$, $SD=1.28$); Cultural Legacy Capital ($M=3.12$, $SD=1.37$). With regard to the problem selected to rate CWC-L items in Study 1, 34.6% of the sample selected financial difficulties, 21.4% academic difficulties, 12.9% family difficulties, 11.1% relationship difficulties, 11.4% employment difficulties, and 8.6% physical or mental health issues.

Intercorrelations among factors. The intercorrelations among the seven factors of the CWC-L ranged from -.40 to .33. The intercorrelations suggest that the seven factors are interrelated; however, all of the correlations accounted for 16% or less of the shared variance, suggesting the distinctiveness of each factor (see Table 1).

Phase III –Study 2: Confirmatory Factor Analysis

To confirm the factor structure of the Cultural Wealth Coping with Latina/os scale, a confirmatory factor analysis was conducted.

Method

Preliminary Analysis. The sample for Study 2 was examined for data accuracy, the normality of distributions, univariate and multivariate outliers, and missing values. No violation of normality of distributions was found. No extreme univariate outliers were identified. However, 11 cases were identified as multivariate outliers and were deleted. In addition, estimated maximization (EM) was used in SPSS (in which missing data were less than 5% of the total responses). A total of 262 cases remained for analysis.

Participants. The sample for Study 2 consisted of 262 Latina/o individuals (191 women, 71 men) with ages ranging from 18 to 64 years of age, with a mean age range of 25-29. The majority of the sample were of Mexican descent (N=187), followed by Puerto Rican (N=23), South American (N=20), Central American (N=10), Cuban (N=7), and other Latina/o descent (N=15). The majority of the sample were U.S. born (N=189), with the remainder born outside of the U.S (N=71).

Results

The 25 items retained from the EFA process was subjected to a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) with a maximum likelihood estimation method in SPSS AMOS (See Figure 1). As suggested by Kline (2005), several fit indices were used to evaluate the fit of the model to the data: (a) the comparative fit index (CFI) a value of .90 or greater suggests reasonable good model fit), (b) the root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA); a value of .08 or less suggests reasonable error of

approximation), and (c) the standardized root-mean-square residual (SRMR; a value of .10 or less suggests an adequate model fit). Additionally, the Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI; a value of .90 suggests adequate model fit) was examined. Initial fit indices indicated a less than ideal fit: $\chi^2(254) = 481.627, p < .001, RMSEA = .06, CFI = .877, SRMR = .07, TLI = .855$. AMOS Modification Indices were examined carefully to evaluate the appropriateness of correlating the residuals. The error pair (Items 4 and 5) with the largest modification index covaried given that the two items were in the same factor (Factor 1). Two more pairs were positively correlated (Items 25 and 29; Items 13 and 29) as the correlations between these items made theoretical sense. In total, three error pairs were allowed to covary, and the subsequent CFA reached an adequate model fit: $\chi^2(251) = 397.74, p < .001, RMSEA = .048, CFI = .921, SRMR = .0652, TLI = .905$. The final seven-factor 25-item CWC-L scale is listed in Table 2.

Intercorrelations among factors and internal consistency. Correlations among the seven factors of the CWC-L were positively correlated and ranged from .13 to .45, indicating that the seven factors represent distinct factors and do not have much overlap with each other. The corrected-item correlations for the 25 items were all positive and ranged from .17-.50. The alpha coefficients were as follows: Total CWC-L (.84); Collective Coping (.65); Indirect Coping (.67); Spirituality Capital (.83); Linguistic Capital (.67); Aspiration Capital (.60); Social Capital (.80); Resistant Capital (.79). In sum, these initial estimates suggest that each factor as well as the total score has acceptable levels of internal consistency.

Normative Information. The means for the helpfulness of the coping strategy (range: 1= *not helpful at all in my situation*, 5=*extremely helpful in my situation*) for each

factor, and the total scores were as follows: CWC-L total ($M= 2.70$), Collective Coping ($M=2.31$); Indirect Coping ($M=2.51$); Spirituality Capital ($M=2.69$); Linguistic Capital ($M=2.22$); Aspiration Capital ($M=3.57$); Social Capital ($M=3.01$); Resistant Capital ($M=3.07$). With regard to the problem selected to rate CWC-L items in Study 1, 39.5% of the sample selected financial difficulties, 22.6% academic difficulties, 11.5% family difficulties, 14.2% relationship difficulties, 6.9% employment difficulties, and 5.4% physical or mental health issues.

Phase IV –Estimates of Concurrent and Construct Validity

Estimates of Concurrent Validity

In terms of concurrent validity, zero order correlation analyses were conducted between the CWC-L scores and three other well-established coping inventories: (1) PSI, (2) PF-SOC, and (3) CCS. See Table 3 for intercorrelation matrix.

The total CWC-L and total PSI were significantly correlated ($r = .10, p < .05$) such that higher helpfulness scores were associated with more positive levels of problem solving appraisal. Additionally, there was several correlations among the CWC-L and PSI scores. The CC factor was significantly related to PSI PSC ($r = .09, p < .05$) indicating higher rates of collective capital were correlated with higher problem-solving confidence. The DMS factor was significantly negatively correlated with the PSI total, AAC, and PC indicating that when indirect coping efforts are utilized, there were more negative levels of problem solving appraisal (r s ranged from $-.12$ -. $.11, p < .01$). The LC factor was positively correlated with PSC indicating higher levels of linguistic capital were correlated with problem-solving confidence. The CRC and PC were positively correlated with PSI total, PSC, and AAS (r s ranged from $-.14$ -. $.36, p < .01$) indicating that higher resilience and friendship support was associated with overall problem-solving appraisal, and specifically problem solving confidence and an approach style. Finally, the CLC was positively correlated with the PSC ($r = .09, p < .05$) and AAC ($r = .17, p < .01$), indicating higher levels of problem solving confidence and approaching problems when individuals remember past struggles. In sum, the CWC-L factors related in to the PSI in conceptually in unique and expected directions.

Another correlation analysis was conducted to examine relationships between the CWC-L total and the seven CWC-L factors and the CCS ARS and AD. The CWC-L total and all seven individual factors were positively and significantly related to the ARS (r s ranged from $.24$ -. $.50$, $p < .01$) indicating higher levels of cultural wealth coping with accepting and enduring difficult life events, reframing them, as well as striving to overcome them. Next, the DMS was positively correlated with AD ($r = .53$, $p < .01$) indicating a correlation between distress management efforts and avoidance and detachment. Finally, the PC was significantly, negatively related to the AD ($r = -.18$, $p < .05$) indicating a relationship between higher social support and lower avoidance and detachment. Thus, the correlations between the CWC-L and the CCS provide strong validity estimates for the CWC-L.

Finally, a correlation analysis between the CWC-L and the PF-SOC was conducted to examine the relationship between the CWC-L and a situation-specific measure of coping. The CWC-L total was positively and significantly related to the PF-SOC Total ($r = .16$, $p < .01$) and RS ($r = .23$, $p < .01$) indicating a relationship between the CWC-L and more resolution of stressful life events, particularly with a reflective style of coping. The CC was also positively related to the PF-SOC Total ($r = .15$, $p < .01$) and the PF-SOC RS ($r = .18$, $p < .01$) suggesting a relationship between collective coping and more resolution of stressful life events and a reflective style of coping. The DMS was significantly, negatively related with PF-SOC total, Reflective Style, Suppressive Style, and Reactive Style which indicates an inverted relationship between higher helpfulness of the DMS and the resolution of stressful life problems (r s = $-.12$ to $-.29$, $p < .05$). The CRC was positively correlated with the PF-SOC total, PF-SOC Reflective Style, Suppressive

Style, and Reactive Style ($r_s = .13$ to $.46$, $p < .05$) indicating that higher helpfulness of CRC was associated with the resolution of stressful life problems, high reflective style coping, and low suppressive or reactive style coping. The PC and CLC was positively and significantly related to the PF-SOC total, PF-SOC Reflective Style and Suppressive Style ($r_s = .12$ to $.30$, $p < .01$) suggesting that the helpfulness of social support and remembering past cultural struggles is related to higher levels of progress towards resolution of life problems. Overall, the results of these correlations indicate that the CWC-L and the PF-SOC share some variance but also have unique variance that indicates that the CWC-L adds to the construct of resolution of stressful life problems.

In summary, the amount of overlap between the CWC-L and two trait-like coping inventories (i.e., PSI and PF-SOC) suggest that these inventories are statistically significantly correlated, but share less than 5% of the variance. Similarly, the CWC-L overlaps with the situation-specific CCS, but sharing up to 25% of the CWC-L variance. Thus, these results suggest that the CWC-L is associated with both well established trait-like and situation specific coping inventories, but also still reflects primarily unique coping dimensions for Latina/os.

Estimates of Construct Validity

The correlations among the CWC-L and the BSI, MSPSS and SWLS were analyzed to provide estimates of construct validity. The CWC-L total was significantly related to MSPSS ($r = .40$, $p < .01$) as were all CWC-L factors ($r_s = -.12$ -.31), with the exception of DMS which had a negative relationship ($r_s = -.15$, $p < .01$), suggesting that higher levels of helpfulness of the CWC-L were associated with to more robust social support systems. The CWC-L and the seven factors were all also positively related to the

SWLS ($r = .11$ to $.35, p < .05$), with the exception of the DMS ($r = -.11, p < .05$), indicating that Latina/o coping as measured by the CWC-L was positively correlated with overall satisfaction with life. Finally, the CWC-L total was not correlated with BSI totals; only the SC was associated the BSI-18 was significantly correlated ($r = .15, p < .05$) indicating higher spirituality was associated with higher levels of psychological distress. In summary, it appears that the helpfulness rating of the CWC-L coping strategies was positively associated with social support and satisfaction with life but not strongly related to psychological distress. Thus, these results suggest that the CWC-L is associated with important life outcomes such as social support and well-being.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to develop and validate a measure of cultural wealth coping for Latina/os. The development of items was rooted in Latina/o cultural values and models of cultural wealth for Communities of Color (Yosso, 2005). The results of the exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses revealed seven conceptually meaningful and stable factors that included 25 items: (a) Collective Capital (CC), (b) Distress Management Strategies (DMS), (c) Spirituality Capital (SC), (d) Linguistic Capital (LC), (e) Cognitive Resilience Capital (CRC), (g) Peer Capital (PC), (f) Cultural Legacy Capital (CLC). The factor loadings across the seven factors ranged from .43 to .90 (See Table 2). In addition, all the alphas were above .70, with one exception (.65; see Table 1). In this section, the following will be discussed: (a) the seven-factor model, (b) validity estimates, (c) limitations and future research, (e) summary and conclusions.

Seven factor-model

The seven factor model showed desirable performance from a test construction perspective. The mean scores of each subscale were very consistent across the two samples (Study 1 and 2). For example, the differences between the means across all seven factors was very small, ranging from .03 to .15. The majority of the factor means were slightly above the midpoint (2.5), ranging between 2.5-3.6. The results indicate that Latina/o individuals tended to rate the items as slightly to moderately helpful and responses tended to be normally distributed. Further, both studies showed variability with regard to the chosen stressful life event with financial difficulties accounting for the majority of the selected problems (34.6-39.5%). In sum, the CWC-L exhibited

considerable variability of scores across Latina/o respondents, and thus exhibited very desirable psychometric properties.

The seven factor model reflected interesting complexities in coping strategies rooted in Latina/o cultural values and asset-focused perspectives. The results suggest coping activities and skills strongly rooted in a collective and social context. In fact, four of seven factors contain themes of close networks (e.g., family or friends) or connection to a the larger group (e.g.,Latina/os). Specifically, the Collective Coping (CC) factor reflects the utilization of such networks in order to solve problems via informational or instrumental support. The factor includes two items that reference family (e.g., *Asked family members if they could help me solve my problem* and *Received material resources from family*). These findings are not surprising given that Latina/o culture is collectivistic and family oriented. As such, many other researchers have noted how interdependence through close and extended networks are an important aspect of coping for Latina/os in a variety of settings (Mulvaney-Day, Alegría, & Sribney, 2007); Perez, Espinoz, Ramos, Coronado, & Cortez, 2009; West, Kantor, & Jasinski, 1998). The remaining items in the factor highlight the importance of networks as a source of information and of instrumental support (e.g., *Asked a few people what resources they used to solve their problems*). Again, research has long documented the intricate and complex ways that Latina/os utilize networks as capital to navigate in this U.S. and through social institutions (Perreira, Chapman, & Stein 2006; Tienda, 1980). In fact, studies regarding job seeking behaviors among Latina/os show that they are more likely than their White or Black counterparts to use informal methods (i.e., networks of friends and relatives) for job seeking (Ports, 1993). In sum, the results support existing research for the central role

of cultural values, and particularly collectivistic networks for Latina/os in coping with difficult life situations and their relationships to outcomes of well-being.

The Distress Management Strategies (DMS) factor pertains to activities related to ignoring, avoiding, enduring, or distracting in order manage difficult life issues. Interestingly, the DMS factor was positively related to other factors and to the CWC-L Total, but inversely related to social support and well-being. The conflicting outcomes are reflected in the current literature for Latina/os. For example, some researchers have posited that passivity or avoidance may be more culturally congruent for individuals from collectivist cultures (Moore & Constantine, 2005) which has been supported in several later studies (Tian, Heppner, & Hou, 2014). Furthermore, some studies have found that in certain situations (e.g., high stress or discriminatory contexts) indirect or more “passive” coping strategies may actually be advantageous or adaptive (e.g., Eduardo & Romero, 2008; Gonzales, Tein, Sandler, & Friedman, 2001). However, numerous studies have found that active coping is associated with better outcomes for Latina/os (Crean, 2004; Crockett, et al., 2007; Gloria, et al., 2005; Gloria, et al., 2009; Holahan, et al., 2006; Kobus & Reyes, 2000; Lee & Tina Liu, 2001; Torres, 2010) while passive coping has been associated with poorer outcomes (Abraido-Lanza, et al., 2004; Culver, et al., 2002; Strug, Mason, & Auerbach, 2009). The present study concludes that these strategies appeared to be rated as helpful but were not positively correlated with established measures that are consistent with resolving stressful life problems. However, it is not clear if individuals who endorsed these items were possibly avoiding further problems by not approaching the problem directly. Future research should focus on understanding this construct more in depth.

Spirituality Capital describes coping strategies related to the practice of religion and/or spirituality to cope with difficult life events. It is important to note that the SC factor showed a strong presence in all of the factor models that were examined (4-8 factor models). Moreover, the SC factor was strongly correlated with accepting, reframing and striving as well as with social support and satisfaction with life. There has been similarly mixed results about whether religious and/or spiritual coping is an active or a passive strategy, with some arguing it to be a passive form of coping, and others finding that may in fact be an active coping strategy utilized by Latina/os (Abraido-Lanza, et al., 2004; Pargament & Park, 1995). The relationships of this study seem to support the former premise. Interestingly, SC was significantly, positively related to psychological distress. This finding is consistent with previous literature that found religious coping can sometimes be ineffective in significantly reducing stress (Dunn & O'Brien, 2009) or even be predictive of increased pain (Alferi, et al., 1999; Edwards, et al., 2005). However, the timing of using religious or spiritual coping should be examined further; for example, religious coping may be utilized for terminal issues (e.g., cancer) when active coping strategies are no longer effective or needed. Given the importance of religious coping within the Latina/o community and the mixed findings of its effects within the literature, further research is needed to better understand the complex functions of religious coping with Latina/os.

The Linguistic Capital (LC) factor refers to the ability of Latina/os to use different languages, dialect, and forms of speech to cope with stressful life situation. The LC factor taps into something that is very unique to the Latina/o community in the U.S. given their exposure to different languages within the home and in other settings. The coping

construct reflected how individuals utilized their language skills and know-how to access more information from their surroundings. Yosso (2005) outlines linguistic capital as a part of her Cultural Wealth model and argued that bilingual or multilingual persons benefit from their linguistic skills through increased memorization, volume, rhythm and artistic communication among other communication skills. Recognizing language as an expandable good, not finite, some researchers have found that the current Latina/o immigrants learning English are less likely than previous generations to abandon their native language (Miron & Inda, 2004; Rosaldo, 1994). Studies have found that language can be an important tool to expand networks and connect with dominant group individuals (Grim-Feinberg, 2007). Future studies could focus on how language functions with regard to emotional connection, cultural identity, and peer capital. This is particularly for the Latina/o population given that language is one of most important components of Latina/o identity (i.e., Latina/os are often grouped together due to language) aside from common cultural values. The present study found that LC capital may have interesting connections to satisfaction with life and increased social support. Furthermore, it was associated with problem solving confidence perhaps as a function of having increased outlets for support and information. In sum, the LC factor demonstrates an important and unique form of coping that may inform how we perceive the benefits of bilingualism and biculturalism.

The Cognitive Resilience Capital (CRC) factor was the highest rated item in terms of helpfulness in both studies. The CRC factor represents using positive thoughts with themes of determination and persistence to cope with difficult life situations. Yosso (2005) defined aspirational capital as the ability of communities of color to “maintain

hopes and dreams for the future, even in the face of real and perceived barriers” (p. 77). Career psychology and, more recently, positive psychology has focused on the benefits of optimism, hope and high aspirations. For example, optimism and hope have been linked to greater satisfaction in interpersonal relationships, more effective coping, lower incidence of depression, and better physical health (Abramson, et al., 2000; Fincham, 2000; Nolen-Hoeksema, 2000; Peterson, 2000; Snyder & Lopez, 2007). In the present study, the AC factor was highly correlated to outcomes of well-being, social support, and problem solving effectiveness. Moreover, it was strongly related to success in resolving difficult life problems. The importance of this factor for Latina/os should be further explored as higher scores on this factor seems to make a significant impact on overall well-being and problem resolution. It would be important to explore if this factor is tapping into a general disposition or specific skills (e.g., persistence, grit) that can be taught and activated when stressors arise.

The Peer Capital (PC) describes the use of social networks to receive emotional and instrumental support. The PC factor was also very highly correlated with measures of well-being, social support, and problem resolution. Although the how, why and the degree to which social capital is beneficial for people is largely debated in the literature (Portes, 2000), decades of research have linked social support to better physical outcomes, psychological adjustment and effective coping (Schwarzer & Leppin, 1989; Smith, et al., 1994; Heppner, et al., In Review). As for Latina/os, social support research has found a more direct effect of decreasing stressors as social support networks often provide resources beyond emotional support. This concept is illustrated by the item *Joined efforts with friends to resolve my problem*. It is important to note that the

interdependence in social relationships versus family may change as a result of acculturation, with more acculturated Latina/os reporting higher levels of support seeking outside the family structure (Rueschenberg & Buriel, 1989; Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin, & Perez-Stable, 1987). However, the present study did not find significant relationships between acculturation and the PC factor. Finally, although numerous studies have noted links between social support and physical or mental health outcomes, the present study did not find significant correlations to depression, anxiety, or somatic symptoms of psychological distress. Clearly, much more research is needed to examine the role of peers in Latina/o coping.

The final factor is the Cultural Legacy Capital (CLC) factor. Yosso (2005) defines resistance capital as the “knowledges and skills fostered through oppositional behavior that challenges inequality” (pg. 80). Resistant capital encompasses a variety of aspects including passing on community cultural wealth and the motivation to transform oppressive structures. The items that remained in the factor reflected themes of remembering previous struggles and being motivated by the sacrifices of others. The CLC factor was highly endorsed in the CWC-L scale in both Sample 1 and 2. The Cultural Wealth Model (Yosso, 2005) is largely theoretical and thus, coping strategies related to CLC have not been assessed or examined empirically. The present study found that CLC coping strategies are highly endorsed as helpful in respect to other strategies. Further, the present study found connections between high rates of CLC coping and high levels of resolving life problems and problem solving-appraisal. It also correlated with well-being and social support. Interestingly, CLC coping was highly inversely related to acculturation in a negative direction. That is, the more acculturated to White Anglo

culture a person becomes the less likely they are to use high levels of CLC coping. This finding might suggest that Latina/os may lose this important form of coping as they become more integrated into mainstream American society. More research is needed on this factor to continue to explore its utility in coping and stress management.

Limitations and Future Directions

There are number of limitations that should be considered when interpreting the results of this study. First, the data collection procedure and format should be considered and perhaps addressed in future study. The present study utilized an online format which may have biased the sample to a younger, more tech-savy audience. In this day in age, internet access continues to be a privilege for many and thus, it should be acknowledged that importance voices may not have had the opportunity to contribute to this study through their participation. Future studies with the CWC-L scale should consider issues of sampling to test the factor structure with older and less technology adept groups of Latina/os. Another strong bias within the sample is the large majority of the sample being of Mexican origin. Future studies could expand samples to include larger groups of other Latina/o origins to test the psychometric properties of CWC-L with different Latina/os that are less represented in this study (e.g., Cubans, Dominican, Puerto Rican).

Furthermore, the present study did not find a significant linear relationship between the CWC-L scores and psychological distress. It is important to further examine the predictive outcome of the CWC-L for measures of physical or psychological to explore applications of the inventory with these important constructs as well as examine more complex relations among these constructs. Other inventories that may help us

further understand the CWC-L would be other measures of acculturation, social support, and social adeptness.

Summary and Conclusion

Recent coping research have called for a more expanded and diversified understanding of coping that is responsive to individuals' social and cultural context (Coyne & Racioppo, 2000; Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004; Heppner et al., 2006, 2013). The development of a Cultural Wealth Coping inventory for Latina/os provided a new dimension of coping how Latina/os utilize cultural strengths and inherent cultural capital to manage and cope with difficult life situations. Broadening the discussion on coping by incorporating an asset-focused and culturally-based conceptualization may help us better understand the full spectrum of coping within Latina/o culture and other minority cultures typically viewed from deficit perspectives.

The results of the present study indicates that Cultural Wealth Coping in Latina/os is best depicted in a seven-factor model. Overall, the results of this study indicate that when Latina/o individuals find the CC, DMS, SC, LC, CRC, PC, and CLC activities helpful, they were more likely to report a high degree of problem solving efficacy and resolution of life problems. The scale differs from previous coping inventories as it is focused and rooted in Latina/o culture and draws from models of cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005). The results of this study support previous literature that emphasizes relying on close-knit family and friendship networks in order to pull emotional and instrumental support to solve everyday difficulties. The present study expands current coping knowledge by addressing: (a) the importance of the collective in coping among Latina/os, (b) unique aspects of coping more specific to Latina/os and Communities of Color such

as linguistic and resistant capital, (c) an example of a scale construction that was rooted in cultural consciousness and linguistic equivalence.

The CWC-L aims to expand the current literature within and outside of the construct of coping to make room for strength and culturally-based when examining Latina/o problem solving. The premise that Communities of Color are not lacking cultural capital was central to the conceptualization of this inventory and study.

Additional research is needed to further explore and understand how Latina/os and other marginalized groups use cultural assets and cultural values passed down from generations to cope with stressful life situations in spite of significant barriers.

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Table 1. *Intercorrelations Among Factors of the CWC-L*

Factor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	–						
2	.002	–					
3	-.256	-.125	–				
4	.363	.195	-.264	–			
5	-.199	-.200	.286	-.243	–		
6	-.401	-.089	.090	-.328	.231	–	
7	.333	.147	-.174	.391	-.222	-.314	–

Note. CWC-L = Cultural Wealth Coping Scale for Latin/os

Table 2. *Items, Factor Loading, Community Estimates, and Alpha Coefficients for the Seven-Factor Model EFA*

25 Items ($\alpha = .87$)	Seven-factor oblique model			
	Factor loading	h^2	M	SD
Factor 1: Collective Capital (CC; 5 items: $\alpha = .75$)			2.24	1.27
5 Asked family members if they could help me solve my problem.	.65	.57	2.43	1.34
14 Looked for information in public places (e.g. supermarket, churches).	.58	.46	1.97	1.16
4 Received material resources from family.	.56	.37	2.26	1.38
13 Asked a few people what resources they used to solve their problems.	.54	.43	2.66	1.33
25 Took initiative and organized people from my culture to overcome our problems.	.49	.49	1.88	1.13
Factor 2: Distress Management Strategies (DMS; 5 items: $\alpha = .68$)			2.48	1.27
39 Made efforts to not think about my problem.	.59	.35	2.64	1.23
49 Acted like everything was okay.	.53	.48	2.68	1.25
47 Endured my sadness and pain in silence.	.51	.34	2.27	1.24
38 Avoided places or people that reminded me of my problem.	.51	.28	2.33	1.28
37 Distracted myself with games (e.g., cards, computer games) to not think about the problem.	.49	.32	2.49	1.35
Factor 3: Spirituality Capital (SC; 3 items: $\alpha = .84$)			2.54	1.48
42 Prayed to God, Saints or family members who are no longer living for help.	-.90	.80	2.83	1.58
41 Decided to leave things in the hands of God or destiny.	-.78	.64	2.67	1.48
43 Read Biblical or spiritual readings to remain strong and optimistic.	-.75	.63	2.13	1.39
Factor 4: Linguistic Capital (LC; 3 items: $\alpha = .74$)			2.22	1.33
9 Used another language, dialect, or informal words to speak with people that could help me.	.78	.61	2.09	1.32
6 Used words and phrases in another language to better express myself.	.72	.56	2.41	1.34
7 Used communication media (e.g., television, Internet, radio) in another language.	.45	.31	2.16	1.32
Factor 5: Cognitive Resilience Capital (3 items: $\alpha = .69$)			3.53	1.22
16 Kept my hopes and dreams alive during difficult times.	-.61	.56	3.72	1.17
18 Continued to seek possible solutions in spite of difficulties.	-.53	.46	3.61	1.23
15 Thought about how I solved similar situations in the past.	-.47	.42	3.25	1.25

Factor 6: Peer Capital (PC; 3 items: $\alpha = .81$)			2.93	1.28
26 Sought emotional support from friends.	-.78	.66	3.10	1.29
28 Talked to friends to receive advice and gain new perspectives regarding my problem.	-.77	.62	3.24	1.26
29 Joined efforts with friends to resolve my problem.	-.59	.55	2.47	1.29
Factor 7: Cultural Legacy Capital (CLC; 3 items: $\alpha = .81$)			3.12	1.37
24 Remembered all the things I or people from my culture have overcome successfully in the past (e.g., racism, oppression).	.67	.56	2.80	1.37
21 Reminded myself of all the sacrifices people have made to overcome obstacles (e.g., oppression, racism) so that I could succeed.	.66	.61	3.21	1.42
23 Remembered that I am not alone in my struggle and that other people from my culture have also gone through difficult things.	.43	.47	3.34	1.32

Note. N= 282. h^2 = communality estimates

Table 3. *Summary Data and Bivariate Correlations for the Cultural Wealth Coping Scale for Latinos, Problem Solving Inventory, Collectivistic Coping Scale, Satisfaction with Life Scale, Problem Focused Style of Coping Scale, Multidimensional Scale of Social Support, Brief Symptoms Inventory-18, Psychological Acculturation Scale, Sex, and Age*

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. CWC-L Total	—											
2. CC	.73**	—										
3. DMS	.48**	.14**	—									
4. SC	.57**	.30**	.17**	—								
5. LC	.64**	.42**	.19**	.27**	—							
6. CRC	.66**	.42**	.18**	.24**	.31**	—						
7. PC	.61**	.45**	.10**	.19**	.28**	.43**	—					
8. CLC	.68**	.42**	.16**	.28**	.43**	.45**	.30**	—				
9. PSI Total	.10*	.06	-.12**	-.02	.02	.36**	.15**	.082	—			
10. PSI PSC	.13*	.09*	.05	-.03	.10*	.35**	.14**	.088*	.81**	—		
11. PSI AAS	.13*	.07	-.11**	.02	.03	.36**	.20**	.116**	.85**	.49**	—	
12. PSI PC	-.09*	-.03	-.12**	-.06	-.11*	.07	-.04	-.054	.67**	.45**	.32**	—
13. CCS ARS	.50**	.29**	.31**	.32**	.24**	.46**	.27**	.314**	.27**	.27**	.25**	.10
14. CCS AD	.13	-.058	.53**	.10	.04	.06	-.18*	.015	-.03	.08	-.04	-.04
15. SWLS	.20**	.12**	-.11*	.11*	.11*	.35**	.24**	.154**	.35**	.34**	.27**	.23**
16. PFSOC RfS	.23**	.19**	-.12*	.06	.08	.46**	.30**	.158**	.60**	.43**	.61**	.29**
17. PFSOC SS	.04	.07	-.29**	.08	.01	.22**	.14**	.049	.55**	.50**	.41**	.40**
18. PFSOC ReS	.05	.06	-.13*	.05	.06	.13*	.08	.022	.43**	.38**	.25**	.44**
19. PFSOC Total	.16**	.15**	-.24**	.08	.07	.39**	.25**	.115*	.73**	.59**	.60**	.50**
20. MSPSS	.28**	.31**	-.15**	.15**	.12*	.28**	.40**	.170**	.22**	.18**	.22**	.09
21. BSI GSI	.12	.09	.12	.15*	.06	-.05	.04	.096	-.32**	-.29**	-.15*	-.38**
22. PAS	-.16**	-.10*	.05	-.11*	-.26**	-.07	-.06	-.251**	.05	.04	-.01	.12**
23. Sex	.07	-.04	.06	.11**	.04	.04	.08	.013	-.05	-.10*	.01	-.05
24. Age	-.16**	-.15**	-.22**	.00	-.12**	-.02	-.04	-.090*	.26**	.16**	.22**	.23**
M	67.16	11.36	12.47	7.84	6.60	10.65	8.92	9.29	53.60	18.95	27.74	6.91
SD	15.52	4.24	4.20	3.91	3.12	2.68	3.29	3.45	8.28	3.27	4.60	2.59

Note. $N = 541$. CWC-L=Cultural Wealth Coping with Latina/os; CC=Collective Capital; DMS= Distress Management Strategies; SC= Spirituality Capital; LC=Linguistic Capital; CRC=Cognitive Resilience Capital; PC=Peer Capital; CLC=Cultural Legacy Capital; PSI Total= Problem Solving Inventory; PSC=Problem Solving Confidence; AAS=Approach-Avoidance Style; PC=Personal Control; CCS ARS= Collectivistic Coping Scale Acceptance, Reframing, Striving; CCS AD= Collectivistic Coping Scale Avoidance and Detachment; SWLS=Satisfaction with Life Scale; RfS= Problem-Focused Style of Coping Reflective Style; SS= Problem-Focused Style of Coping Suppressive Style; ReS= Problem-Focused Style of Coping Reactive Style; PF-SOC=Problem-Focused Style of Coping Total; BSI GSI=Brief Symptom Inventory-18 Global Symptoms Index; PAS=Psychological Acculturation Scale
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. C. Cannot be computed because at least one of the variables is constant

Table 3. Summary Data and Bivariate Correlations for the Cultural Wealth Coping for Latinos Scale, Problem Solving Inventory, Collectivistic Coping Scale, Satisfaction with Life Scale, Problem Focused Style of Coping Scale, Multidimensional Scale of Social Support, Brief Symptoms Inventory-18, Psychological Acculturation Scale, Sex, and Age

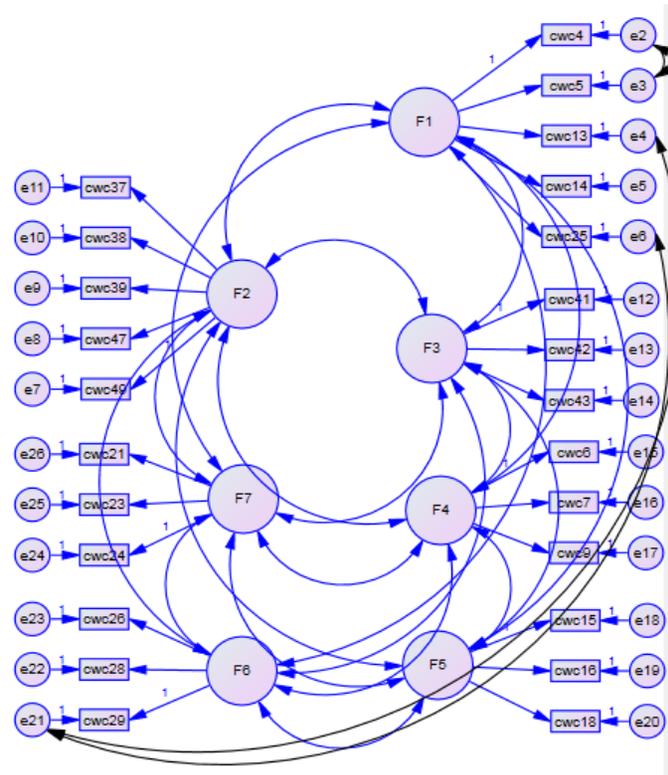
Variable	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
1. CWC-L Total												
2. CWC-L CC												
3. CWC-L DMS												
4. CWC-L SC												
5. CWC-L LC												
6. CWC-L CRC												
7. CWC-L PC												
8. CWC-L CLC												
9. PSI Total												
10. PSI PSC												
11. PSI AAS												
12. PSI PC												
13. CCS ARS	—											
14. CCS AD	.34**	—										
15. SWLS	.21**	-.15*	—									
16. PFSOC RfS	C	C	.38**	—								
17. PFSOC SS	C	C	.34**	.31**	—							
18. PFSOC ReS	C	C	.27**	.10	.60**	—						
19. PFSOC	C	C	.45**	.71**	.87**	.70**	—					
20. MSPSS	C	C	.32**	.28**	.19**	.06	.25**	—				
21. BSI GSI	-.02	.12	-.46**	C	C	C	C	C	—			
22. PAS	.03	-.04	-.05	.04	-.01	.04	.03	-.13*	-.06	—		
23. Sex	.01	-.16*	.02	.01	.00	-.07	-.02	.19**	-.06	.07	—	
24. Age	-.07	-.03	.16**	.16**	.21**	.12*	.22**	.05	-.10	-.00	-.09*	—
M	3.15	2.10	4.82	23.55	23.55	17.50	64.43	5.51	32.78	4.17	1.73	3.21
SD	.99	1.32	1.25	5.85	4.40	4.18	10.68	1.11	12.16	1.12	.44	2.09

Note. N = 541. CWC-L=Cultural Wealth Coping with Latina/os; CC=Collective Capital; DMS= Distress Management Strategies; SC= Spirituality Capital; LC= Linguistic Capital; CRC=Cognitive Resilience Capital; PC=Peer Capital; CLC=Cultural Legacy Capital; PSI Total= Problem Solving Inventory; PSC=Problem

Solving Confidence; AAS=Approach-Avoidance Style; PC=Personal Control; CCS ARS= Collectivistic Coping Scale Acceptance, Reframing, Striving; CCS AD= Collectivistic Coping Scale Avoidance and Detachment; SWLS=Satisfaction with Life Scale; RfS= Problem-Focused Style of Coping Reflective Style; SS= Problem-Focused Style of Coping Suppressive Style; ReS= Problem-Focused Style of Coping Reactive Style; PF-SOC=Problem-Focused Style of Coping Total; BSI GSI=Brief Symptom Inventory-18 Global Symptoms Index; PAS=Psychological Acculturation Scale

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. C. Cannot be computed because at least one of the variables is constant

Figure 1. *The Seven-factor Model of the CWC-L Scale*



Note. F1= Collective Capital, F2= Distress Management Strategies, F3= Spirituality Capital, F4= Linguistic Capital, F5=Cognitive Resilience Capital, F6=Peer Capital, F7=Cultural Legacy Capital

Appendix A. Cultural Wealth Coping Scale for Latina/os

We all face difficulties in our lives and make attempts to overcome them. To answer the following questions, select one situation from the list below that has been the most stressful to you in the past 6 months:

- Financial Difficulties
- Academic Difficulties
- Family Difficulties
- Relationship Difficulties
- Employment Difficulties
- Physical or Mental Health Difficulties

Please keep this problem in mind as you answer the next set of questions. For all of the following questions, think about the stressful situation you checked above. Rate how helpful the following statements were in managing this stressful situation using the following:

- 1=Not helpful at all in my situation
 2=Slightly helpful in my situation
 3=Moderately helpful in my situation
 4=Very helpful in my situation
 5=Extremely helpful in my situation

1. Asked family members if they could help me solve my problem.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Looked for information in public places (e.g. supermarket, churches).	1	2	3	4	5
3. Received material resources from family.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Asked a few people what resources they used to solve their problems.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Took initiative and organized people from my culture to overcome our problems.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Made efforts to not think about my problem.	1	2	3	4	5

7. Acted like everything was okay.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Endured my sadness and pain in silence.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Avoided places or people that reminded me of my problem.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Distracted myself with games (e.g., cards, computer games) to not think about the problem.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Prayed to God, Saints or family members who are no longer living for help.	1	2	3	4	5
12. Decided to leave things in the hands of God or destiny.	1	2	3	4	5
13. Read Biblical or spiritual readings to remain strong and optimistic.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Used another language, dialect, or informal words to speak with people that could help me.	1	2	3	4	5
15. Used words and phrases in another language to better express myself.	1	2	3	4	5
16. Used communication media (e.g., television, Internet, radio) in another language.	1	2	3	4	5
17. Kept my hopes and dreams alive during difficult times.	1	2	3	4	5
18. Continued to seek possible solutions in spite of difficulties.	1	2	3	4	5
19. Thought about how I solved similar situations in the past.	1	2	3	4	5
20. Sought emotional support from friends.	1	2	3	4	5
21. Talked to friends to receive advice and gain new perspectives regarding my problem.	1	2	3	4	5

22. Joined efforts with friends to resolve my problem.	1	2	3	4	5
23. Remembered all the things I or people from my culture have overcome successfully in the past (e.g., racism, oppression).	1	2	3	4	5
24. Reminded myself of all the sacrifices people have made to overcome obstacles (e.g., oppression, racism) so that I could succeed.	1	2	3	4	5
25. Remembered that I am not alone in my struggle and that other people from my culture have also gone through difficult things.	1	2	3	4	5

Scoring:

Familial Capital = Items 1-5. Sum item scores (range 5-25)

Distress Management Strategies= Items 6-11 (range 5-25)

Spirituality Capital= Items 11-13 (range 3-9)

Linguistic Capital= Items 14-16(range 3-9)

Cognitive Resilience Capital= Items 18-20 (range 3-9)

Peer Capital= Items 20-22 (range 3-9)

Cultural Legacy Capital= 23-25 (range 3-9)

Total CWC-L Score: Sum all items scores

Interpretation of Score:

Higher scores indicate higher coping using cultural assets.

Appendix B. Expanded Literature Review Article

The unique cultural adaptations of Latinos, however, have not been adequately explored. Rather, culture has been confused with poverty and its correlates. [We advocate and encourage] a process of intellectual discourse that places culture in a framework of strength, so as to separate the role of culture from the determinants and consequences of poverty. (Massey, Zambrana, & Alonzo Bell, 1995, pp. 190-191)

In the past decade, the field of psychology has experienced a paradigm shift that has increasingly advanced the notion that human's strengths and virtues merit as much attention as their pathology, maladjustment and mental illness (Snyder & Lopez, 2007). Historically, deficit models have been used to explain why those in the lower ranks of society (i.e. the poor, racial/ethnic minorities, the mentally and physically disabled) fail to move upward in society. Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977) theory of cultural capital argued that reproduction of wealth among the higher classes was a not merely a function of their financial capital, but also of the access to social and cultural resources within their privileged circles. In the 21st century, Bourdieu's theory has been extended to draw conclusions regarding disparities among Communities of Color in the U.S. However, merely focusing on the deficits of populations of Color paints a picture of communities that are "culturally poor" and leaves a conceptual gap as to how these populations manage to navigate the U.S. system in the face of great adversity and social and economic obstacles.

One model that has moved away from deficit thinking and towards a more holistic understanding of the resources of communities of color is the Community Cultural Wealth model (Yosso, 2005). Drawing from Oliver and Shapiro's (1995) work that differentiated White wealth and Black wealth, Yosso developed a model that maintains that Communities of Color are not culturally poor. The Community Cultural Wealth model incorporates six capital domains. *Aspirational capital* describes the ability of Communities of Color to hold on to hopes and dreams in spite of the significant barriers they face in the U.S. *Familial capital* is described as the support and cultural knowledge that is nurtured within the family unit. *Social capital* refers to the resources and various types of support available through peer and social networks. *Navigational capital* accounts for the skills people of Color mobilize in order to move through the various institutions in the U.S. in spite of financial and linguistic barriers. *Resistant capital* describes skills gathered through a history of resisting oppression in Communities of Color. Finally, *linguistic capital* refers to skills and resources acquired as a result of knowing more than one language. In sum, given that Communities of Color lack cultural capital as defined by majority culture they acquire and mobilize other forms of capital in order to survive and thrive.

Latina/os comprise 16 percent of the U.S. population and it is estimated that they will grow to comprise nearly 30.2 percent of the U.S. population (132.8 million) by the year 2050 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). Between 2000 and 2010, the Latina/o population grew by 43 percent which is over four times the growth in the total population. Latina/os are also a relatively young population with a median age of 27.7 years of age. Latina/os of Mexican origin are the largest represented group (64%) followed by Puerto Ricans

(9%), Cubans (3.5%), Salvadorian (3.1%) and Dominican (2.7%). It is important to note that each ethnic group within the Latina/o population has unique immigration histories to the U.S. (i.e. illegal immigration vs. refugee status). While Latina/os are a heterogeneous group comprised of various nationalities and races, they share a common language and cultural values.

The sharp demographic changes coupled with economically trying times in the U.S. have increased anti-immigrant sentiment and xenophobia (Miron & Inda, 2004). Unfortunately, Latina/o immigrants have bared the brunt of such attitudes. Unlike immigrants from Asian countries who often benefit socially from the “model minority” stereotype/myth, Latina/os are more likely to be stereotyped as criminals and seen as burdens to the system (Villenas & Deyhle, 1999). However, in spite of significant social, economic, and cultural barriers, Latina/os continue to immigrate to the U.S. and are increasingly becoming integral parts of the American education system and labor force. Also, although the statistics are not dramatic and certainly lag behind those of White Americans, general indicators of quality of life such as income and educational attainment for 2nd and 3rd generation Latina/os are steadily increasing (Suro & Passel, 2003).

It is seemingly clear that Latina/os are able to find ways to combat oppression and create spaces for themselves and their families in this country and that previous generations continue to progress in American society. What is less clear is how Latina/os utilize their cultural wealth to cope with the very real and significant barriers they face. While many studies have examined varying forms of capital, few have examined the cultural wealth of communities of Color, and particularly for Latina/os. A review of the

literature will be provided to examine previous definitions of cultural capital and a more recent conceptualization of the construct. Yosso's (2005) model of Community Cultural Wealth will be further dissected to investigate the relevance of the six forms of capital (i.e. aspirational, social, familial, linguistic, navigational and resistant capital) with regard Latina/o population coping and psychological adjustment in the U.S. Finally, existing literature on coping within the Latina/o population will be reviewed.

Review of the Literature

Latina/o Population in the U.S.

While Latina/os are the fastest growing minority group in the U.S. they are more likely to live in poverty and have lower educational attainment than their White, Black and Asian counterparts. In spite of significant barriers experienced in this country, Latina/os continue to immigrate to this country and continue to comprise a large part of the occupational and education sectors.

With regard to physical health, Latina/os generally have lower mortality rates as compared to other racial/ethnic minority groups in the U.S. (Pew, 2002) Latina/os are less likely to smoke than Whites and are less likely to report excessive alcohol intake. With regard to diet, due to high poverty rates among the population, food insufficiency is often problematic for the population and obesity is more prevalent among Latina/os than Whites. The Pew Hispanic Center (2002) also reports that Latina/os are less likely to be insured and experience high rates of stress that may be detrimental to physical and emotional health. Interestingly, as Latina/o immigrants acculturate they are more likely to have poor health, this phenomenon has been termed the "Latina/o Paradox" (Abraído-

Lanza, Chao, & Fiurez, 2005). Unfortunately this paradox may mean that future generations of Latina/os may experience a decline in health outcomes.

The Problem with Cultural Capital

Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital moved away from former theories of achievement based in natural abilities or human capital investments and began accounting for the investment of time and cultural resources that allowed students from higher classes to succeed in school (Bourdieu, 2001; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). As a result of the limited access to cultural capital by those in lower classes, the reproduction of the social structure that favored the wealthy would persist.

While Bourdieu's theories were essential for deepening the discourse on social reproduction, his theories have more recently been utilized in education to explain disparities in communities of Color (Yosso, 2005). Researchers have critiqued existing research on cultural capital since it narrowly defines cultural capital as a limited number of elite cultural practices. As the traits conducive to White middle class upward mobility have become the standard definition of cultural capital, communities of Color have been viewed as "culturally poor" which has promoted deficit theorizing with regard to social problems experienced by these communities. Deficit oriented thinking has resulted in overlooking of inherent strengths and resources that communities of Color utilize in order to survive and combat numerous barriers within society.

Theoretical Framework: A Model of Community Cultural Wealth

As discussed above, models of cultural wealth have largely focused on asset accumulation as well as the cultural knowledge, skills and abilities possessed by privileged groups (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Oliver & Shapiro, 1995). In an effort to

move beyond narrow definitions of cultural wealth and capture cultural strengths used in *Communities of Color*, (Yosso, 2005) created a model of Community Cultural Wealth (CCW). Drawing on Oliver and Shapiro's (1995) model that differentiated income (money) and wealth (total accumulated assets), Yosso parallels this relationship between cultural capital and community cultural wealth (CCW). Based in an extensive review of studies examining the variety of capita communities of Color mobilize to cope and thrive in the U.S., Yosso posits that CCW is composed of 6 forms of capital including Aspirational Capital, Familial Capital, Social Capital, Navigational Capital, Resistant Capital and Linguistic Capital. Yosso notes that these forms of capital are not static but rather a dynamic process that builds on itself in order to create community cultural wealth.

By moving away from definitions that solely focus on asset accumulation valued by privileged groups, recognizing assets within communities of Color can help identify the ways in which these populations negotiate their experiences in the face of structural barriers. The present study will examine the fit of the Community Cultural Wealth model with the Latina/o population.

Community Cultural Wealth. Guided by Yosso's (2005) domains of Community Cultural Wealth, an examination of the various forms of capital Latina/os mobilize to cope with psychological, social and emotional stressors will be further examined. Implications for psychological and physiological well-being will also be discussed when relevant.

Aspirational Capital. Yosso (2005) defined aspirational capital as the ability of communities of color to "maintain hopes and dreams for the future, even in the face of

real and perceived barriers” (p. 77). Yosso draws on the work of Gandara (1995; 1982) identifying this form of capital. Gandara (1995) discusses how Latina mothers were imparting cultural capital as they conveyed their aspirations for their children through story telling; thus, challenging traditional definitions of cultural capital.

Similar to Gandara’s work, A qualitative study with 10 Latina/o youth and their parents found that a relationship existed between parent aspirations and that of their adolescent (Behnke, Piercy, & Diversi, 2004). Parents who had higher occupational and educational goals for themselves (i.e. learning English, completing a technical degree) had children who aspired to higher-level jobs and degrees. Similarly, students with parents with low aspirations had lower aspirations for themselves. Findings from this study indicate the importance of parent’s aspirations for themselves beyond their aspirations for their children.

Furthermore, a study comparing resilient Latina/o youth versus non-resilient Latina/o youth with similar home and school characteristics found that resilient youth had significantly higher academic aspirations than those students classified as non-resilient (Waxman, Huang, & Padron, 1997). Other variables that were related highly to the differences between resilient and non-resilient Latina/o students were expectations of not being held back in school, motivation and satisfaction with their classes. It is important to note that the authors of this study used math grades and test scores to categorize resilient versus non-resilient students; it is possible that some students could be resilient with regard to one subject and not others. Nonetheless, the research supports the idea that aspirations are connected with performance and goal attainment.

Career psychology and, more recently, positive psychology has focused on the benefits of optimism, hope and high aspirations. For example, optimism and hope have been linked to greater satisfaction in interpersonal relationships, more effective coping, lower incidence of depression, and better physical health (Abramson, et al., 2000; Fincham, 2000; Nolen-Hoeksema, 2000; Peterson, 2000; Snyder & Lopez, 2007). While high aspirations have been consistently linked to academic success for both White and non-White children, little is known regarding the positive or negative effects of high aspirations outside of education in the Latina/o community.

Familial Capital. The Community Cultural Wealth model defines familial capital as the cultural knowledge fostered among kin (*familia*). For Latina/os family may encompass several generations and a wide range of individuals including immediate family, extended family and fictive kin (*compadriazgo*). As a collectivistic culture, Latina/o families place high value on interdependence in order to solve problems and conflicts (Falicov, 2000). Several studies have noted that Latina/os favor receiving emotional support from family members over people outside the extended family (Keefe, Padilla, & Carlos, 1979; West, Kantor, & Jasinski, 1998). Consequently, the family is the center of emotional and instrumental support and thus, represents an important form of capital in Latina/o communities.

A close examination of Mexican-American families demonstrated that these families were more likely than Whites to have higher numbers of family living in their community and has family members from three or more generations nearby (Keefe, et al., 1979). Both Whites and Mexican-Americans were likely to turn to their family for help but Whites were more likely to look outside of the family for emotional support. Given

the increased reliance on the family and extended kin for informal support, Latina/os with little familial support may experience more distress and isolation than White Americans. As noted in the previous study, familial capital may also have important implications for mental health. A study by (Mulvaney-Day, Alegría, & Sribney, 2007) examined various forms of support, including familial support, and its effects on perceived physical and mental health ratings with a diverse sample of Latina/os which included Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Mexican and other Latina/o drawn from the National Latino and Asian American Study (NLASS). The study findings indicate that the relationship between family support and mental health is robust and provides a protective effect regardless language proficiency and SES. It is important to note that the emphasis on family may change as a result of acculturation, with more acculturated Latina/os reporting higher levels of support seeking outside the family structure (Rueschenberg & Buriel, 1989; Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin, & Perez-Stable, 1987).

Family networks play an instrumental role in the immigration of Latina/os. In a study of 820 Mexican immigrants interviewed upon legal entrance into the U.S., 98 percent of the sample reported that family and friends would meet them upon their arrival (Tienda, 1980). Familial ties in the states facilitated adjustment in the U.S. by providing emotional support or financial aid and linking immigrants to the host culture. While a three-year follow-up showed that Latina/o immigrants with family connections in the U.S. were not better off financially, it is believed that immigrants with family experienced more socio-emotional gains.

With regard to education, several studies have found that familial support serves as a protective factor for Latina/o students. One study of undocumented Latina/o college

students found that high-risk students who had higher levels of external support (i.e., parents and friends that value school, a dual parent household, volunteerism, extra curricular participation) had comparable GPA's to students who were categorized as low-risk (Perez, Espinoza, Ramos, Coronado, & Cortes, 2009). The study findings support the notion that family and social support may serve as a buffer to high-stress situations, including college attendance. Similarly, Torres & Solberg (2001), found that Latina/o college students who had higher levels of available family support also had high levels of academic self-efficacy. The results indicate "family support likely produces a self-identity capable of perceiving life transitions as challenges, rather than threats..." (p. 61).

Psychology has long recognized the importance of the family with regard to coping and well-being (Hamilton, et al., 1980). While the psychological benefits of family are not unique to Latina/os, for Latina/os experiencing high stress as a result of migration or transition into new environments (i.e., college) the families importance becomes magnified.

Linguistic Capital. Yosso (2005) outlines linguistic capital as "the intellectual and social skills attained through communication experiences in more than lone language and/or style" (p. 78). Yosso argues that bilingual or multilingual persons benefit from their linguistic skills through increased memorization, volume, rhythm and artistic communication among other communication skills. Recognizing language an expandable, not finite, good some researchers argue that the current Latina/o immigrants learning English are less likely than previous generations to abandon their native language (Miron & Inda, 2004; Rosaldo, 1994).

In fact, studies have shown that if bilingualism is fostered in children they develop cognitive flexibility that proves useful with regard to literacy and performance in nonverbal tasks (Hakuta & Diaz, 1985; Hamers, 2004; Smith, et al., 1994). A large scale study of 236 bilingual children of Latina/o descent found that these children played a critical role in negotiating and attaining access to resources for their parents and families (Orellana, Dorner, & Pulido, 2003). Extensive interviews and participant observations revealed that language-brokering children acquired knowledge and information for their Spanish-speaking families in various domains including medical/health, housing/residential and financial/employment. However, language brokering no only benefits the family of the bilingual child, it also benefits the child themselves. Through regular translating and paraphrasing from English to Spanish, children are able to interact in very sophisticated with the outer sphere as evidenced by their advanced knowledge of legal, health and financial matters. Furthermore, research also shows that these students benefit with regard to school literacy practices (Orellana, Reynolds, Dorner, & Meza, 2003). Given that child translators are often faced with diverse home literary (e.g. reading rental applications, community announcements, school letters, financial information, medical information) tasks in addition to schoolwork they are actively exposed to higher-level words and challenging content. Additionally, language-brokering students are practicing higher-level literacy skills including translation and paraphrasing. While children in the study sometimes disliked translation tasks, they recognized that their work was valuable and felt a sense satisfaction as a result.

Beyond the cognitive benefits of bilingualism or multilingualism are the social gains that result from such a skill. By investigating the language and social networks of

Mexicans residing in Riverdale, New York, (Grim-Feinberg, 2007) found that through a variety of linguistic interactions bilingual immigrants maintained their connections with their own sociolinguistic networks (i.e. other Spanish speaking individuals) and established connection with dominant group individuals. Since most migrant adults had low English proficiency and few connections with the English-speaking community, they were dependent on those who were able to navigate both spheres. Thus, those who were bilingual increased their social networks with English-speakers and maintained linguistic ties to their immigrant communities in order to assist in accessing outside resources.

Navigational Capital. Navigational capital is defined as the “skills of maneuvering through social institutions” (Yosso, 2005, p. 80). Yosso further defines navigational capital as the ability to be resilient while navigating institutions that were not created for Communities of Color and the knowledge that is gained from these experiences.

Congruent with Yosso’s theorized navigational capital, studies have found that Latina/os navigate systems and are resilient in spite of significant barriers. (Perreira, Chapman, & Stein, 2006) examined the barriers that immigrant parents face as they raise their children in a new cultural context. Qualitative interviews showed that parents experienced a significant loss of familial and financial capital in their transitions to the U.S. Latina/o immigrant parents also faced challenges due to language and shifting power roles between themselves and their children who were quickly acculturating. However, the study also found that new immigrant parents were able to be find resources to overcome many of these challenges. For example, parents sought help with parenting by actively seeking and connecting with community structures (i.e. churches, Latino

community centers, school groups) to find their children tutoring or mental health counseling.

The ability to effectively navigate through institutions may have important implications for coping and psychological adjustment. Latina/os also actively use their social networks to leverage access to resources, such as employment, that they may not access individually. In fact, studies regarding job seeking behaviors among Latina/os show that they are more likely than their White or Black counterparts to use informal methods (i.e., networks of friends and relatives) for job seeking (Ports, 1993). Furthermore, a qualitative study of Latina/o parents assisting their children in attaining college degrees showed that some parents were better able to provide their student with navigational capital (Auerbach, 2007). Parents where who had lower levels of formal education tended to provide their students with moral support, whereas parents with more education and social resources were able to gather information to assist their students in navigating the college application process. It is important to note, however, that although Latina/o parents with higher education levels and social resources were more successful in acquiring tools for their students Beyond the tangible resources, internal resources such as the belief that one is resilient may also be an important aspect of navigational capital. A study of 315 Latina women of varying generations, found that women who had a higher sense of mastery, or belief that they had control over their environment and circumstances, had lower incidence of depression (Heilemann, Lee, & Kury, 2002). The study results indicate mastery may be a buffer against difficult life circumstances.

Resistant Capital. Yosso (2005) defines resistance capital as the “knowledges and skills fostered through oppositional behavior that challenges inequality” (pg. 80).

Resistant capital encompasses a variety of aspects including passing on community cultural wealth and the motivation to transform oppressive structures. Yosso highlights as an example how Latina and Black mothers teach their daughters to resist oppression and move beyond the status quo by imparting values of resistance, assertiveness and self-reliance (Robinson & Ward, 1991; Villenas & Moreno, 2001). Additionally, given that individual may often lack the cultural capital and social capital in the majority context needed deal with larger institutions within society, individuals must often come together in order to resist the barriers and oppression they encounter. Some examples of the mobilization of resistance capital will be discussed below.

An example of collective resistance is highlighted in (Delgado-Gaitan, 1991) ethnography of the creation of a parent group in the Carpentaria School District in Santa Barbara, CA. Latina/o parents within the school district felt that the schools in the district were not working to address the needs of Latina/o families. Parents also felt that they had often been stereotyped as uninvolved and unskillful in education matters. As a result the parents started a parent organization *Comite de Padres Latinos* (COPLA; Committee for Latino Parents). The purpose of the group was to give a voice to Latina/o parents but also provide them with social support and information to help their children progress through school. COPLA also drew on the assistance of “insiders” including teachers and program coordinators who served as advocates for the group within the school district. By having representative at several school sites in the district, COPLA parents were able to make they’re presence known which aligned with the mission as one participant stated, “Our purpose is to raise the consciousness of the Latino parents so that they feel like they’re important” (Delgado-Gaitan, 1991). Although COPLA parents did

not meet all of their goals during the course of the study, they were able to build consciousness among Latina/o parents of the barriers their children faced in the schools and were empowered to continue working against these. The study highlights that COPLA built on the strengths of parents and built a structure to resist exclusionary practices within their schools.

Another case study of resistance is that of “Mrs. D”, a bilingual teacher who sought to make her classroom a place where “English was not dominant and Spanish was not dominated”. In attempting to create a bilingual classroom, the teacher faced considerable opposition from school personnel and students who supported the hegemony of English within the school. Mrs. D imparted a sense of pride and cultural wealth to her students as she often reminded them that Spanish was “fun and beautiful” (pg. 197). In order to adequately support bilingual learners, the instructor ensured that Spanish materials in the classroom were of equal quality as English materials and made active efforts to eliminate racist comments in the learning environment. The researchers shed light on the dichotomy that dominant-speakers are often encouraged to learn a minority language to achieve higher status while minority language-speakers are often pushed to abandon their native language and learn English. The case study also highlights an example of resistance and counterhegemonic bilingual education where “linguistic rights are ensured for all” (pg. 198).

As evidenced by the studies presented, resistance capital allows Communities of Color to make changes in their environment that will produce long-term structural changes. It is important to note that resistance is often met with more resistance, so those

mobilizing their resistance capital may not necessarily experience a decrease in their stressors in the short-term.

Social Capital. Perhaps the most widely studied domain in Yosso's model is that of social capital. Yosso defines social capital as community resources and social networks that provide emotional and instrumental support. While the how, why and the degree to which social capital is beneficial for people is largely debated in the literature (Portes, 2000), decades of research have linked social support to better physical outcomes, psychological adjustment and effective coping (Schwarzer & Leppin, 1989; Smith, et al., 1994). As for Latina/os, social support research has found a more direct effect of decreasing stressors as social support networks often provide resources beyond emotional support.

Social capital not only allows Latina/o immigrants to survive in the U.S. but also may be the reason they were able to migrate to the U.S. in the first place. Massey (1999) states that "concentrations of immigrants in certain destination areas creates a "family and friends" effect that channels later streams of immigrants to the same places and facilitates their arrival and integration" (pg. 306). A study of the personal networks of Latina/os and Whites living in Costa Mesa, California found that social networks served an important role at varying degrees for each population (Schweizer, Schnegg, & Berzborn, 1998). Latina/o participants reported that the majority (71.7%) of their social ties were within the city while Whites reported that less than half (42.4%) of their of their ties were within city limits. The most salient difference between Latina/os and Whites was with which social ties they consider the most important category of people they interact with. Whites reported half were kin and half were friends. In contrast Latina/os

reported that the most important category of people they interact with are their families (73.3%) whereas friends (21.7%) were not of equal importance. In sum the communities of Latina/os were family (kin) based while those of Whites were composed of mixed associates that included family and friends. For Latina/os friends served as social companions whereas family was called upon for “trouble-shooting” and economic concerns. Additionally, due to the immigration situations the study did find that Latina/os may work to build kin-based communities friends, neighbors and extended family may overlap. The study findings support the idea that Latina/os tend to migrate to places where there exist social networks and further serve to differentiate familial support from social support.

Research also indicates that there may be some links between social support and physical and mental health for Latina/os. (Finch & Vega, 2003) examined 3,012 Mexican-origin adults who resided in California in order to examine social support as potential mediators and moderators of the relationship between physical health symptoms and stress from acculturation experiences. One major finding of the study was that experiences with discrimination were harmful to those that had low social support but not to those who experience high levels of social support. Furthermore, the study found that religious and instrumental support mediated the effects of discrimination on physical health for the sample. The results from this study serve to highlight detrimental effects of acculturative stress (i.e., discrimination, language conflicts and legal status), but also bring to light the importance of social support in mental health and physical health outcomes. Similarly, a study with Latina/os in New York City following the September 11th, 2001 attacks showed varying degrees of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)

symptomatology among the group and in comparison to non-Latina/os (Galea, et al., 2004). The study found that Latina/os were more likely to report symptoms of PTSD but, in particular, Latina/os of Dominican and Puerto Rican origin were more likely to experience PTSD symptoms than all groups. Further investigation revealed that Puerto Ricans and Dominicans were more likely to report lower levels of social support, greater exposure to the 9/11 attacks, and lower incomes among other stressors.

As evidenced by the studies discussed above, social support plays a critical role in the psychological adjustment of Latina/os in various contexts. The research also highlights the important differences between social support and familial support. It is important to note that as a heterogeneous community, not all Latina/os may ascribe to these values of social cohesiveness.

Coping

Research has found that coping and resilience are inextricably related to the social resources one has available (Billings & Moos, 1981). Coping has been one of the mostly widely studied concepts in psychology and numerous other fields for the past 35 years (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004). Generally, coping is defined as “the thoughts and behaviors used to manage the internal and external demands of situations that are appraised as stressful” (pg. 745). While the field has added immensely to how we understand human problem-solving and resilience, the field continues to face challenges in understanding this phenomenon.

Coping is a complex process that involves a myriad of environmental, cultural and personality factors. More recently, researchers have called for a more narrow focus of coping in order to “define the dimensions of relevant situations without relying solely

on ambiguities of cognitive appraisal” (Coyne & Racioppo, 2000). As a whole it has been recognized that people exhibit coping flexibility, which allows them to use a variety of coping strategies when faced with different situations with varying degrees of stress and challenge. The findings of this research move away from coping style approaches that argued for a more dispositional approach to coping. While the literature has recognized that situation-specific coping is a very important aspect of coping, there continues to be a need to refine these concepts through further testing (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004).

Presently and historically coping research has not often translated into practice and intervention (Coyne & Racioppo, 2000; Somerfield & McCrae, 2000). Descriptive coping research often fails to provide specific elements that speak to intervention. On the flip side, coping interventions have also been criticized for not providing sufficient research on their impact on people’s day-to-day lives. Considering the limitations in both areas, researchers in coping and those focused on intervention are encouraged to collaborate to increase effectiveness and knowledge regarding coping for the benefit of clients.

Finally, the limitation of coping literature that that is most relevant to the present study is the limited and monoculture samples utilized within coping research. Researchers have noted that the cultural context of copers largely overlooked with most studies focusing on White college samples (Heppner, et al., 2006). A result of this focus is a limited understanding of coping that may not generalize to the various populations within the U.S and around the world. Consequently, there exists a great need to research coping in more diverse populations.

Latina/o Ways of Coping

Coping has been one of the most extensively studied concepts in psychology; however several researchers have noted the absence of diverse populations within the coping literature. Nearly 25 years ago, Cervantes and Castro (1985) called for an increased focus on the coping behaviors of Latina/os. To date, the research on this fast growing population remains sparse.

Currently, the Latina/o population accounts for 46.9 million in the U.S., making Latina/os the largest racial/ethnic minority in the country (Census Bureau, 2011). Latinos are the fastest growing population and are expected to comprise nearly 30% (132.8 million) of the U.S. population by 2050. Latina/os of Mexican origin are the largest represented group in the U.S. (64%) followed by Puerto Ricans (9%), Cubans (3.5%), Salvadorian (3.1%) and Dominican (2.7%). It is important to note that each ethnic group within the Latina/o population has unique immigration histories to the U.S. (i.e., illegal immigration vs. refugee status).

While Latina/os in the U.S. are a heterogeneous group comprised of various nationalities, races, and immigration histories they share a common language and some fundamental cultural values. Latina/o culture has a collectivistic orientation, which centers on the family unit (*familismo*). As a result, values within the culture promote harmonious and pleasant social interactions (*simpatia*) and warm interpersonal connections (*personalismo*). Values of respect (*respeto*) promote knowing one's place in a hierarchical relationship structure and deference to those with higher status. Finally, religion and spirituality play an important role within the Latina/o culture. Latinos practice a wide range of religions, with Catholicism as the most widely practiced

denomination within the Latina/o culture. Latina/os may also incorporate spiritual practices and folk medicine in addition to, or in place of, Christian beliefs systems.

Instruments, Validation, Generalization

It is important to note that to date, there is an absence of coping measures that have been developed specifically for the Latina/o population in the U.S. and few existing coping inventories have utilized Latina/os in their norming and validation samples.

Further examination into some of the most widely used coping inventories such as the Ways of Coping Scale (Folkman & Lazarus, 1980), COPE (Carver, Scheier, & Weintraub, 1989), Coping Inventory for Stressful Situations (Endler & Parker, 1990), Coping Response Inventory (Moos, 1993), and Coping Strategy Indicator (Amirkhan, 1990) reveal that samples were frequently homogeneous with regard to race/ethnicity.

Samples for these important studies on coping were frequently minimally described and were largely White and undergraduates. It is important to note that in spite of their wide spread use, few studies have attempted to validate these frequently used coping instruments with large samples of Latina/os (Campbell, et al., 2009).

Emotion Focus Coping

Social support coping. Social support has been found to be a consistent and highly utilized coping strategy in the coping literature for many years (Thoits, 1995).

Studies have identified that social support can take many forms including emotional, instrumental, and informational (Cohen, Mermelstein, Kamarck, & Hoberman, 1985).

Latina/o cultural values promote the creation of networks and interdependence; not surprisingly, social support coping has been found to be an important coping tool among Latina/os (Abraído-Lanza & Revenson, 1996; Chiang, Hunter, & Yeh, 2004;

Constantine, Alleyne, Caldwell, McRae, & Suzuki, 2005). Generally, social support is correlated with positive outcomes for Latina/os such as lower depressive symptoms, increased meaning, and decreased physical pain (Crean, 2004; Holahan, Moerkbak, & Suzuki, 2006; Hovey, 2000). Some studies h Abraído ave found that under certain conditions social support may increase distress. For example, Aranda, Castaneda, Lee, and Sobel (2001) found that Mexican American women were more likely to experience distress if they had multiple social support systems intact. These studies findings are consistent with previous studies that find that social support may increase distress among Latina women (Coon, et al., 2004; Culver, Arena, Wimberly, Antoni, & Carver, 2004). Providing support has also had mixed findings with regard to effectiveness in coping (Constantine, et al., 2005; Coon, et al., 2004).

Research indicates that Latina/os may access social support as a means of coping more frequently than more formal social support systems such as therapeutic counseling. Additionally, Latina/os may depend on their families for social support more than their White (McMiller & Weisz, 1996; Munsch & Wampler, 1993; Saetermoe, Beneli, & Busch, 1999) or African American counterparts (Anderson, et al., 2002; Culver, Arena, Antoni, & Carver, 2002). Further, research indicates that Latina/os may prefer to seek support within the family as opposed to friends or resources outside of the family (Abraído-Lanza & Revenson, 1996; Kobus & Reyes, 2000). These findings are consistent with the family-centered orientation of many Latina/o families (Marin & Marin, 1991).

Religious coping. Studies show that Latina/os use religious coping more frequently than their European American counterparts (Copeland & Hess, 1995; Culver, et al., 2004; R. R. Edwards, Moric, Husfeldt, Buvanendran, & Ivankovich, 2005;

Mausbach, Coon, Cardenas, & Thompson, 2003). Studies have found that Latina/os employ religious coping with a myriad of stressors including health concerns, such as HIV (Griswold, Evans, Spielman, & Fishman, 2005), cancer (Alferi, Culver, Carver, Arena, & Antoni, 1999), and arthritis (Abraído -Lanza, Vásquez, & Echeverría, 2004), and to cope with traumatic events (Constantine, et al., 2005). Other studies show that religious coping may not be as prevalent in certain contexts. For example, several studies have shown that Latina/o college students do not endorse religious coping items as frequently as other coping strategies (Chiang, et al., 2004; Gloria, Castellanos, & Orozco, 2005; Gloria, Castellanos, Scull, & Villegas, 2009). In addition, finding regarding the effectiveness and purpose of religious coping among Latina/os have been mixed. Several studies have found positive correlations with positive religious coping with decreased stress, lower psychological symptomology, pain/discomfort and better physical health outcomes (Abraído-Lanza, et al., 2004; Herrera, Lee, Nanyonjo, Laufman, & Torres-Vigil, 2009; Hovey, 2000; Simoni & Ortiz, 2003). However, some studies have found religious coping is ineffective in significantly reducing stress (Dunn & O'Brien, 2009) and some have found religious coping to be predictive of increased pain (Alferi, et al., 1999; Edwards, et al., 2005). Further, while religious coping has been traditionally considered to be a passive form of coping within the literature, some scholars argue religion/spirituality may in fact be an active coping strategy utilized by Latina/os (Abraído-Lanza, et al., 2004; Pargament & Park, 1995). Given the importance of religious coping within the Latina/o community and the mixed findings of its effects within the literature, further research need to better understand the complex functions of religious coping.

Problem Focused Coping

Coping Styles among Latina/os. Early research indicated that Latina/os utilized more indirect or passive forms of coping more frequently (Diaz-Guerrero, 1987). However, findings from more current coping literature indicate that Latina/os employ active coping more frequently than once posited. In fact, numerous studies have found that active coping is associated with better outcomes for Latina/os (Crean, 2004; Crockett, et al., 2007; Gloria, et al., 2005; Gloria, et al., 2009; Holahan, et al., 2006; Kobus & Reyes, 2000; Lee & Tina Liu, 2001; Torres, 2010) while passive coping has been associated with poorer outcomes (Abraído -Lanza, et al., 2004; Culver, et al., 2002; Strug, Mason, & Auerbach, 2009).

In contrast, some studies have indicated that in high stress or discriminatory contexts, avoidant coping may be used (Edwards & Romero, 2008) and even adaptive for racial/ethnic minorities in these contexts (Gonzales, Tein, Sandler, & Friedman, 2001). Further some researchers have posited that passivity or avoidance may be more culturally congruent for individuals from collectivist cultures and have argued for more precise measurement of this phenomenon (Moore & Constantine, 2005). Particularly in Latino culture *destino* (fate) and *fatalismo* (fatalism), or the belief that events in life may be out of one's control and/or in the hands of God, may influence their appraisal of stressors and coping responses (Comas-Díaz, 1989; Falicov, 2000; Strug, et al., 2009).

Demographic Variables and Coping

Several demographic variables have been found to influence the way in which Latina/os cope with various stressors. Demographic variables, such as degree of

acculturation, have emerged as important variables in explaining how Latina/os cope with various health stressors.

Gender. Few coping studies with Latina/os have focused on differences in coping by gender. Some studies indicate that Latina women may utilize venting and social support frequently (Culver, et al., 2002; Gloria, et al., 2005) and more often than Latino males (Kobus & Reyes, 2000). One study of Latino males found that emotion-focused coping predicted psychological well-being and that they most frequently utilized direct/planned approach coping strategies (Gloria, et al., 2009). The researchers posited that these findings might be related to sociocultural gender norms for males within the Latina/o culture that espouse self-reliance (Gloria, et al., 2009). As discussed above, active coping is widely used by both Latinas and Latinos but may not necessarily have a similar impact on problem solving. A study by Gonzales, Tein, Sandler, and Friedman (2001) found that among a mixed sample of urban adolescents including Mexican Americans ($n = 237$), active coping was related to better grades and low levels of community stress and family stress for both males and females; however, for males the advantage of using active coping decreased as levels of stress increased.

Acculturation. Acculturation describes the process and changes populations undergo when in contact with a new host culture. Acculturation may influence how problems are appraised and framed by Latina/os (Coon, et al., 2004). Acculturative stress has been found to negatively related to mental/physical health outcomes and active coping for Latina/os in the U.S. (Bianchi, Zea, Poppen, Reisen, & Echeverry, 2004; Gloria, et al., 2005; Hovey, 2000; Torres, 2010). A study by Sanchez, Rice, Stein, Milbourn and Rotheram-Borus (2010) found that more acculturated Latina/os tended to

show more risky behavior with regard to HIV positive status and maladaptive coping than less acculturated Latina/os. Similarly, a study found that Mexican citizens were more likely than Mexican-Americans to use positive reframing, denial, and religion and less likely to use self-distraction or substance use to cope (Farley, Galves, Dickinson, & Perez, 2005). The effect of acculturation on coping appear to be consistent with the paradoxical health outcomes between U.S. born Latinos versus foreign-born Latinos (Franzini, Ribble, & Keddie, 2001). Lastly, with regard to emotion coping, acculturation and recency of immigration may influence the amount of social support Latina/os individuals can access (Aranda & Knight, 1997).

Socioeconomic status. Latina/os are more than three times as likely to live in poverty and have lower educational attainment than their White and Asian counterparts (NCLR, 2008). Several studies have examined the predictive nature of socioeconomic status on Latina/o coping and found that higher levels of active coping were positively associated with higher income, education, and lower emotional/physical distress (Bianchi, et al., 2004; Ell & Nishimoto, 1989; Torres, 2010). While a fatalistic orientation often discussed as cultural value within minority communities, some researchers caution that SES and the powerlessness of poverty may serve as a better explanation for phenomenon (Sue & Sue, 2008; Varghese & Medinger, 1979). Naturally, socio-political histories of oppression effect coping responses and resources; as such, more coping research that controls for the effects of education and income is needed to avoid the confound of socioeconomic status (Aranda & Knight, 1997).

Limitations of current research and scale need. Given the differential findings in coping among Latina/os as compared to other major racial and ethnic groups, the call

must continue for both breadth and depth in Latina/o coping research. Current research in Latina/o coping has largely utilized coping inventories that were created and developed in a Western context. It is imperative that future research reexamines and validates widely used coping instruments for use with the Latina/o population and promotes the creation of new, culturally conscious measurement. More qualitative analysis of coping may be helpful in better understanding coping in Latina/o communities. For example, religious coping is often classified as a passive/avoidant coping strategy while qualitative findings with Latina/os show they perceive it as an active strategy (Abraído -Lanza, et al., 2004). Another, common limitation in Latina/o research is the generalizability of results to this multi-racial and multi-national group. Given the diversity within the Latina/o population studies should continue to study demographic variables that influence coping and to better understand the effects of multiple identities (i.e. race, SES, age, gender, acculturation) on coping. Lastly, deductive logic regarding the effect of collectivistic values on coping among collectivistic populations (i.e., Asians frequently use forbearance and Asians are collectivistic since Latina/os are collectivistic then Latina/os use forbearance) should be used with caution given that several studies have found significant differences in coping among these collectivistic cultures (Chiang, et al., 2004; Constantine, et al., 2005; R. R. Edwards, et al., 2005; Moore & Constantine, 2005).

Need for Scale Construction

Although cultural wealth may be intuitively related to coping and resilience, few studies have empirically examined this phenomenon. Some dimensions of capital (i.e. social capital, linguistic capital) have been extensively studied within psychology (Hakuta & Diaz, 1985; Hamers, 2004; Smith, Fernengel, Holcroft, Gerald, & Marien,

1994) others have been ignored, neglected, or undervalued due to the historically limited definitions of cultural capital. In fact, Yosso (2005) is one of few researchers that have attempted to examine the interplay of multiple forms of capital and how together they may serve a function that is greater than the sum of their parts. Due to the paucity in research on cultural strengths and wealth in Communities of Color, particularly within psychology, little is known about the complex interaction between cultural wealth and coping.

Paradoxically, coping has been one of the most widely studied areas in psychology for over three decades. More recently, however, the critics note that the field has struggled to adopt a more contextualized understanding of coping (Coyne & Racioppo, 2000; Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004). In general, coping research has not continued to deepen discourse regarding the function of dispositional coping style classifications in the face of situation-specific stressors. Additionally, in spite of the dramatic demographic shifts occurring in the U.S. coping literature continues to overlook the cultural context as studies in the field continue to report normative samples primarily comprised of White college students. Although some have made efforts to create more culturally specific measures of coping (e.g., Heppner, et al., 2006), to date, no scale exists that examines coping specifically within the fastest growing racial/ethnic minority group in the U.S., Latina/os.

Given the rate of growth of the Latina/o population and their projected growth in the next decade, their psychological and physical well-being is becoming a national imperative (Keppel, 2007). Thus, operationalizing and measuring Latina/o cultural wealth coping through scale construction could serve a dual purpose. First, exploring the

function of Latina/o cultural wealth can further support growing knowledge bases within psychology of the inherent and acquired strengths of Latina/os. Secondly, findings may serve to continue closing the gap between coping research and coping intervention by providing practical implications for mental health professionals wanting to increase effective coping and resilience in their clients. In 1993, the Surgeon General's National Hispanic/Latino Health Initiative called for a "relevant and comprehensive behavioral and biomedical research agenda for Hispanics" (Marin, Amaro, Eisenberg, & Opava-Stitzer, 1992). The initiative recognized various barriers to such an agenda, one of which included the lack of culturally appropriate instruments for use in research on Latina/os. The initiative recognized that measures being used for research with Latina/os lacked attention to culture, language and values of the group. Nearly 17 years later, the paucity in culturally relevant measures for Latina/os continues to exist.

Similarly, while interest in cultural wealth and strength-based approaches for communities of Color has increased, research in the area remains relatively theoretical and qualitative in nature (Monkman, Ronald, & Theramene, 2005; Stanton-Salazar, 2001). Additionally, existing scales of various forms of capital (e.g. social capital) have largely been normed with White, middle class populations. Since the concept of cultural wealth is deeply rooted cultural context it is necessary for scales examining the role of this construct to be created and normed with the target population in mind. According to (Padilla & Borsato, 2008), "psychoeducational assessment is made culturally appropriate through a continuing and open-ended series of substantive and methodological insertions and adaptations designed to mesh the process of assessment and evaluation with the cultural characteristics of the group being studied" (p. 6).

Lastly, research in the area of cultural capital and wealth has generally focused on educational outcomes for students of Color. To date no studies have quantitatively examined the role of community cultural wealth in coping to better mental health outcomes for minorities, and more specifically Latina/os. Thus, the purpose of this investigation is to develop and empirically examine the utility of a cultural wealth coping scale for Latina/os. This study aims to contribute to the growing interest in the cultural wealth of Latina/os by creating a culturally relevant scale to measure coping related to the use of community cultural resources. By quantifying coping within this important construct of community cultural wealth and its relationship to mental health outcomes it can be further researched within psychology and practical interventions for the community can be identified.

Methodological considerations for the Latina/o population

Several ethical and methodological considerations must be addressed in the creation of measures for use with diverse populations. In recent years, researcher have argued for replacing translation-driven approaches with concept-driven approaches to reach conceptual and linguistic equivalence in assessments (Erkut, et al., 1999) However, translation-driven approaches continue to be used in spite of serious validity concerns. Erkut et. al. (1999), argue for a dual-focus approach which includes several steps: (1) creating a bicultural/bilingual research team that includes researchers indigenous to the target culture, (2) operationalizing the construct being examined in a manner that is valid in both cultures, (3) creating items simultaneously in two languages using words equivalent in affect, familiarity, and clarity, (4) utilize bilingual and monolingual focus groups to provide feedback, and (5) measure psychometric properties.

In writing items, general characteristics of the Latina/o population must be taken into account. These considerations are not meant to stereotype participants but instead be responsive to characteristics that are highlighted by current statistical data on the Latina/o population (i.e. lower levels of educational attainment, low English language proficiency, decreased use of technology). As a result, items should be written in language that is appropriate for the sample and delivered in a way that is culturally appropriate taking into account cultural values of (*personalismo*) and (*simpatia*). Furthermore, formats for delivering the survey should be considered including relative comfort with technology. Issues regarding confidentiality and compensation should accommodate the added complexities of varying residency statuses among Latina/os.

Summary and Conclusions

The strengths and resources in communities of Color extend far beyond the constraints of the traditional definition of cultural capital. The Latina/o population is a fast growing, young population that has added significantly to the American cultural experience. The Latina/o populations' foundations are collectivistic cultural values that extend across groups, nations, and generations. However, current research and specifically coping research, has not adequately captured problem solving in the Latina/o population from a cultural, asset or strength-based perspective. In fact, research has largely focused on social and educational inequities facing the population. Although this work is tremendously important, it allows for little discourse on what Latina/os in the U.S. are doing "right." A new force within psychology, the Positive Psychology movement, has called for more research in the direction of human strengths and virtues to counter our existing knowledge of pathology and deficits.

In sum, as the Latina/o population continues to grow, it is critical that we continue examine barriers the community faces in the U.S. but equally focus on their resilience and utilization of cultural wealth. Research in coping has clearly documented ethnic and cultural differences in the implementation of coping strategies and calls have been made to address the deficits in coping literature to include more diverse research samples. Future research should focus on reexamining current coping literature to identify cultural values that may differ for diverse populations. In addition to critically examining the existing understanding of how Latina/os cope, it seems appropriate for new, psychometrically sound, and culturally conscious measures to be created to measure the resilience, networks, and rich cultural past of the Latina/o community and how it impacts coping. By understanding the inherent strengths of the Latina/o population, and other marginalized groups in the U.S., we can create asset-based interventions to address the sociopolitical barriers they face and enrich our understanding of human problem solving for the population as a whole.

VITA

Marlen Kanagui-Muñoz was born in Mexicali, B.C., Mexico. Her family immigrated to the U.S. when she was two years old and she grew up in a small farming town in California's San Joaquin Valley. Marlen attended the University of California-Irvine where she double majored in Cognitive Psychology and Sociology, receiving honors in both. Marlen completed her doctoral work at the University of Missouri under the advising and mentorship of Dr. Puncy P. Heppner.

Marlen's research interests include the experiences of Latina/os in higher education, cultural influences in coping and mental health disparities in minority populations. Marlen has worked on several research projects related to cultural competence in psychology including developing an inventory that examines collectivistic ways of coping, a qualitative study examining coping in Latina women with Lymphedema and another qualitative project examining cultural climate and the experiences of Latina/o and White high school students in rural Missouri. Marlen has received the George Washington Carver Fellowship at MU, a Ford Foundation Diversity Fellowship and is an American Association for Hispanics in Higher Education graduate fellow.

Marlen's greatest joys come from being a dedicated partner, mother, daughter, sister, and friend. Marlen also looks forward sharing the gift of mentorship with other students and supporting the next generation of minority scholars.