

DIVERSITY WITHIN: A PARENTING MEASURE FOR IMMIGRANT
MEXICAN AMERICAN MOTHERS

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MEXICAN-AMERICAN MOTHERS

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DIVERSITY WITHIN: A PARENTING MEASURE FOR IMMIGRANT
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ABSTRACT

Using cultural change and social information processing (SIP) as frameworks, the present study constructed a self-report parenting instrument for use with immigrant Mexican American mothers of children ages 6-10. The 14-item measure was based on semi-structured qualitative interviews with immigrant Mexican mothers, was refined by a focus group of mothers from a similar generation and cultural background, and consisted of items that pertained to one of three general parenting constructs: Warmth, Monitoring, and Discipline. Using confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) and respecification procedures, the three models were found to be a good fit with the data. Subscales consisted of moderate levels of internal consistency and predicted several children's behaviors. Future research should continue to focus on constructing culturally-sensitive parenting measures in order to further knowledge on Latino parent-child relations.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

With Latinos reaching the largest minority population in the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001), the need to understand Latino parenting and its relation to child development has never been greater. Previous research, however, has produced an array of mixed findings that have impeded understanding of Latino parent-child relations. An examination of contradictory findings reveals the need for an increase in culturally-sensitive Latino parenting instruments (Halgunseth, Ispa, & Rudy, 2006). While parenting measures developed primarily on Euro-American families are plentiful, there has been no self-report measure developed specifically for Mexican American parents.

Cultural change and social information processing (SIP) theories are useful frameworks for conceptualizing how parenting measures may function in and across diverse families. A premise common to both models is that cultural context influences parental goals that then influence parental behavior (Halgunseth et al., 2006). Grusec, Rudy, and Martini (1997) have extended this concept to explain variability in the relation between parenting behavior and children's development. They explain that children respond to the parental goals that motivate parental behaviors and not solely to the parental behaviors in themselves. Since goals are culturally influenced, it follows that measures based primarily on observations of Euro-American parenting behaviors (and, hence, goals) may not be reliable predictors of children's well being in Latino families as well as they are in Euro-American families.

Sampling methods that have assumed homogeneity across Latino families may also explain past inconsistent findings (Halgunseth et al., 2006). Latinos come from

approximately 20 different countries, each with its own history, culture, emigration experience, and immigration status (Harwood, Leyendecker, Carlson, Asencio, & Miller, 2002; Leyendecker & Lamb, 1999). In addition, Latinos residing in the United States may differ in level of acculturation or the process of adopting values and practices of the host society (Parra & Guarnaccia, 1998). Therefore, findings based on samples comprised of a wide range of Latinos without accounting for geographical and acculturation differences may be misleading (Garcia Coll, Meyer, & Brillon, 1995; Gil & Vega, 1996).

Purpose of Study

This study was designed to develop a culturally-sensitive self-report parenting measure for use with a specific Latino population – immigrant Mexican American mothers. Limiting participants to immigrants from one country eliminated the risk of over-generalizing findings across Latino populations. As one of several steps in the development of this measure, a review of past literature on Latino parenting values and practices was conducted using the cultural change and SIP models as frameworks.

Review of Literature

Cultural Change Framework

The cultural change framework explains that past experiences are central to establishing parental mental models that organize responses to children's day-to-day behavior. These cognitive structures, however, are not static. Over time, parental models may change when exposed to new methods that are considered more adaptive and that do not clash with influential goals and strategies. Modifications, however, are generally gradual and not across-the-board (Harkness, Super, & Keefer, 1992; García Coll & Pachter, 2002). Immigrant parents may adopt some ideas and practices of the host

culture, while some aspects are not adopted at all (Rueschenberg & Buriel, 1989; Sabogal, Marín, Otero-Sabogal, VanOss, & Perez-Stable, 1987).

The framework's argument that parental mental models may be reconstructed due to gradual exposure and acceptance of new ideas or practices corresponds to the notion of acculturation. Influences of acculturation for immigrant parents include contact with beliefs of new social networks, exposure to teachings of "experts," and socioeconomic conditions. Deterrants to acculturation may include difficulty understanding the host language, confinement to ethnically homogeneous communities, host culture racism and classism that create feelings of distrust, or situations in which the host culture beliefs and practices clash with existing goals and strategies (García Coll & Pachter, 2002; López & Stanton-Salazar, 2001).

Social Information Processing

Social information processing (SIP) contends that individuals approach social situations with a set of biological tendencies and a database of social knowledge. Social knowledge consists of accumulated experiences of past social behaviors and their consequences, as well as goals for future social interactions. Deciding how to behave and respond to others is guided by one's social knowledge and consists of six automatic and non-linear steps that often occur simultaneously. These steps include 1) attending to and 2) interpreting another person's behavior, 3) formulating goals for the interaction, 4) generating possible responses, 5) evaluating the responses generated, and 6) enacting a response (Crick & Dodge, 1994). While SIP was developed in research on children, elements of it have been successfully applied to non-Latino and Latino parenting behavior (Halgunseth et al., 2006; Lorber, O'Leary, & Kendziora, 2003).

Social knowledge is context and therefore culture-dependent (Crick and Dodge, 1994). An interdependent orientation has often been said to characterize Latino culture (Okagaki & Frensch, 1998; Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). Interdependence requires maintenance of harmonious interpersonal relations, conformity to external standards, and belief that the group is central to one's identity (Hofstede, 1980). Minturn and Lambert's (1964) findings serve as an example of how culture influences parental goals and the decision-making process. They found that Mexican parents were more likely to punish children's use of aggression toward peers than were parents of non-Latino origin. Thus, an interdependent orientation may act as a filter for Latino parents in which thoughts and decisions for behavior must pass at each of the six SIP steps (Halgunseth et al., 2006).

Another important principle of the SIP theory is that emotions may cause inattention or misinterpretation of children's behavior or the inhibition to pursue certain childrearing goals. These types of emotion-based processing may occur among Latino parents who experience high levels of acculturative stress, racism, and/or socioeconomic pressure (Halgunseth et al., 2006). Certainly, stress is not experienced across parents uniformly. Some parents may possess psychological or social resources to buffer stress-related responses, whereas others may not (Sabogal et al., 1987).

Latino Parenting

As in Halgunseth et al. (2006), the following literature review on Latino parenting values and practices will be organized according to Crick and Dodge's (1994) steps of SIP. Concepts of cultural change and SIP theories will be applied to findings on Latino parenting at each step. Recall the underlying premise of both theories that cultural

context influences parental goals and decisions for behavior. In keeping with SIP's premise that processing steps are often experienced simultaneously, certain SIP steps will be addressed concurrently. Particular attention will be paid to the influences of maternal emotions, acculturation, and socioeconomic status (SES), as well as to child age.

Attending to and Interpreting Behavior

In Steps 1 and 2 of SIP, certain child behaviors attract the parent's attention. The parent then makes meaning of the behavior by comparing it to pre-existing goals and by attributing a motive to it (Cross & Dodge, 1994). In their review of past research, Halgunseth et al. (2006) proposed that child age may play an important role in how Latino parents attend to and interpret their children's behavior. Young children (e.g., 0-5) may be perceived by Latino mothers as not capable of performing a wide range of behaviors independently (Minturn & Lambert, 1964; Mosier & Rogoff, 2003). This interpretation, supplemented with an interdependent orientation, may lead Latino mothers to partake in more indulgence or exert more physical guidance with their toddlers than Euro-American mothers (Carlson & Harwood, 2003; Ispa et al., 2004; Korn & Gannon, 1983; Zeskind, 1983).

As children grow older (i.e., approach the age of 6), Latino mothers' perceptions of children's behavior may modify. Older children may be seen as now cognitively capable of adopting cultural goals (i.e., contributing to the family) and adjusting their behavior to external standards. Thus, behavior that deviates from parental expectations may become interpreted as willful disobedience and deserving of punishment (Halgunseth et al., 2006). This shift in interpretation across child age may explain past findings that Latino parents exhibit more parental decision making, rule-setting, and

harshness with children aged 6 years and older than Euro-American parents (Bulcroft, Carmody, & Bulcroft, 1996; Dornbusch et al., 1987; Hill, Bush, & Roosa, 2003; Radziszewska, Richardson, Dent, & Flay, 1996). It may also explain findings by Calzada and Eyeberg (2002) that indicated a positive relation between child's age and maternal use of corporal punishment in a sample of immigrant Dominican and Puerto Rican mothers with children ages 2 - 6.

Acculturative stress may also influence parental attention to and interpretations of children's behavior (Halgunseth et al., 2006). Latino parents may experience a variety of stressors such as moving to a new culture, assuming a minority position in a society, and possibly feeling unsafe due to immigration legality or neighborhood safety issues (Fuligni & Yoshikawa, 2003; García Coll, & Pachter, 2002; Villenas, 2001). SIP indicates that heightened emotions, such as those that result from high stress, may lead some parents to interpret children's behavior more negatively than they would if they were less aroused (Crick & Dodge, 1994). Past research has found an increase in the use of discipline and directiveness in Latino families among parents who experience more rather than less stress (e.g., Parke et al., 2004; Planos, Zayas, & Bush-Rossnagel, 1997; Uno et al., 1998).

Steps 1 and 2 of the SIP model guided the procedures and sample selection for the current study. Prior to instrument construction, immigrant Mexican American mothers' thoughts and perceptions were assessed qualitatively by using semi-structured interviews and by presenting mothers with hypothetical scenarios. Their responses were later used to develop measure items. Since the literature has suggested that Latino mothers may implement a greater variety of discipline strategies with children over the age of 6, only

mothers who had children ages 6-10 participated in this study. An upper child age limit of 10 was selected, since adolescents may elicit different parenting practices than children in middle-childhood. Hypothetical scenarios also included children ages 6-10. Lastly, mothers' levels of depression were examined and considered throughout the study, due to the influence emotions may have on the parental attention and interpretation process.

Goals

Step 3 in the SIP model (Crick & Dodge, 1994) addresses the selection of childrearing goals. Goals are instrumental in motivating parental behavior (Hastings & Grusec, 1998). The three childrearing goals discussed below are considered to be held by Latinos of all national origins and have been proposed to motivate several Latino parenting practices (Halgunseth et al., 2006; Harwood et al., 2002).

Familism/Familismo. The goal of *familismo* includes feelings of loyalty and commitment to the family (Harwood et al., 2002). In general, research has found *familismo* to be stable across generations, regardless of country of origin (e.g., Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam; 1999; Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000) or level of acculturation (Rueschenberg & Buriel, 1989). However, some studies have suggested that aspects of familism, such as the emphasis on obligations, decline over generations (Gil & Vega, 1996; Sabogal et al., 1987). Inconsistencies in findings may be because the construct of *familismo* consists of several dimensions and, as argued by cultural change theory, Latinos may differ in aspects they choose to retain over time.

Respect/Respeto. The goal of *respeto* is to promote harmonious interpersonal relationships by behaving in ways that demonstrate respect for self, others, and their respective roles in society or in the family. For example, Valdés (1996) found that by the

age of 4, Mexican American children were taught to politely greet elders and to not interrupt conversations between adults. While a few studies have found the value of respect to remain stable across generations of Mexican American mothers (Delgado-Gaitan, 1993; Phinney et al., 2000), the majority of studies indicate that the maintenance of *respeto* in Latino families depends on acculturation and SES (Fuligni, 1998; Gonzalez-Ramos et al., 1998; Harwood, Scholmerich, Ventura-Cook, Schulze, & Wilson, 1996; Okagaki & Sternberg, 1993). The cultural change model explains that cultural and socio-economic contexts are influential in the construction and reconstruction of parental models. SES may determine access to parental educational resources (e.g., printed materials); extent of contact with the mainstream may influence maternal ideas on child self-expression (Halgunseth et al., 2006).

Education/Educación. The goal *educación* reflects morality (e.g., honesty), responsibility, and training in interpersonal relationships (e.g., manners) (Reese et al., 2000; Valdés, 1996; Valenzuela, 1999). Little research has examined the stability of *educación* in Latino parents across acculturation and SES. Exceptions include Okagaki and Sternberg (1993) who did not find SES and acculturation (i.e., generational level) to influence *educación* in their sample of U.S.-born and foreign-born parents of European, Mexican, Cambodian, and Vietnamese descent. All groups except European American parents believed that social skills were more important than cognitive skills for school-readiness. Also, Okagaki and Frensch (1998) found that Latino parents (94% of Mexican descent and approximately 50% immigrant) gave higher importance ratings to children's socio-emotional characteristics than aspects of academic achievement when compared to Asian American or Euro-American parents.

In this study, Step 3 of the SIP model inspired the format of the semi-structured interviews (see Appendix B) that were discussed in Steps 1 and 2. Interview questions and hypothetical scenarios were created and divided according to one of the above cultural childrearing goals (*familismo*, *respeto*, and *educación*). Considering this step from the cultural change perspective also influenced the decision to examine maternal acculturation and SES in conjunction with parenting. According to cultural change model, goals may modify depending on time, context, and exposure to new information. It is important to consider these changes due to their implications for immigrant parenting and children's development (Halgunseth et. al., 2006).

Choosing and Implementing Parenting Practices

In Steps 4-6 of the SIP model, the focus is on parental behavioral responses. Like all steps in the model, these last three steps may occur simultaneously. Step 4 includes accessing possible behavioral responses from memory. Step 5 entails evaluating these responses according to whether they correspond to goals selected in Step 3. In Step 6, a response is executed. Emotions such as those resulting from stress or depression may or may not influence the decision-making process (Crick & Dodge, 1994). In order to illustrate these steps, three categories of Latino parental behavior and their effects on children's well being are reviewed below. Influences such as child age, parents' country of origin, acculturation status, and SES are considered.

Affection/Closeness. Parental affection and closeness has generally been operationalized according to use of physical affection, praise, and responsiveness to children. Research on Latino parental affection has primarily used observational measures. Past findings suggest that parental affection and closeness is positively

associated with children's well-being in Latino families regardless of child's age (Ispa et al., 2004; Hernandez-Guzman & Sanchez-Sosa, 1996).

Previous research has revealed several important influences on Latino parents' expressions of affection such as maternal SES, education, and country of origin. In their sample of Euro-, African, and Hispanic (70% Mexican descent, 40% immigrant) American mothers, Bradley, Corwyn, McAdoo, and García Coll (2001) found that poverty was a much greater predictor of maternal use of responsiveness than ethnicity. Across ethnicity, poor mothers were less likely in home observations to encourage their children to contribute to conversations, answer children's questions or requests verbally, convey positive feelings about children in their voices, and converse positively with children than non-poor mothers.

Associations between maternal education and maternal warmth have also been found in past research on Latino parenting. Calzada and Eyeberg (2002) found that more educated immigrant Dominican mothers reported using more praise and child-focused play with their 2-to-6-year-old children than less educated immigrant Dominican mothers. Laosa (1978) observed that more educated Mexican American mothers were more likely to use praise with their 5-year old children than their less educated peers. These findings did not differ by sex of child.

Acculturation may also influence Latino parental expressions of warmth. After controlling for education, Ispa et al. (2004) found that more acculturated Mexican American mothers displayed greater warmth with their 15-month-old children than less acculturated Mexican American mothers. Although they did not control for education, Calzada and Eyeberg (2002) found similar findings in their sample of immigrant Puerto

Rican mothers. In both studies, acculturation included several questions regarding English proficiency and usage. Thus, it is possible that the ability to communicate and function in the majority culture may result in less parental stress or isolation. This, in turn, may contribute to less inhibition in parental displays of warmth with their children. Certainly, more research in this area is needed to confirm this hypothesis.

Findings indicate that Latino parental affection and closeness are influential in promoting children's well-being, regardless of child's age. Ispa et al. (2004) found no ethnic differences in the positive relation between maternal warmth and parent-child relationship variables. After controlling for maternal education, Ispa et al. found that when Euro-, African-, and Mexican (both more acculturated and less acculturated) mothers displayed more warmth with their infants at 15-months of age, the same children scored lower on child negativity and higher on child engagement and dyadic mutuality with their mothers 10-months later. Martínez (1988) found a positive relation between maternal praise and child task involvement as well as between praise and children's use of inquires to mother during tasks in her observations of Mexican American mothers and kindergarten-aged children. Maternal warmth as reported by Mexican American adolescents is also related to less adolescent anxiety (Hernandez-Guzman & Sanchez-Sosa, 1996) and with more overall desire to adopt parental beliefs (Okagaki & Moore, 2000).

Lindahl and Mahlik (1999) have cautioned researchers against integrating measures of parental warmth with parental control. According to these authors, use of control does not necessarily indicate less warmth in non-European American families. Therefore, while Latino children over the age of 6 tend to experience more control than

younger Latino children, it can not be assumed that they also are less close to their parents or receive less affection than their younger peers.

Protection and monitoring. *Protection* refers to the promotion of children's safety via limits on their contacts with negative influences. *Monitoring* emphasizes parental supervision or awareness of children's activities (Stattin & Kerr, 2000). Both behaviors imply a concern with child safety and an attempt to restrict children's autonomous behavior and experiences. In general, previous studies on *protection* and *monitoring* in Latino families have examined children in middle childhood and adolescence (Halgunseth et al., 2006).

After controlling for SES, research has found that Latino parents tend to monitor and protect their middle-childhood and pre-adolescent children more than Euro- and Asian American parents (Durrett et al., 1975; Okagaki & Frensch, 1998). Substantial evidence suggests that parental monitoring is beneficial for Latino adolescent well-being. Parental monitoring has been linked with higher adolescent academic motivation (Plunkett & Bámaca-Gomez, 2003), less adolescent smoking (Shakib et al., 2003), and less overall deviance (Baer, 1999; Forehand, Miller, Dutra, & Watts Chance, 1997). However, little research has examined the influence of acculturation.

Physical and verbal punishment. In this section, findings on both physical and verbal punishment are reviewed because the two constructs are often combined in past research on Latino families. In examining Latino parents' use of physical and verbal punishment, a review of past research points to the importance of considering the influences of SES and other sources of parental stress (Halgunseth et al., 2006). In general, when SES is not controlled, Latino parents are found to implement more

physical punishment (Cardona et al., 2000; Johnson et al., 1983), as well as more combined verbal and physical punishment (MacPhee, Fritz, & Miller-Heyl, 1996) than European American parents. When SES is considered, however, no differences are generally found between Latino and Euro-American parents on either type of measure (Jambunathan, Burts, & Pierce, 2000; Julian, McKenry, & McKelvey, 1994; MacPhee et al., 1996; Medora et al., 2001).

As posited by SIP theory, various sources of parental stress (e.g., financial, acculturative, marital) are important to consider. Heightened emotions may influence parental decisions to use or not use physical and verbal punishment. For example, Uno, Florsheim, and Uchino (1998) found that the combined influences of financial, parenting, and global stress mediated the relation between parent's ethnicity (Mexican versus European American) and use of physical punishment. Parke et al. (2004) also found a relation between economic pressure and combined reports of hostile parenting (strictness, punishment, and nagging) by Latino parents and their 5th grade children; in this study, economic pressure was linked to depressive symptoms for both mothers and fathers, and parental depressive symptoms, in turn, were related to both marital problems and hostile parenting. Lastly, findings by Varela et al. (2004) suggest parental acculturative stress may influence 10- to 14-year-old children's reports of parents' use of physical punishment. After controlling for SES, they found that immigrant Mexican and Mexican American parents reported higher use of authoritarian parenting (using power assertion to enforce rules) than mothers residing in Mexico.

Most studies on parental use of physical and verbal punishment have indicated a negative relation with Latino child well-being (Halgunseth et al., 2006). For example,

past research has found physical and verbal punishment to predict greater child anxiety, depression, and conflict with parents (Barber, 1994; Hill et al., 2003; Johnson et al., 1983; Laosa, 1980; Martínez, 1988). Influences of maternal stress and acculturation were not always controlled for in these studies. Thus, their roles in the relations between verbal and physical punishment and children's well being are not well-understood.

Consideration of Steps 4-6 guided the decisions made in the present study regarding data analysis techniques and measures. Items relating to all three parenting practices above were included in the construction of the self-report parenting instrument due to their implications for Latino child development. The current study also assessed maternal SES, acculturation, and depression levels due to their influences on Latino parental behavior. Lastly, maternal acculturation, depression, and SES (i.e., education and household income) were statistically controlled for in examining the relation between Latino parenting and children's well being.

Conclusion

The development of new culturally-sensitive self-report parenting measures are necessary in order to extend current knowledge on Latino parenting and child development. The primary goal of this study was to develop a culturally-sensitive self-report parenting measure for immigrant Mexican American mothers. Cultural change and SIP models' premise that goals are influenced by cultural context and motivate parental behavior was both the impetus and foundation for the current study. Additional concepts from each model were considered in study design and instrument construction.

Cultural change theory's concept of modifications in parental cognitions over time depending on exposure and context led to the decisions to assess maternal

acculturation and to limit the study sample to one particular Latino subgroup - immigrant Mexican American mothers. Limiting the sample to one country and generational group minimized the risk of generalizing findings across a vastly heterogeneous Latino population (García Coll et al., 1995). Latinos of Mexican descent were chosen in particular because they are the largest Latino ethnic sub-group in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001). In addition, only immigrant mothers over the age of 25 were sampled due to the greater likelihood that they would promote traditional values and practices consistent with the Mexican culture than younger Mexican mothers who were born in the U.S.

The SIP model also influenced the design of the current study. Steps 1 and 2 highlighted the importance of considering the influence of maternal interpretations and how they may differ among Latino mothers according to children's age. Thus, this study implemented qualitative interviews prior to instrument construction and included only mothers with children ages 6-10. Step 3 guided the study's inclusion of three cultural childrearing goals (*familismo*, *respeto*, and *educación*). Semi-structured interviews were organized according to these goals and the hypothetical scenarios presented to mothers included child violations of at least one of these goals. Steps 4-6 emphasized the influences of maternal emotions, acculturation, and SES on parenting behaviors. The current study, therefore, included measures of all three variables and considered their influences on parental behavior and its relation to children's well being.

In sum, this study had two research purposes. The first purpose was to develop a culturally-sensitive self-report parenting instrument for immigrant Mexican mothers by using Latino cultural childrearing values and mothers' qualitative interviews as its base.

The second purpose was to examine the validity of the instrument. The predictive validity of this instrument was examined in relation to children's well being after controlling for the influences of maternal acculturation, depression, education, and income.

CHAPTER TWO

Phase 1: Instrument Construction

Method

Participants

Participants in Phase 1 of the study consisted of 10 immigrant or first-generation Mexican American mothers. Six mothers were married, and four were separated. The mean age was 38.1 ($SD=6.5$). Mothers had an average of 8.4 years of education ($SD=3.9$) and reported living in the U.S. an average of 8.4 years ($SD=6.6$). Average household income was in the range of \$10,000/year - \$20,000/year ($SD=.88$). Average number of household members per participant was 5.7 ($SD = 3.5$).

Procedures and Measures

Mothers were recruited from a non-profit community agency in a Midwestern city. They were told that the purpose of the study was to understand Latino mothers' thoughts and feelings on how children should be raised. Only immigrant Mexican American mothers who were over the age of 25 and had at least one child ages 6-10 were selected for participation. Participants were not excluded due to marital status, education, or income. Verbal consent (see Appendix A) was required prior to participation. Verbal rather than written consent was attained in order to protect families concerned with immigration status issues.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted in the homes of qualified participants to the point of saturation of themes, where subsequent interviews yielded no new information (Morse, 2000). Interviews were conducted in Spanish, were recorded for later transcription, and ranged one- to two- hours in length. Interviews consisted of

questions (see Appendix B) regarding mother's thoughts on (1) the qualities held by good versus bad children and good versus bad mothers, (2) the values *familismo*, *respeto*, and *educación*, and (3) appropriate responses to various scenarios in which children had violated cultural childrearing values.

At the end of the interview, demographic information was obtained (see Appendix C). Interviews were later transcribed by the doctoral candidate using Microsoft Word. Using constant comparative method (Straus & Corbin, 1998), the doctoral candidate and another bilingual graduate student explored transcriptions for emerging themes. Coding was conducted separately. Periodically, the two coders met to compare themes and reach consensus on discrepancies. Thus, each resulting theme was agreed upon by both coders.

When consensus was reached across themes, the two coders searched for the three most predominant parenting themes. The doctoral candidate then constructed six to seven items per each theme (see Appendix D). Some items were designed to tap into the intensity of mothers' beliefs; other items were designed to measure the frequency with which mothers practiced behaviors. Depending on the sensitivity of the theme, some items were constructed to ask mothers' about their beliefs rather than their actual practices. In the next section, the three themes that emerged during interviews and that guided the construction of items for the self-report parenting measure are discussed.

Results and Discussion

Three general parenting themes emerged from the interviews. Those themes were labeled: Warmth, Protection/Monitoring, and Discipline. Discipline consisted of three subcategories: Communication, Verbal Punishment, and Physical Punishment. Across

parenting themes, no differences in child sex were found. The sections below describe and discuss each parenting finding.

Warmth

Warmth consisted of maternal behavior that was affectionate or that promoted close mother-child relationships. In their advice to hypothetical parents, most participants emphasized the importance of letting children know they were loved. Mothers believed it was important to “*darles mucho cariño*” [give children a lot of love or affection] or as one mother put it, “*darles el cariño que ellos merecen*” [give them the love that they deserve.]

Participants reported that they expressed “*cariño*” (love/affection) by telling their children that they loved them, by hugging and kissing their children, by congratulating their children (“*felicitándolos*”) on accomplishments, and by using affectionate nicknames when talking to their children. Nicknames such as “*flaca*” (skinny one), “*gordo*” (chubby one), “*prieto*” (dark one), and “*reina*” (queen) were often used in conversations with children by mothers to express warmth and affection. During one interview, for example, a mother spontaneously used an affectionate nickname in responding to her 8-year-old son who wanted to wear a different shirt, “*Si quieres, este, cámbiate, rey.*” [If you would rather that one, then change it, my king.] Another mother described how she shows her children that she loves them:

“Pues, para mi, abrazarlos, o ‘Te quiero mucho’ o así. Cada vez como si. Yo a los míos hablo así ‘Ve. Haz esto papi.’ Porque siempre para mi son, como les digo ‘papi’ como estén grandes ‘o papá.’ O algo así. O ‘mi amor.’ Siempre a [Child 1] ó a [Child 2] ‘Ve a traer eso, mi amor.’ O algo así.

[Well, for me, hug them, or say ‘I love you very much’ or like that. Each time, like. For me, with my children, I say things like, ‘Look. Do this, papi.’ Because always for me, like I call them, ‘papi’ or if they are big, ‘papa.’ Or something like that. Or ‘my love.’ Always with [Child 1] or [Child 2], ‘Go and bring that, my love’ or something like that.]

Warmth also included mothers spending time with and giving attention to their children. According to participants, a “bad mother” was one who “*no les da tiempo a los niños*” [doesn’t spend time with her children]. Seven out of ten mothers strongly recommended that mothers spend time with their children by “*platicando*” [talking/conversing] with them. For example, one mother described how she encouraged closeness with her child via *platicando*:

“Porque yo me da cuenta cuando mi hijo está preocupado, cuando tiene alguna problema y no quiere platicar y yo voy, ‘Que te pasa. Platícame. Yo no voy a enojar ni a reganar, yo te escucho a ver ya me platica o está enojado o por algo que manda. Cada rato que me traer que al traer trabajo mi hija se lo lleva y yo me traigo y yo, ‘Hijo está enojado o algo, tu hermana te hizo algo? Yo te veo enojado porque estás enojado?’”

[Because I can tell when my child is worried, when he has a problem, and doesn’t want to talk and I go ‘What’s wrong? Talk to me. I will not get mad or scold you. I will listen. Let’s see, do you want to talk to me, are you angry because of something I did?’ Every once in a while on the way to work my daughter drops him off (at school) and I pick him up and I say, ‘Son, are you

angry or something, did your sister do something? You look mad, why are you mad?']

Cultural change and SIP theories suggest that parental goals influence parental behavior. In the case of immigrant Mexican American mothers, the cultural childrearing goal of *familismo* (i.e., the value of strong family ties) may motivate parental affectionate behavior. Forms of parental affection, such as the use of affectionate nicknames, may be particularly useful in encouraging close parent-child relationships and hence, a strong sense of family for children.

Protection/Monitoring

Another common parenting theme that emerged during parents' interviews related to a concern for children's safety and the need for parents to protect children and to monitor their activities. Participants believed it was the mothers' responsibility to "*protegerlos más que nada*" [protect their children above all else.] Children needed to be protected from harm by others (especially nonfamilial adults) and from going down "*el mal camino*" [the wrong path]. Two parenting strategies that were used to protect children were monitoring children's behavior and "*darles muchos consejos*" [giving a lot of advice or words of wisdom].

According to participants, a "bad mother" was one who did not know where her child was playing or with whom her child was playing, did not personally supervise the child's play after dark or for an extended period of time, and who left her child with people she didn't know well. A "good mother" was one who always checked-up on her child, kept her child on "*el buen camino*" [the right path], and protected her child from danger. When asked to give advice to hypothetical mothers, participants recommended

that mothers should “*checkearlos*” [check up on their children] regularly, never leave their children alone with someone they did not know, and always know where their children were playing and with whom.

In order for children to stay on “*el buen camino*” [right path], participants highly recommended that mothers give children a lot of “*consejos*” [advice/words of wisdom]. All except for two participants believed that their children should come to them for *consejos*. Some mothers replied that children should seek *consejos* when they are teased or mistreated at school or when they over-hear something that they did not understand. Three mothers believed that their children should come to them for *consejos* “*por todo*” [for everything].

All but two participants preferred that their children play inside rather than outside of the house. In addition, three participants preferred that their children play with familial rather than nonfamilial peers. The reason for these two preferences concerned children’s safety. One mother explained, “*Afuera hay mas peligro que adentro*” [There is more danger outside than inside.] Another mother explained, “*Adentro. Porque sé que están seguros adentro de la casa. Y sé que estoy mirando y escuchando.*” [Inside. Because I know they are safe inside the house. And I know that I am watching and listening.]

Six mothers did not have a preference whether their children played with family or non-familial peers as long as they could monitor their children while they played. One mother said, “*No. Solo estando yo mirándoles. Si no, no. Si los amigos quieren venir a jugar en esta casa, pueden venir. Pero mis niños no van.*” [No. The only thing is that I have to watch them. If I can’t, then no. If the friends want to come to our house and play,

they can come. But, my children do not go over there.] These participants allowed their children to play with nonfamilial peers at their homes or at a neutral setting (e.g., park) where the mother could attend and monitor them.

Mothers who preferred that their children play with family members explained that this was because they had more “*confianza*” [trust/confidence] with family members. When asked why she preferred that her children play with cousins rather than nonfamilial peers, one mother said, “*Tengo confianza porque es mi hermana y yo sé que ella no va a hacer que ellos hagan algo malo*” [Because I have trust/confidence in my sister, and I know that she will not let my children do anything bad.] Another mother said that she preferred her children play with family members “*porque hay mas confianza en la familia. Miembros de la familia va a protegerlos, cuidarlos*” [Because there is more trust/confidence in the family. Members of the family will protect them, take care of them.]

Some participants also believed that mothers should protect their children from their own negative emotions. All ten participants believed mothers should express affection and love to their children; however, four participants did not believe that mothers should display negative emotions such as anger or sadness to their children. These participants believed that it hurt children to see their parents mad or sad. When asked whether mothers should display emotions to their children, one mother responded, “*Yo creo que solamente amor. No, enojo. No, tristeza. Porque a veces los niños también se ponen como tristes. Y hay, nosotros hay que tratar de alegrarlos no de ponerles mas tristes.*” [I think only love. Not anger. Not sadness. Because sometimes children also will

become sad, and we, (as parents) should try to make them happy, not to make them sad.]

Another participant echoed this sentiment:

“Hay no. Porque. Yo sí demuestra mi hijo mucho amor. Mucho amor. Porque más que nada pues como su papa no vive con nosotros verdad yo tengo que ser papa y la mama. Pero ni tristeza ni enojo no me gusta mi hijo que me ve. Y por tristeza menos. No, porque el me ve triste o me ve enferma y ya está a lado de mi.

‘¿Mama que te pasa? ¿Porque estas enferma? ¿Te sientas mal? ¿Te doy una pastilla? ¿Te duele eso? ¿O x-cosa?.’ No a mi no me gusta, si estoy enojada pues estoy enojada por otra cosa no con él, porque el no me gusta.”

[Oh no. Because. I do show my son a lot of love. A lot of love. Because more than anything because his father doesn't live with us. I really have to be father and mother. But, sadness nor anger, I do not like my son to see on me. And sadness even less. No, because he sees me sad or sick and there he is by my side, ‘Mom, what's wrong, why are you sick? Do you feel bad? Can I get you an aspirin. Does that hurt. Or x hurt? No, I don't like that, if I am mad, well then I am mad at something else, not with him. Because he doesn't like me (like that).]

Cultural change and SIP models' concept that cognitions are influenced by context may explain why several participants in this study emphasized children's safety. The neighborhood conditions in which mothers lived may serve as one example. All mothers in this study reported being raised under poor economic conditions and having low-incomes currently. Thus, participants' fear for child safety may be due to the dangerous neighborhood conditions in which low-income families are often forced to live (Ispa, Thornburg, & Fine, 2006). Past experiences may have influenced some mothers to

perceive protection and monitoring strategies as necessary in order to ensure children's safety. It is possible that the concern for safety found in this study may have been less emphasized if participants had lived or had themselves been raised in more secure circumstances.

Another explanation has to do with the unexpected finding that at least four of the participants reported being sexually-abused as children. For example, one participant who had been sexually-abused had trouble allowing her 9-year-old son to participate in extra-reading instruction during school because it involved him sitting in a room alone with a male tutor for an hour. She feared that one hour was too long for her son to be in a room alone with someone she did not know. Even though her son was reading behind grade level, she did not allow her son to receive the individual reading attention. Cultural change and SIP frameworks acknowledge that past experiences of social interaction influence parental models. In addition, SIP recognizes that emotions may influence what parents attend to and their decision making processes. In applying these frameworks, therefore, one can understand how past experiences of abuse would lead some mothers to become extremely cautious of leaving their children alone with adults they did not know. Another participant reflected on how her past experiences as a child had influenced her current parenting:

Participant: "No sé. Siempre obedecía. Obedecía. También, me enseñaron a respetar, pero lo que no, nos cuidaron fue que las personas mayores se acercaron a nosotros, y por eso es que yo soy mas diferente con mis hijos. Nunca nos cuidó. Nunca cuidó que personas mayores se acercaban a nosotros. Ese es la diferencia que yo ahora cuido a mis hijos de las personas mayores.

Interviewer: Creo que hay muchas mamas que han cambiado en esa manera.

Participant: Si. Que las pasan cosas de niños, y empieza uno trata de cuidar a sus hijos mejor.

[Participant: “I don’t know. I always obeyed. I obeyed. Also, they (my parents) taught me to respect, but what they didn’t do, they didn’t protect us from adults approaching us, and because of this I am very different with my children. Nobody protected us. Nobody protected us from adults approaching us. This is the difference, that now I do protect my children from other adults.

Interviewer: I think that many mothers have changed in this way.

Participant: Yes. Things happen to us as children, and one begins to take care of their own children better.]

Discipline

Disciplining children for misbehaviors was a reoccurring theme in participants’ interviews. While all mothers believed it was important to discipline children when they misbehaved, they varied in their preferred method. Below are three discipline strategies that emerged in interviews with participants.

Communication. Communication included explaining to your child why a particular misbehavior was incorrect and asking the child’s side of the story before issuing a scolding or punishment. Some mothers believed communication to be a crucial parenting practice in raising “good” children. For example, one participant said, “*Pues, la comunicación. Pues, yo digo que va todo, va proveerlos buenos hábitos desde chiquito, desde muy pequeños*” [Well, communication. Well, I say it is everything, it

provides them with good habits from when they are small, from when they are very little.]

Several participants practiced communication-related strategies in disciplining their own children. Six mothers reported occasions in which they had explained to their children why they were upset with them and their behavior. When presented with a hypothetical situation in which their child had misbehaved, four mothers believed that they would respond to the situation using communication-related strategies. For example, one mother explained how she would give her son the opportunity to give his side of the story if he had misbehaved:

“Digo, ‘Vamos a hablar.’ Y ya, nos sentamos a ver que pasó que como estuvo que fue lo que te sucedió porque te portaste así, y ya me empieza a platicar que fue lo que pasó y ya o sea, ya pues es cuando yo decido si necesita una sanción o castigo o si realmente no.”

[I say, ‘Let’s talk.’ And that’s it, we sit down so that I can see what had happened, how things were that made him behave like that, and that’s it, he begins to talk to me about what had happened and that’s it, I mean, afterwards is when I decide if I need to give him a sanction or a punishment or if I don’t really need to.]

Several participants also recommended communication-related parenting techniques to hypothetical mothers. When Arturo violated the cultural childrearing goal of *educación* by not greeting his grandmother, three participants believed the hypothetical mother, Mrs. Rosa, should respond by explaining and reminding Arturo the reasons why it is important to greet elders when entering the room. When given the hypothetical

scenario of Arturo hitting his mother's friend, five participants believed that Mrs. Rosa should respond to the situation by explaining to Arturo why his behavior was wrong.

Participants also recommended that hypothetical mothers allow their children the chance to give their side of the story before reprimanding them. After Arturo had hit Mrs. Rosa's friend, four participants believed that Mrs. Rosa should begin her communication with Arturo by asking her child's motives or reasons for hitting the friend. For example, one participant said, "*Ay. Bueno, pues. Pues, hablo en primer lugar hablo con él para ver que fue que pasó. Para que el me explique que fue lo que pasó realmente.*" [Ah, well, in first place, talk with him to find out what had happened so that he can explain what had really happened.] When Arturo did not clean his room as he was told, two mothers believed it was important that Mrs. Rosa allow Arturo the opportunity to explain to her why he hadn't completed his chores before she punished him.

Verbal Punishment. Some parenting discipline strategies that emerged during participants' interviews related to the category of verbal punishment. In responding to children's misbehavior, several participants endorsed scolding. Mothers, however, varied in their opinions on the appropriateness of yelling or shouting at their children for misbehaviors.

Some participants believed that mothers should never shout or yell at their children. When asked to give parenting advice to hypothetical mothers, three participants recommended, "*que no gritan*" [don't yell/shout] at your children. They believed that it was a form of child maltreatment. When asked to give characteristics of a "bad mother," three mothers believed it was one who "*le grita mucho*" [yells a lot] at their child.

It seemed, however, that the same number of participants, if not more, did use verbal punishment. When asked how she responds when she is upset with her child, one participant answered, “¿Cuándo yo estoy enojado? Yo cuando estoy enojado, le grito. Le grito fuerte, ‘Chiquillo,’ [When I am angry? When I am angry, I yell. I yell hard, ‘Little one....’]”

When asked to describe how they responded to their child’s most recent misbehavior, three participants reported that they had yelled or threatened the child with a punishment. The punishment would be carried out if the child did not stop the misbehavior immediately or if the child ever repeated the same misbehavior in the future. When asked how they generally expressed disapproval of their children’s behavior, four participants said that they would yell or threaten their child with a punishment by saying things such as, “*te voy a pegar*” [I’m going to hit you]. Most of these mothers confessed that they had no intentions of actually following through with their threat. They used threats as a means of getting children to stop the misbehavior. Four participants believed that Latinas, in general, yell at their children when they are upset with them or with something they have done.

More common than yelling and threatening punishments were participants’ reports of “*regañar*” [scolding] or “*reprender*” [reprimanding]. When asked how they handled the most recent situation in which their child had misbehaved, seven mothers said that they had scolded their child (“*le regañé*”). Mothers differed, however, in where and when it was appropriate to scold children. For example, one mother believed that scoldings should not be conducted in public because she didn’t like “*espectáculos*”

[spectacles]. Another mother explained a dilemma when her 7-year-old son misbehaved in the store:

“A veces que vamos a la tienda, y por “X” o por lo que sea, me contesta mal. En la tienda, luego no los puede reprender fuerte y luego a veces dan ganas agarrarlos y darles nalgadas, pero no puedo enfrente de uno. Y ya cuando llegamos a la casa les echo todo mi rollo “Que no me gusta que hagan esto. Que me dan ganas a patearlos, pero no puedo hacerlo enfrente de la gente. Y que si me vuelvan a hacer eso no les voy a comprar tal cosa o no les vuelva a llevar o así.]

[Sometimes we go to the store, and for “x” reason or for whatever reason, he will talk back to me in the store. Afterwards, I cannot reprimand them and afterwards I feel like grabbing them and giving them a spanking, but not in front of another person. And when we get to the house I give him my whole script, “That I don’t like it when he does that. That I feel like spanking them, but I can’t in front of other people. And if they do this again I am not going to buy whatever thing or I will not take them back (to the store) or something like that.]

Some mothers, on the other hand, felt that it was important to scold the child in “*el momento*” [the moment]. When asked to give advice to a mother, Mrs. Rosa, whose 8-year-old daughter, Susie, had been reported talking-back to a female neighbor, three mothers advised Mrs. Rosa to scold Susie immediately and in front of the neighbor. One mother advised,

“Regañarla. Decir ‘Por que le hace así a la Señora?’ Regañarla donde sea. Es como, (Child’s name) a horita que salió, anda, quien sé donde fue, pero si viene alguien, y me dijo, ‘Ah, su hijo se portó mal.’ Yo lo tengo que regañar y educarle eso para que

ya nunca le vuelva a hacer. Como yo te estaba diciendo, ellos no mas se fijan, si uno se enoje uno lo que ellos hacen y mama le guste uno se van repitiendo, repitiendo, entonces, el niño nunca se va a educar. Nunca van a entender porque pues uno le, se deja uno lo que ellos hagan.”

[Scold her. Say, ‘Why did you do that to the Mrs. (neighbor)?’ Scold her wherever. It’s like, (Child’s name) recently when he went out, I forget where, but if someone comes and told me, ‘Ah, your child misbehaved.’ I have to scold him and educate him so that he never does that again. Like I was saying, they just figure it out, if one gets mad at one for what they do and the mother likes it they keep repeating it, and repeating it, then, the child will never be educated. They will never understand because well, one lets them do whatever they want.’]

The feeling that mothers should scold their children the moment they realize their child had misbehaved can also be seen in participants answers to a scenario in which Arturo had hit his mother’s friend. Four mothers believed that the mother should scold Arturo in front of the mother’s friend. For example, one mother said, “O sea, delante de la señora, regañarlo o sea decirle, “Esta no está bien. Este no tienes que hacerlo.” [In other words, in front of the neighbor, scold him or tell him, “That was not good. You had no reason to do this.”]

Two exceptions to mother’s use of scolding and reprimanding existed. One included the idea that mothers should scold their children a little at the moment, but then later in private children should receive the full scolding. The second exception was the notion that children should always be given the opportunity to explain their side of the

story first before being scolded. In their advice to hypothetical mothers whose children had misbehaved, three mothers responded:

“Mmm. No. O sea, retirarse o dejarlo, sea, nada mas, este, decirle que ‘Esto no está bien,’ pero hablar con él después en casa. Cuando no está la señora.”

[Mmm. No. Or, leave it, or, just tell him that ‘This was not good’ but talk to him later in the house when the lady is not there.]

“Regañarlo. ‘Que no haga eso!’ Enfrente de la señora, para que la señora se sienta contenta de que tú llamaste la atención del niño. También, después, cuando la señora se vaya, decirle, ‘Por que hiciste eso?’ ‘No debes hacer eso!’ Y ellos se dan cuenta. Para mi opinión.”

[Scold him, ‘Do not do this!’ in front of the lady (mother’s friend), so that the lady will feel content that you paid proper attention to the situation. Also, afterwards, when the lady goes, you tell him, “Why did you do that? You shouldn’t do that.’ And they (the children) will realize. In my opinion.]

“Así, como regañar el niño, ¿por que está portando mal? O ¿Por qué lo está haciendo? O ¿Qué fue lo que pasó exactamente? Bueno, antes de regañarlo, preguntar lo que pasó exactamente.”

[Like, scold the child, ‘Why are you behaving badly?’ or ‘Why are you doing that?’ or ‘What exactly happened?’ Well, before scolding him, ask exactly what happened.”

Physical Punishment. Participants differed on their beliefs and practices concerning physical punishment. Half the sample was against the use of physical

punishment of any kind. The other half of the sample distinguished between two forms of physical punishment: “*pegados*” [hits] and “*nalgadas*” [spankings].

Pegados were not endorsed by any of the participants. One mother defined it as child abuse in that it was harsh and left bruises on children. When asked to describe a “good mother,” some participants replied that it was one who “*no le pega mucho*. No maltratarlos” [One that doesn’t hit a child a lot. Doesn’t mistreat them]. When asked to describe a “bad mother,” five mothers said that it was one who “*pegan mucho*. *Agarran a golpes a sus niños*.” [Hits their children a lot. Grabs and wacks their children.] One mother, in particular, described her association between *pegados* and “bad” mothers:

“Pero, ya ve que unas madres, yo sí me ha tapado con algunas madres que les pegan mucho. Yo pienso que no es bueno para ellos porque en lugar de que ellos entiendan este se hacen muy rebeldes y se hacen muy, muy, rebeldes y empiezan a ver las cosas muy negativas y ya no, eso no es bueno, y eso está malo en uno. Ese es una madre mala para mí.”

[But, I have seen mothers. I have seen some mothers who hit a lot. I think that it isn’t good because instead of [the child] understanding this, they become very rebellious and get real, real, rebellious and begin to see things very negatively and no, this isn’t good. This is bad for a person. This is a bad mother for me.]

The perceptions of *nalgadas*, on the other hand, varied more than for *pegados*. Some mothers described *nalgadas* as less harsh than *pegados*. Those who endorsed the use of *nalgadas* when children misbehaved believed that it was the best (if not only) way in which children learned “right” from “wrong.” They considered that applying *nalgadas* in response to their children’s misbehaviors were parental attempts to keep children on

the “right path” (*el buen camino*). Their motivation for teaching children “right” from “wrong” is reminiscent of the cultural childrearing goal of *educación*. Cultural change and SIP frameworks propose that some parenting practices are motivated by cultural childrearing goals. This may explain why one mother said that *nalgadas* was necessary to “*educa*” (i.e., root word for *educar* and *educación*; translates into “educate”) children.

Four participants reported having used *nalgadas* with their children when they misbehaved. In giving advice to a mother whose son had disrespected an elder, one participant recommended “*Yo le pondría sus nalgadas en su cuarto.*” [I would give him his spankings in his room.] When asked how Latina mothers in general express their anger or disappointment with their children’s behavior, four mothers reported “*nalgadas.*”

Some mothers distinguished changes in parenting patterns across generations of Latinas. For example, more than half the sample reported that their parents had taught them the importance of being respectful and educated via *nalgadas*; yet, some of these same mothers did not believe physical punishment of any kind was appropriate to use with their children. According to the cultural change theory, mothers’ perceptions of spanking may change over time as they are introduced to strategies that they believe are more adaptive. One mother, for example, explained how changes in exposure to government had influenced changes in parenting for some Latinas:

“Pues le digo. Para mí, yo les grito como así cosas feas cuando estoy enojado. ‘Te vas a ver’ o ‘Te voy a pegar.’ Pero siempre eso. Para las mujeres Latinos es eso. Pero para los que son criadas en México, pues les pegan cuando están enojadas porque allá no hay un gobierno, un sistema de que proteja los niños.”

[Well, I'll tell you, for me, I yell ugly things at my children when I am angry with them, 'You will see' or 'I'm going to hit you.' But it's always just that. For Latinas it is always just that. But for those who were raised in Mexico, well, they hit their children when they are angry because in Mexico there is no government, no system to protect children.]

Phase 2: Focus Groups

Method

Participants

Participants included five immigrant Mexican American mothers. Three mothers were married, and two were separated. The mean age for participants was 32 ($SD=4.9$). Mothers had an average of 7.6 years of education ($SD=1.8$) and reported living in the U.S. an average of 9.6 years ($SD = 5.9$). Average household income was in the range of \$10,000/year - \$20,000/year ($SD = .54$). Average number of household members per participant was 6.4 ($SD = 2.3$). Eighty-percent of mothers were employed. Of those employed, participants worked an average of 39 hours/week ($SD = 2.5$).

Procedures and Measures

As in Phase 1, this study recruited participants from a non-profit community agency in a Midwestern city and did not exclude mothers from participating due to their marital status, education, or income. Participants were told that the study was interested in forming a focus group of Latina mothers in order to ask for their opinions about a parenting questionnaire. Mothers were selected to participate if they were born in Mexico, were over the age of 25, and had at least one child between the ages of 6-10. For reasons stated in Phase 1, verbal consent (see Appendix E) was attained prior to participation.

The focus group took place in a participant's home, was conducted in Spanish, and lasted one hour. Participants were presented with a 19-item, parenting questionnaire (see Appendix F) that was developed based on the three themes detected in Phase 1. Focus group participants were asked to review the parenting questionnaire and to give

their opinions about the clarity and cultural accuracy of the items. To record the participants' feedback, handwritten notes were taken during and after the focus group.

Prior to the focus group, the parenting measure had been reviewed for Spanish accuracy and cultural-sensitivity by two native Spanish-Speaking community professionals. One professional was a clinical social worker who worked primarily with immigrant Mexican American mothers, and the other was the director of a non-profit community agency for Latino families. After feedback was given and discussed, focus group participants completed a demographic questionnaire (see Appendix C).

Results and Discussion

Focus group participants reported that the majority of items on the parenting measure were clear and reflected qualities of both good and bad parenting. As a whole, participants did not believe important parenting behaviors or beliefs were missing from the measure. However, select participants offered their opinions on some items and indicated areas of the measure they thought were confusing. This feedback was incorporated in the final version of the parenting measure used in Phase 3.

Two participants nodded with approval and voiced their agreement when the focus group reached items #2 and #4 on the parenting measure. These mothers said that they always needed to know the parents before allowing their children to play over at a friend's home and that they too had a hard time trusting other adults with their children. One of the participants exclaimed that item #4 reflected her "completely."

Another two participants voiced their agreement when reaching item #3. One mother said that she believed it was very important for parents to give children the opportunity to tell their side of the story before punishing them because there are times

when children are wrongly accused of committing misbehaviors. Another mother supported this point with an example. She said that her brother in Mexico was beaten severely by her father for a misbehavior that he did not do.

Items regarding corporal punishment raised a debate among the focus group participants. When reaching these items, two participants voiced their disapproval with corporal punishment. One mother did not believe there was any difference between *nalgadas* or *pegados*; they were both bad. The other mother believed there was a difference. She said *pegados* left “*marcas*” [marks]; however, she considered both forms of physical punishment inappropriate and preferred using a lot of warmth with her child instead. She related that when parents are very warm with their children, children feel closer to their parents and do not want to disappoint them.

On the other hand, two participants said *nalgadas* (not *pegados*) were important for *educando* children and was the only way in which children “*se van a dar cuenta*” [will realize or learn (to not commit a misbehavior)]. Both participants differentiated between *pegar* and *nalgadas*. The remaining participant agreed *nalgadas* could be used for *educando* children, but that parents shouldn’t always use “*puro nalgadas*” [all spankings] with children. She said that parents have to also communicate with their children.

There were some aspects of the parenting measure that participants found confusing. Three mothers had difficulty indicating the total number of hours (or minutes) they had spent with the target child in the same room each day over the past week. For example, one participant was separated from her husband, and the child had spent the preceding two weeks at his father’s house. One participant could not complete this

section because she could not remember. Another participant co-slept with her son and this affected her response. Because of the difficulty experienced by the focus group participants, this section of the parenting measure was omitted in its final version.

Two mothers had difficulty responding to the first page of the questionnaire relating to parenting beliefs. One participant agreed with a statement, but ultimately marked the wrong box because she found the response format confusing. Instead of indicating that she was 100% in agreement, she accidentally marked the box that represented 0% agreement. Another mother who disagreed with a statement on the first page was not sure which box she should check. Thus, the response format for the first page of the parenting measure was modified to be clearer in its final version.

Lastly, three mothers had difficulty with items on the demographic measure. They did not know what to write for “education level.” Some mothers thought they should write “*primeria*” [elementary school] if they had not graduated from 6th grade. Other mothers thought they should write the number of years they attended school. Participants unanimously suggested that the question specifically ask for the total number of years one has attended school. This correction was made to the final demographic form.

Phase 3: Validation of Measure

Method

Participants

Participants included 168 immigrant Mexican American mothers. Their marital status was as follows: single (7.8%), married (78%), separated (9.6%), divorced (3.0%), and widowed (1.8%). The mean age for mothers was 35 ($SD = 6.0$). Mothers had an average of 9.6 years of education ($SD = 3.2$) and reported having lived in the U.S. an average of 10 years ($SD = 6.9$). Average household income was in the range of \$10,000/year - \$20,000/year ($SD = 1.2$). Average number of household members was 4.9 ($SD = 1.2$). Sixty-percent of the mothers were employed. Of those who were employed, the average total number of hours worked per week was 32 ($SD = 14$).

Target children on whom participating mothers reported were 49% female and 51% male and ranged in age between 6-10 years ($M = 8.0$, $SD = 1.4$). A subset of 30 (14 girls, 16 boys) children from a Midwestern city participated in an extended portion of this study.

Procedures

Participants were recruited through schools, public health programs, and non-profit community agencies that were located in the Midwestern and Southern regions of the U.S. Mothers were told that the study examined Latino parents' opinions and preferred strategies for raising children. Participants were selected to participate in this study if they were born in Mexico, were 25 years or older, and had at least one biological child in between the ages of 6-10. As in the previous two studies, this study did not exclude participants due to marital status, education, or income.

Participants were handed 9" x 12" unsealed white envelopes, each containing a questionnaire packet and a participant information sheet (see Appendix G). For the same reason discussed in Phase 1, written consent was not requested. Questionnaire packets could be completed wherever desired. Packets included measures on parental childrearing attitudes and practices, depression, acculturation, and demographic information. In addition, each packet contained a parent-report measure of children's behavioral competence. For families with more than one child between the ages of 6-10, mothers were asked to flip a coin in order to select a target child on whom to report (see Appendix H). When packets were completed, participants were asked to seal their responses in the white envelopes and to return them either by mailing them to an address listed on the front page of the questionnaire packet or by handing them to a contact in the community agency or school from which they were recruited (see Appendix H).

Verbal consent was obtained from a subset of 30 participating mothers allowing their children to participate in an extension of this study. The extended portion of this study examined children's socio-emotional well being and children's school behavior problems. Because they were the most accessible, only families who lived in one Midwestern city were asked to participate in the additional part of this study.

Once parental consents were obtained, children were asked if they were willing to be a part of a study that examined how people drew their families (see Appendix I). All 30 children who were approached agreed to participate. The doctoral candidate administered all child drawings. Drawings took place in public health offices, an after-school program, or in participant's homes. Mothers were not in the same room as their children when family pictures were being drawn.

In addition, teachers and academic tutors reported on their student's behavioral competence for 28 of the 30 children. Due to the difficulty of finding teachers and academic mentors, two children were not assessed on their behavioral competence in school. Twenty academic tutors and 2 English as Second Language (ESL) school teachers were contacted and asked to participate in a study that examined how Latino parenting affects children's behavior. Written consent was obtained from teachers and tutors who were willing to participate (see Appendix J). Teachers and tutors were then asked to complete a measure that assessed their students' behavioral competence and to return the completed measure to the doctoral candidate within one-week. Teachers assessed no more than four students each; academic mentors assessed no more than 2 students each.

Measures

Demographic. The demographic questionnaire presented in this phase of the study is presented in Appendix K. Maternal education was assessed by one open-ended item that asked, "How many years did you attend school?" Maternal income was calculated as the ratio of two items. The first item asked mothers to report their household income. Mothers could choose from 1 ("*under \$10,000/year*") to 5 ("*above \$50,000/year*"). The second item was an open-ended item that asked mothers how many members lived in their household. To obtain an income-to-member ratio, household income was divided by the number of family members per household for each participant.

Parenting. Parenting was assessed using the parenting measure (see Appendix L) developed in Phase 1 and refined in Phase 2. The measure included 18 items that each tapped one of three general domains: (a) Warmth, (b) Protection/Monitoring, and (c)

Discipline. Warmth consisted of five items. The first item asked participants to what extent they believed children should always be “glued” (or very close) to their mothers, both physically and emotionally. Scores ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The remaining four items pertained to the number of days in the last week participants had (1) used affectionate nicknames when talking with their children, (2) hugged or kissed their children, (3) congratulated their children for an accomplishment, and (4) had an informal conversation with their children for at least one hour. Scores ranged from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*4 or more days*). For all five items, higher scores reflected higher levels of maternal Warmth.

Protection/Monitoring consisted of seven items. The first three items pertained to the extent participants agreed with the following statements: (1) “Mothers should not allow their children to play at their friends’ homes unless they know the parents;” (2) “Mothers should protect their children by hiding their anger and sadness from them;” and (3) “It is difficult for me to trust my child with adults outside of the family.” Scores ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The remaining four items pertained to the number of days in the last week participants (1) watched their children play for an hour or more, (2) gave their children advice on the good and bad in life, (3) knew where their children were at all times, and (4) knew with whom their children were with at all times. Scores ranged from 1 (*none*) to 5 (*4 or more days*). For all seven items, higher scores reflected higher levels of maternal protection/monitoring.

Discipline consisted of three subscales: Physical Punishment, Verbal Punishment, and Communication. Physical Punishment consisted of two items that asked participants to what extent they agreed that children who misbehaved should be spanked or hit.

Scores ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Higher scores reflected higher levels of physical punishment. Verbal Punishment consisted of two items. The first item asked participants to what extent they agreed that children who misbehaved should be threatened with a punishment. Scores ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The second item asked participants to indicate the number of days in the last week they had yelled at their children when they misbehaved. Scores ranged from 1 (*no days*) to 5 (*4 or more days*). For both items, higher scores reflected higher levels of verbal punishment.

Communication consisted of two items. The two items asked the extent to which participants agreed that mothers should rely on communication strategies when children misbehaved. For both items, scores ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Higher scores reflected higher levels of communication.

Acculturation. Participants completed Marin, Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal and Perez-Stable's (1987) *Short Acculturation Scale* (See Appendix M). The scale contained 12 items. The first eight items measured participants' proficiency and preference for English or Spanish in a number of settings (e.g., as a child, at home, with friends). Scores ranged from 1 (*Spanish only*) to 5 (*English only*). The remaining items pertained to participants preferred nationality for their friends and for the friends of their children. Scores ranged from 1 (*all Latinas*) to 5 (*all Americans*). Scores were computed by averaging the ratings across items. Higher scores reflected higher acculturation levels. For this study, Cronbach's alpha was .86. Scores on this scale were significantly correlated with the number of years mothers reported having lived in the U.S. ($r = .34, p < .001$).

Maternal Depression. This study used the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale – Short Form (CESD-SF; Ross, Mirowsky, & Huber, 1983; See Appendix N) as an indicator of emotions. The measure included 12 items taken from the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (Radloff, 1977) and assessed symptoms of depression such as appetite loss, sleeplessness, loneliness, sadness, and lethargy. Participants reported on the frequency with which they experienced each of 12 symptoms during the preceding week, from 0 (rarely) to 3 (most days). Scores were computed by averaging the ratings across items. Higher mean scores indicated more depressive symptoms. For this study, Cronbach’s alpha was .92.

Children’s Behavior Problems. Children’s behavior problems were reported on by all participating mothers using the Spanish abridged-version of the Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL/6-18; Achenbach & Rescorla, 2001). The 118-item measure assessed specific child behavioral and emotional problems, and included two open-ended items for reporting additional problems. Mothers rated how true each item reflected their child’s behavior over the past 6 months using the following scale: 0 (*not true*) to 2 (*often true*). Scores were computed by averaging the ratings of items assigned to the following subscales: Anxious/Depressed ($\alpha = .78$), Withdrawn/Depressed ($\alpha = .66$), Somatic Complaints ($\alpha = .82$), Social Problems ($\alpha = .71$), Thought Problems ($\alpha = .71$), Attention Problems ($\alpha = .74$), Rule Breaking Behavior ($\alpha = .78$), and Aggressive Behavior ($\alpha = .85$).

For a subset of 28 children, behavior problems were also reported on by academic mentors and teachers using an abridged version of the Teacher Report Form (TRF/6-18; Achenbach & Rescorla, 2001). Like the CBCL, the TRF also consisted of 118 items;

however the TRF was designed to obtain teachers' reports of children's academic performance, adaptive functioning, and behavioral/emotional problems. Of the 118 items, 93 had counterparts on the CBCL/6-18. The remaining items concern school behaviors that parents would not observe, such as difficulty following directions, tendency to disturb other pupils, and disruption of class discipline. Mentors and teachers rated how well each item reflected students' behavior over the past two months, using the same three-point response scale as for the CBCL/6-18. Scores were computed by averaging the ratings of items assigned to the following subscales: Anxious/Depressed ($\alpha = .90$), Withdrawn/Depressed ($\alpha = .72$), Somatic Complaints ($\alpha = .00$), Social Problems ($\alpha = .42$), Thought Problems ($\alpha = .27$), Attention Problems ($\alpha = .90$), Hyper-Impulsivity ($\alpha = .85$), Rule Breaking ($\alpha = .49$), and Aggressive Behavior ($\alpha = .75$).

Children's Socio-Emotional Well Being. Children's drawings of families were used to assess children's attachment relationships to family members (Fury, Carlson, & Sroufe, 1997). A subset of 30 children was asked to draw pictures of their families using 8" x 10" pieces of white, unmarked paper and 10 colored markers. After drawings were completed, children were asked to write the family roles (e.g., mother, father) above each individual in the drawings. Drawings were scored according to 7 subscales: (1) Vitality/Creativity (exploratory); (2) Family Pride/Happiness (security); (3) Vulnerability (anxious-ambivalent "C"); (4) Emotional Distance/Isolation (anxious-avoidant "A"); (5) Tension/Anger (anxious-avoidant "A"); (6) Role-Reversal (anxious-resistant "C"); (7) Bizarreness/Dissociation (disorganized/disoriented "D"); and (7) Global Pathology (insecurity). The doctoral candidate and another bilingual Mexican American graduate student coded pictures separately. Periodically, the two coders met to discuss discrepant

scores and to reach consensus. Thus, final scores assigned to drawings were agreed upon by both coders. See Appendix O for scoring manual.

Statistical Analyses

AMOS 7.0 (Arbuckle, 2006), a program for structural equation modeling techniques, was used to conduct confirmatory factor analyses (CFA). The goal was to evaluate how well each specified parenting model adequately described the data. It was decided a priori to use model misspecification information to revise and improve the models if warranted (Simon & Tovar, 2004). This decision was based on the lack of existing self-report parenting measures for Mexican American families and the need for the literature on Latino parenting to be extended. All statistical analyses were set with an alpha level of .05.

Model Estimation

Maximum likelihood (ML) estimation was used to perform the confirmatory factor analyses in this study. In assessing model fit, the independence model was compared to the hypothesized and respecified models. Multiple indices were used to evaluate model fit, such as residual error terms, χ^2 to *df* ratios, and the comparative fit index (CFI). See Tables 1-3 for optimal values for these indices.

Model Specification

Two hypothesized models, Warmth and Protection/Monitoring, each consisted of one factor that contained 5 and 7 indicator variables, respectively. The third model, Discipline, consisted of three factors and included two indicator variables per factor. Indicator variables loaded in the following pattern: Warmth (Items 1, 13, 14, 17, and 18), Protection/Monitoring (Items 2, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, and 15), Verbal Punishment (Items 6 and

16), Communication (Items 7 and 9), and Physical Punishment (Items 3 and 8).

Covariance was allowed among the three Discipline factors. The variance for each factor was fixed to 1.0 so that all indicator variables were allowed to load on their respective factors (Kline, 2005). The error terms associated with the observed variables were assumed to be independent of all other error terms.

According to Kline (2005), model identification is reached when a model with one factor has at least three indicators or a model with two or more factors has at least two indicators per factor. Thus, each model in the study had reached the minimum requirement of items in order to conduct CFA.

Results and Discussion

Assessment of Normality, Outliers, and Missing Data

Before conducting CFA, the variables were screened for normality and outliers. Using SPSS 15.0, skewness and kurtosis indices were attained for all items on the parenting, depression, acculturation, education, and income measures. No variables exceeded the cutoff values of 3.0 for skewness and 10 for kurtosis (Kline, 2005). In addition, frequency distributions of *z* scores were examined for possible outliers. No variable contained scores more than three standard deviations beyond the mean (Kline, 2005).

To control for the influences of missing data, Amos 7.0 utilizes full information maximum likelihood estimation (FIML) to impute missing values. FIML is recommended over traditional methods of addressing missing data such as listwise deletion, even when it cannot be assumed that values are missing at random (Acock, 2005). Across variables, data were missing for less than 5% of the sample; less educated

mothers were significantly more likely to have skipped items on the parenting instrument than more educated mothers ($r = .22, p < .01$).

Evaluation of Model Fit

In the next section, results from confirmatory factor analyses are presented for each model: Warmth, Protection/Monitoring, and Discipline. Goodness-of-fit indices for all hypothesized and respecified models are presented in Tables 1-3.

Warmth. Results indicated that the hypothesized model was a poor fit for the data and should be rejected, $\chi^2(5, N = 168) = 32.4, p < .001, CFI = .77$. All items significantly loaded in a positive direction on the factor except for item #1 (“Children should be glued to their mothers”). Item #1 may reflect enmeshment rather than warmth. It was removed from the model. Taking this into account, respecification of the model was pursued with the remaining 4 items. Post hoc analyses indicated that while all model-estimated loadings were significant in a positive direction, the respecified model was a poor fit with the data, $\chi^2(2, N = 168) = 26.04, p < .001, CFI = .79$.

After examining the remaining four items, it was clear theoretical divisions could be made. Items 13 (hugged or kissed child) and 14 (used affectionate nicknames) clearly reflected maternal affection. Items 17 (congratulated child) and 18 (talked with/had a conversation with child) reflected verbal guidance/involvement. Thus, a second respecification of the model was pursued that contained two factors: Affection and Verbal Guidance. Affection consisted of two items (#13 and #14). Verbal Guidance consisted of two items (#17 and #18). The two factors were allowed to covary.

As seen in Table 1, respecified Model 3 represented a substantial improvement in model fit over the first two models, $\chi^2(1, N = 168) = .054, p = .816, CFI = 1.0$. All items

significantly loaded on their respective factor in the expected positive direction (See Figure 1). The two factors were significantly and positively correlated ($r = .54, p < .001$).

Protection/Monitoring. Results indicated that the hypothesized model was a poor fit for the data and should be rejected, $\chi^2(14, N = 168) = 42.4, p < .001, CFI = .78$. Examination of the standardized residuals further supported the model's significant misfit. Only four of the eight items significantly loaded on the factor.

After carefully reviewing the items, it was clear that theoretical divisions could be made. The four items that loaded on the factor (i.e., “watched your child play for at least one hour,” “gave your child advice on the good and bad in life,” “knew where your child was at all times,” and “knew with whom your child was at all times”) pertained to monitoring or guiding children's interactions, without necessarily sheltering children or restricting their interactions with others. The three items that did not significantly load on the factor (“I don't let my child go to friends' homes unless I know the parents,” “It is hard for me to trust others outside the family with my child,” and “Mothers should hide their sadness and anger from their children”) were a combination of items that pertained to mothers' emotions (e.g., fear, sadness, anger) and their attempts to shelter and restrict children's contact with others.

Taking the above into account, respecification of the model was pursued. The model's name was reduced to Monitoring. It consisted of one factor and included four items (#10, #11, #12, and #15). Items that reflected parental sheltering and restriction of children's contact with others were omitted. As seen in Table 2, respecified Model 2 represented a substantial improvement in model fit over Model 1, $\chi^2(2, N = 168) = 4.9, p$

= .086, CFI = .97. All items significantly loaded on the factor (See Figure 2) in a positive direction.

Discipline. Results indicated that the hypothesized model was a good fit for the data, $\chi^2(6, N = 168) = 6.9, p = .331, CFI = .99$. All model-estimated loadings were significant and positive (See Figure 3). A significant positive correlation was found between Verbal and Physical Punishment ($r = .77, p < .001$). However, no significant correlations were found between Communication and Verbal or Physical Punishment.

Reliability

For each model resulting in a good fit with the data, Cronbach's coefficient alphas were obtained using SPSS 15.0. For Warmth's two subscales, Cronbach's alpha was .66 for Affection and .70 for Verbal Guidance/Involvement. Cronbach's alpha for Monitoring was .70. For Discipline's three subscales, Cronbach's alpha were .69 for Physical Punishment, .40 for Verbal Punishment, and .66 for Communication. See Table 4 for descriptive statistics, internal reliability, and scale intercorrelations.

One possible reason for the low reliability found among Verbal Punishment items may be due to how it was operationalized in this study. While all items assessing Physical Punishment and Communication tapped into mothers' beliefs, this was not the case with Verbal Punishment. The first item of Verbal Punishment asked about participants' beliefs; the second item asked about the frequency of its use. Future research should take caution when combining items that assess mothers' beliefs with their actual behavior.

Validity

For each parenting model resulting in a good-fit with the data, mothers' scores for each subscale were calculated as the mean of the appropriate items. For example,

Affection was calculated as the mean of items #13 and #14. Verbal Guidance was calculated as the mean of items #17 and #18. Significant correlations were found among the parenting subscales and maternal acculturation, depression, and income; no significant relations were found between maternal education and the parenting subscales (See Table 4).

Verbal Guidance ($r = .17, p < .05$) and Monitoring ($r = .19, p < .05$) predicted lower scores on Income. Affection ($r = -.18, p < .05$) and Verbal Guidance ($r = -.17, p < .05$) predicted lower scores on Maternal Depression. Communication ($r = .17, p < .05$) predicted higher scores on Acculturation. According to SIP model, emotions such as that stemming from financial pressure, stress, or depression may lead to the inattention or the inhibition to pursue certain childrearing goals. Thus, it is possible that mothers who experience less depression may be more able to attend and respond warmly to their children and their behaviors. In addition, the cultural change model contends that parenting models modify over time if exposed to new methods that are considered more adaptive and that do not clash with influential goals and strategies. Thus, it is possible that an increase in exposure to mainstream beliefs may influence maternal ideas on child self-expression and communication (Halgunseth et al., 2006).

Partial correlations controlling for maternal acculturation, depression, education, and income were conducted among subscales for the parenting measure, CBCL, TRF, and children's drawings. The section below reports these findings. Results are also presented in Tables 5 - 7.

CBCL. Only one subscale of the parenting measure predicted children's problem behaviors as reported by mothers. Maternal reports of verbal punishment were

significantly and positively associated with maternal reports of children's attention problems ($r = .20, p < .05$). No significant relations were found among maternal reports of children's problem behavior and maternal reports of affection, verbal guidance, monitoring, communication, and physical punishment.

TRF. Findings revealed that Affection was negatively related to children's thought problems ($r = -.44, p < .05$). Verbal Guidance was negatively related to children's somatic problems ($r = -.42, p < .05$). Monitoring was negatively related to children's thought problems ($r = -.41, p < .05$), attention problems ($r = -.41, p < .05$), and problems of hyper-impulsivity ($r = -.51, p < .05$). No relations were found between Communication and children's problem behaviors, Verbal Punishment and children's problem behaviors, and Physical Punishment and children's problem behaviors.

Children's Drawings. Findings revealed that Physical Punishment was negatively related to ratings on Bizarreness/Dissociation ($r = -.41, p < .05$), and a negative trend existed between Physical Punishment and Role Reversal ($r = -.37, p = .061$). In addition, a negative trend existed between Verbal Punishment and Happiness ($r = -.34, p = .089$) and a positive trend existed between Verbal Punishment and Emotional Isolation ($r = .36, p = .074$). No other significant findings were found with ratings of children's drawings and the parenting subscales.

Thus, several findings were found in validation of the parenting measure. Consistent with the literature (Baer, 1999; Ispa et al., 2004; Martínez, 1988), subscales of maternal warmth and monitoring in this study were negatively associated with children's problem behaviors as reported by teachers and academic mentors. Interestingly, these findings were not found with maternal reports, despite the fact that there were

substantially more reports from mothers than teachers. There are a few explanations for this. One possible reason may be that Mexican American children differ in their behavior across home and school contexts. School may encompass a variety of additional stressors for children such as issues pertaining to language and discrimination. If children do not have adequate psychological or social resources to cope, they may respond by using internalization strategies.

Another explanation pertains to mothers reporting on both the parenting scale and the CBCL and to the finding that less educated mothers were more likely to skip parenting items. If less educated mothers were also more likely to skip items on the CBCL, then it is possible that controlling for education constrained the variability in both parenting scores and the CBCL. Furthermore, it should also be mentioned that these findings should be taken with caution due to the low levels of internal consistencies associated with the subscales of the TRF and the large number of correlations conducted in this study.

While findings in this study on Verbal Punishment were consistent with the literature, findings associated with Physical Punishment were not. In this study, Verbal Punishment was negatively related to children's well being (i.e., higher maternal reports of attention problems, higher ratings of children's emotional isolation, and lower ratings of child happiness). These findings correspond to past research on Mexican American families (Laosa, 1980; Martinez, 1988). Physical Punishment, however, was positively related to children's socio-emotional well being. Stronger maternal beliefs in the use of physical punishment when children misbehave were related to lower ratings of bizarreness and role-reversal in children's family drawings. Thus, these findings suggest

that the two punishment constructs may not be functioning in the same way in immigrant Mexican American families and should be assessed separately in future research.

CHAPTER 4

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Using cultural change and SIP models as frameworks, a self-report parenting measure was constructed for use with immigrant Mexican American mothers. Items for the measure were developed based on interviews with 10 immigrant Mexican American mothers and were later refined by a focus group of five immigrant Mexican American mothers. The instrument consisted of three general parenting constructs that were supported by CFA and predicted several children's behaviors. The sections to follow discuss study findings and offer directions for future research.

Warmth (*cariño*) was the first construct to surface during mothers' semi-structured interviews. Participants believed mothers should spend time with their children, hug and kiss them, and congratulate them on their achievements. The cultural childrearing goal of *familismo* (i.e., the value of strong family ties) may explain mothers' strong endorsement for these behaviors. Forms of parental affection such as the use of affectionate nicknames may be particularly useful in encouraging close parent-child relationships and hence, a strong sense of family for children.

Monitoring was the second theme that emerged. Participants advocated parenting strategies such as knowing where children were at all times and with whom, observing their children in outside-play, and giving advice (*consejos*) to children on the good and bad in life. The dangerous neighborhood conditions in which mothers lived may have influenced the prevalence of this finding. It is possible that child safety may have been less of a concern if participants lived or had themselves been raised in more secure circumstances. The unexpected finding that at least four of the 10 participants had been

sexually-abused as children may also explain mothers' concern with child protection.

Lastly, the value of *educación* may have motivated participants' beliefs in this area.

Advising children on the "good" versus "bad" in life and monitoring children's exposure to negative peer influences are reminiscent of *educación* in that all reflect the value of high morals and staying on the "right path" (*el buen camino*).

It is important to mention that the value of *educación* was found to cut across several parenting constructs. It was a crucial childrearing goal that motivated a variety of maternal behaviors. Some mothers explained that they used monitoring, discipline, and affection in their efforts to raise children who were *muy educados* (well educated). Thus, this important childrearing goal is permeable and should not be considered as a single construct.

Discipline was the third theme to emerge from interviews. Mothers identified three kinds of parental strategies to address children's misbehavior: Verbal Punishment, Communication, and Physical Punishment. In both qualitative interviews and focus groups, it was clear that immigrant Mexican American mothers were divided in their support of physical discipline. While all mothers disliked the practice of *pegados* (hits), several mothers believed that *nalgadas* (spankings) were necessary in order to *educa* (educate) children. Thus, the cultural childrearing goal of *educación* may motivate some mothers to practice *nalgadas* in that they may believe *dando nalgadas* (giving spankings) teaches children "right" from "wrong" and keeps them on the right path (*el buen camino*).

The variability in mothers' beliefs regarding physical punishment should be underscored due to the common misconception that immigrant Hispanic mothers are overly harsh with their children (Halgunseth, Cushinberry, & Border, 2002). This was not

the case with the current sample. In fact, a few mothers disapproved of physical punishment of any kind. Variability in the use of physical punishment may be partially explained by the SIP concept that emotions such as depression are important influences on the enactment of parental behavior. Immigrant mothers may experience a variety of stressors such as discrimination or economic strain; some mothers may possess the social or psychological resources from which to buffer depression while some mothers may not. Thus, it is important for researchers who study Latino parents' use of disciplinary strategies to consider the influence of depression or stress. The current study assessed maternal depression and controlled for it in all correlations between parenting and children's well being. However, no relations were found in this study among maternal beliefs of physical punishment and maternal reports of depression.

It is also important to mention that there were no differences based on child gender in mothers' parenting beliefs or strategies. Two mothers believed girls were easier *para educar* (to educate) than boys because girls were more *tranquila* (calm); however, all mothers said that expectations for child behavior and the strategies used in *educando* (educating) should be stable across child sex. Thus, the concept of *machismo* that has predominated in the literature on Latino families in the past (Halgunseth et al., 2002) may be diminishing for immigrant Mexican American families, especially in regards to children ages 6-10. Whether mothers hold the same non-gendered beliefs with their adolescent children remains unknown and requires further investigation.

The three parenting models (Warmth, Monitoring, and Discipline) were tested and supported using respecification procedures and CFA. Two subscales for Warmth emerged: Affection and Verbal Guidance. In addition, moderate levels of internal

consistency were found for all parenting subscales with exception of Verbal Punishment ($\alpha = .40$).

Interesting findings emerged in validation of the parenting instrument. Both subscales of Warmth were negatively associated with scores of maternal depression. Verbal Guidance and Monitoring were positively associated with maternal income-to-family member ratios. Lastly, Communication was positively associated with mothers' acculturation levels. These findings are consistent with principles of cultural change and SIP theories. According to SIP, emotions such as those stemming from depression or financial pressure may lead to the inattention or the inhibition to pursue certain childrearing goals. In this study, there was a significant negative relation between maternal depression and income. Thus, it is possible that mothers in this study who experienced less depression or financial pressure may have been more able to attend and respond warmly to their children and their behaviors. In addition, the cultural change model contends that parenting models modify over time if exposed to new methods that are considered more adaptive and that do not clash with influential goals and strategies. Thus, it is possible that an increase in exposure among participants to mainstream beliefs may have influenced maternal ideas on child self-expression and communication (Halgunseth et al., 2006).

Interestingly, maternal education was not associated with parenting subscales or other maternal characteristics in this study. According to the cultural change model, higher levels of education may indicate more access to parenting information from experts. However, findings in this study did not support this hypothesis. A restricted range due to differences in educational systems between Mexico and the U.S. may be a

possible explanation for this finding. In Mexico, public education ends at the 6th grade (Fuligni & Yoshikawa, 2003) and most mothers reported being raised by families who could not afford private secondary education. Information on parenting and child development generally offered at the college or university level may have never been presented to some participants in this study. Thus, participants' ideas on parenting may have been primarily influenced by personal experiences or by word-of-mouth as opposed to educational materials. Fuligni and Yoshikawa (2003) have cautioned researchers in assuming that education functions equally across immigrant and non-immigrant groups in the U.S.

The lack of significant findings between maternal education and parenting subscales was interesting in other ways as well. When maternal education was not controlled, several significant findings resulted in the relations between subscales of parenting and the CBCL. Specifically, eight of the 11 findings pertained to positive associations between Verbal Guidance and scales of the CBCL. This was true even after maternal depression, income, and acculturation were controlled. However, once maternal education was entered as a control, 10 of the 11 significant findings disappeared, including all of the findings between subscales of maternal warmth and the CBCL. The same impact was not found with the TRF or children's drawings.

Since maternal education did not predict any parenting subscale, it is difficult to understand why it was so influential in the relation between subscales of parenting and the CBCL. One possible reason may be due to mothers' reporting on both parenting and the CBCL. Since less educated mothers in this study were more likely to skip items on the parenting scale, it is possible that they were also more likely to skip items on the

CBCL. Thus, there may have been less variability in both parenting and CBCL scores once the influence of maternal education was removed from the analyses. Future research should vary sources of reporting across independent and dependent variables.

Nevertheless, several findings were found between subscales of parenting and child well being after controlling for maternal education, income, acculturation, and depression. Consistent with the literature (Baer, 1999; Ispa et al., 2004; Martínez, 1988), subscales of maternal Warmth and Monitoring were negatively associated with teacher reports of children's problem behaviors. Thus, it is possible that maternal expressions of caring such as expressing warmth or attempting to keep children safe and on the "right path" may make children feel accepted and protected, which then leads to lower internalizing and externalizing behavior. Qualitative research with children on their perceptions of parental warmth and monitoring would reveal whether this is indeed the case. It should also be mentioned that these findings should be taken with caution due to the low levels of internal consistency associated with the subscales of the TRF and the large number of correlations conducted in this study. A more conservative alpha level (less than $p < .05$) was not used because of the study's exploratory nature and the potential of missing a potentially important relation.

Findings on the relations between subscales of Discipline and children's well being were partially supported by the literature. After controlling for maternal characteristics, it seemed Verbal Punishment was negatively related to children's well being (i.e., higher maternal reports of child attention problems, higher ratings of child emotional isolation and lower ratings of child happiness). While these findings correspond to past research on Mexican American families, findings with Physical

Punishment do not (Laosa, 1980; Martinez, 1988). In this study, stronger maternal beliefs in the use of physical punishment when children misbehave were related to lower ratings of bizarreness and role reversal in children's family drawings.

There are three possible explanations for this finding. First, it is important to emphasize that items reflect maternal beliefs and not actual usage of physical punishment. Thus, no inferences can be made regarding actual usage of physical punishment and children's competence in this study. Second, it is possible that this finding was a product of chance due to the large number of correlations conducted in this study. Third, it is possible that some mothers who advocated the use of physical punishment when children misbehaved did so because they believed it was the only method that teaches children "right" from "wrong" and keeps children on the "right path" (*el buen camino*). Several mothers expressed their association of *nalgadas* and *educación* during interviews and during the focus group. Thus, it may have been the goal of *educación* that predicted children's positive well being and not necessarily the belief of physical punishment in-itself. Of course, more research is needed to better understand these relations.

Furthermore, it is important to mention that past research has generally combined measures of verbal and physical punishment (Halgunseth et al., 2006). However, findings in this study indicate that the two punishment constructs may not function in the same way in immigrant Mexican American families. Thus, future research should consider measuring these two constructs separately.

Several limitations with this study should be mentioned. The mothers who participated in the qualitative phase of this study may not have been representative of all

immigrant Mexican American mothers. For example, the majority of these mothers were employed outside of the home. Thus, it is possible that the finding of no gender differences in parenting may not be reflective of all immigrant Mexican American mothers. Also, all participants were living and were raised in low-income neighborhoods. It is possible that the theme of Monitoring may not have emerged in interviews if participants had been living in more secure circumstances. Participants in all phases of the study were from Midwestern and Southern regions of the U.S. Thus, findings from this study can not be generalized to other geographical regions. Furthermore, this study focused on immigrant Mexican American parenting of children ages 6-10 and can not be generalized to parenting of other Latinos or with children of younger and older age groups.

While the self-report parenting measure appears promising, several of its subscales warrant further attention. For example, each subscale in Warmth and Discipline consisted of only two items. According to Kline (2005), model identification is reached when a model with one factor has at least three indicators or a model with two or more factors has at least two indicators per factor. Thus, each model in the study had reached the minimum requirement of items in order to conduct CFA. However, it is possible that the subscales may have predicted more children's well being if they had consisted of more items. Lack of items may explain the lack of relations found between Communication and children's well being.

The present study was also limited in the number of parenting constructs it assessed. The three constructs included in this study's self-report measure are by no means exhaustive. Due to a lack of time and resources, this study could only recruit

enough participants to perform CFA on three parenting constructs. A larger sample size would have permitted the inclusion of more items and the assessment of more constructs. Further research that includes several constructs is necessary in order to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of immigrant Mexican American parent-child relations.

In addition, an increase in sample size and items would have allowed items to be designed to reflect three important parenting goals (relationship-centered, parent-centered, and child-centered; Hastings & Grusec, 1998). For example, items that reflect the cultural childrearing goals of *familismo* could be written from a relationship-centered standpoint. In their study, Hastings and Grusec (1998) found that relationship-centered parenting goals predicted more responsive parenting. Parenting items also could have been designed according to ideal versus actual parenting. This would have allowed the study to assess whether one is more indicative of children's well being than the other. It would also have provided information on whether discrepancies between ideal and actual parenting influenced maternal characteristics such as depression (or vice versa).

Sample size was a limitation for other reasons as well. For example, the number of mothers who reported on their children's behavior (CBCL) was much larger than the number of teachers who reported on their student's behavior (TRF) and the number of children who completed family drawings. One reason for the larger number of maternal reports of children's well being had to do with the design of the study. The packets containing the self-report parenting measure also contained the CBCL. These packets were distributed across four different states in the Midwestern and Southern regions of the U.S. Teachers and children, on the other hand, were recruited at a separate time of the study and only from one single Midwestern city. One suggestion for future work would

be to increase the number of teachers/tutors to fill out the TRF and the number of children to complete family drawings.

The non-longitudinal design of the present study should also be discussed. Data for both mothers and children were collected at one time point; hence, no causal inferences can be made. Assessing parenting and children's well being at two time points would have provided useful information regarding the robustness of the parenting measure and relations between parenting and children's well being. Hence, future research that uses this measure with immigrant Mexican American mothers should consider incorporating a longitudinal design.

How maternal emotions were measured in this study also warrants reflection. SIP suggests that emotions may influence parents' responses to children's behavior. Accordingly, this study assessed general depression of participants and controlled for its influence in all analyses. Negative relations were found between maternal reports of depression and their use of warmth. However, there are several sources of emotions that may exist for immigrant Mexican American parents such as stress that stems from experiences with discrimination. How specific forms of stress influence parenting is not well understood. Future research on immigrant Mexican American mothers should assess various sources of maternal stress (e.g., marital, acculturative), their effects on parenting and their influence on the relation between parenting and children's well being. Such studies would be useful in informing future family policy.

Another important limitation to mention pertains to the ordering of items in the parenting instrument. Items were not randomly ordered. Random distribution of items would have decreased the potential of extraneous influences on maternal reports. While

this study did *not* purposely group items by construct, it would, nevertheless, benefit future attempts of instrument construction to list items at random or to use a useful distribution scheme (e.g., abcd, abcd).

While several hypothetical scenarios tapped into parents' usage and beliefs on discipline, there were few hypothetical scenarios in the semi-structured interview that tapped into mothers' use and beliefs of warmth. Additional scenarios in this area may have led to items that were not included in the parenting instrument. Future research that uses this semi-structured interview format would benefit from including hypothetical scenarios that tap into mothers' beliefs and use of warmth.

Furthermore, this study's assessment of marital status may have been incomplete. Unexpectedly, some mothers added "*juntada*" to the list of possible responses they could answer for marital status. "*Juntada*" literally translates into "together" and signified that mothers were living with someone with whom they were not legally married. In fact, some mothers had been separated from their legal husbands and were living with a romantic partner for many years, yet, had never filed for divorce. While several of these participants wanted to be divorced from their husbands, they did not believe a legal divorce was possible for them. Some participants said that their husbands refused to agree to a divorce. Other participants said that divorce proceedings were very expensive. A few participants were uninformed on divorce proceedings and because of their immigration status feared filing for a divorce.

The influence of marital status on parenting was not examined in this study; however, those mothers who were known to be separated from their legal husbands and "*juntada*" with a romantic partner were coded as "separated." If mothers wrote "*juntada*"

and it was not known whether they were legally married, they were coded as “single.” Future research should consider including “*juntada*” as a possible response choice when assessing marital status among immigrant Mexican American mothers.

Lastly, the self-report nature of the parenting measure may have influenced findings. It is possible that participants did not respond honestly to measure items or were trying to answer in ways they felt were socially-accepted. The reason a self-report format was selected was because (1) it is efficient, (2) it is economical, and (3) there are currently no self-report parenting measures developed in the U.S. specifically for Latinos. Future research, however, should continue to include observational and children’s reports in order to obtain a balanced understanding of immigrant Mexican American parenting.

Despite its limitations, the present study also encompassed several strengths. First and foremost, it was the first of its kind to develop a self-report parenting measure for use with immigrant Mexican American mothers using a mixed-method design. To date, no self-report measure has been developed specifically for immigrant Mexican American parents. In addition, all but one subscale in the measure reached moderate levels of internal consistency and predicted several children’s behaviors even after controlling for the influences of maternal depression, acculturation, education, and income. Thus, findings indicated that the study’s measure may be useful in assessing parenting and its relation to children’s well being in immigrant Mexican American families.

The self-report nature of the measure may also be considered a strength of this study. While self-report measures have their limitations, several scholars have questioned the accuracy of alternative measures such as observations. First, observational measures are more time consuming than self-report measures. Second, they do not provide

information on the parents' beliefs, but instead rely heavily on the examiners' interpretations of participants' behaviors. As proposed by both cultural change and SIP models, interpretations are culturally influenced. Thus, observations may present problems if the raters are not of the same culture or ethnicity as the participants. Last, Ispa et al. (2004) explained that observations requiring parents and children to perform tasks may not adequately measure everyday behavior. Thus, self-report measures may be an efficient, economical, and culturally-sensitive method for which to assess immigrant Mexican American parenting.

In keeping with cultural change and SIP processing, this study took great efforts to capture parental cognitions of immigrant Mexican American parents. The mixed-method design of the study was useful in this endeavor. Qualitative interviews and focus groups helped to ensure that the self-report items reflected immigrant Mexican American mothers' interpretations, cultural childrearing values, and preferred parenting practices. Individual interviews with mothers consisted of hypothetical scenarios in which children had violated a cultural childrearing goal (e.g., *respeto*). Their responses guided the construction of items for the self-report measure. A separate group of mothers from the same background reviewed the measure and validated the cultural competence and clarity of the items. Thus, a strength of this study was its effort to capture immigrant Mexican American parental goals, beliefs, and behaviors in the items of the measure.

Relatedly, items of the measure were not negatively influenced by translation problems. Items were constructed in Spanish directly following participant interviews and included participants' cultural expressions. According to past scholars, developing a measure in the participants' native language is particularly important. In their study on

Puerto Rican parenting values, Gonzales-Ramos, Zayas, and Cohen (1998) found that it was difficult to translate beyond simple, literal translations items that reflected Anglo-values (e.g., assertiveness, independence) because meanings and connotations of words and terms are highly culture-bound. Thus, translating parenting items from English into Spanish does not always ensure cultural sensitivity (Halgunseth et al., 2006).

Furthermore, this study did not assume homogeneity across Latino subgroups. This allowed for a more accurate understanding of immigrant Mexican American parenting. Cultural change theory acknowledges that parenting models may change across contexts and time. In this study, selection of participants was limited to those from one country and one generational status. Whether or not findings from this study generalize across other Latino subgroups is uncertain and remains for future research to determine.

Lastly, this study attempted to assess children's well being from a variety of sources. Mothers and teachers separately reported on children's behavior at home and at school. In addition, children's socio-emotional well being was assessed via children's drawings of their families. Therefore, it was possible to assess the validity of the measure across several domains.

Latinos are the largest and fastest growing minority population in the U.S. Immigration has contributed greatly to this change in demographics (Harwood et al., 2002). Child and family policy makers and practitioners rely on research to guide their efforts in improving the quality of life for families. Unfortunately, however, research on Latino parenting has consisted of several contradictory findings. The current study attempted to further knowledge on immigrant Mexican American parenting and its

influence on children's development by attempting to construct a culturally-sensitive parenting measure using a mixed-method design. This study may serve as an impetus for the development of other new and culturally-sensitive measures that could contribute to greater understanding of Mexican American parent-child relations and hence, the development of effective programs and policies for Mexican American families.

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APPENDIX A

Phase 1: Verbal Consent Script (Spanish)

¡Saludos! Mi nombre es Linda Citlali Manning y soy estudiante de la universidad de Missouri-Colombia. Para mi último proyecto de la escuela, estoy interesada en aprender cuales son los cualidades que las madres Latinas enseñan a sus hijos/hijas y las estrategias que ellas creen son eficaces para la crianza de sus niños/niñas de 6 a 10 años de edad. La mayoría de la literatura sobre estrategias eficaces para padres viene de una perspectiva Europea-Americana; poca investigación ha examinado este tema desde la perspectiva de las madres Mexicanas-Americanas. Entender esta perspectiva podría ayudar a enseñar profesionales tales como maestras, trabajadores sociales, y médicos a servir a las familias Mexicanas-Americanas mejor.

Para que yo pueda entender bien esa perspectiva, me gustaría platicar con 8 ó 10 madres Mexicanas-Americanas sobre las cualidades que ellas tratan de enseñarle a sus hijos/hijas entre 6 a 10 años de edad. También quisiera preguntar sobre las estrategias diarias que ellas implementan para enseñar estas cualidades.

La entrevista durará entre 1 - 2 horas. Para que la entrevista sea más breve, pediré su permiso para utilizar una grabadora. Para su protección, todas sus respuestas serán *confidenciales*. Su nombre no estará en la grabación ni en las notas que escribiré durante la entrevista. Las cintas grabadas y mis notas también serán guardadas en un cajón cerrado por lo menos 3 años. Solo yo tendré acceso a esta información. Nunca mencionaré su nombre en ninguna presentación o reporte. Sí prefieres que no use una grabadora, dígame en cualquier momento y la apagaré.

Su participación en este proyecto es voluntaria. Si usted decide no participar en este proyecto, me puede decir en cualquier momento y no sufrirá ninguna pérdida ni ninguna sanción. Los únicos riesgos que pueden resultar si usted participe en este proyecto es la posibilidad que usted se sienta un poco cansada durante la entrevista. Si usted se siente cansada, en cualquier momento me puede avisar y podemos hacer la entrevista en otro tiempo o en otra fecha que sea más conveniente. También, puede ser que algunas preguntas le hagan sentir incomoda. Si alguna pregunta le hace sentir incomoda, usted no necesita contestarla. La ventaja de participar en este proyecto es el saber que su participación puede mejorar los servicios futuros que reciban las madres Mexicanas-Americanas y sus familias de parte de doctores, enfermeras, trabajadores sociales, maestros, etc.

Su protección es lo más importante de todo. Si usted tiene preguntas sobre este proyecto me puede llamar o preguntar en cualquier momento. Mi número de teléfono es (573) 256-0030 (hogar) o (202) 262-5620 (celular). Para más información sobre los derechos de personas que participan en proyectos de investigaciones como esta, por favor llame a la universidad de Missouri-Columbia, Oficina del campus IRB a 573-882-9585. Si usted está dañada por ser participante en este proyecto, por favor llame al Oficial de la gerencia de riesgos a (573) 882-3785, donde se pueden revisar la situación y proveerles más información.

Phase 1: Verbal Consent Script (English)

Greetings! My name is Linda Citlali Manning, and I am a doctoral student at the University of Missouri-Columbia. For my dissertation, I am interested in researching the parenting values and practices perceived to be useful by Mexican American mothers in raising children 6-10 years of age. The majority of research on effective parenting has been based on a European American perspective; little research has examined parenting from the perspective of Mexican American mothers. Understanding this perspective could help school officials, medical staff, and other professionals to better serve Mexican American families.

In order to understand this perspective better, I would like to interview a total of 8-10 Mexican American mothers about the values they try to teach children between 6-10 years of age. I would also like to ask questions regarding the parenting practices that Mexican American mothers believe work best for teaching children these values.

The interview will last approximately 1-2 hours. In order for the interviews to go quickly and smoothly, I will ask permission to use an audio-tape recorder. For your protection, all answers as well as your identity will remain confidential. The tapes and interview notes will not have your name on them and will be locked in a cabinet for at least 3 years where no one can access them other than me. You will not be identified in any report or presentation. If you prefer not to have the interview audio-taped, we will honor your request.

Your participation is voluntary. If you decide not to participate in this research project you will not suffer any loss or be penalized in any way. You may also decide to withdraw from this research project at any time. The foreseeable risks that could occur

would be feelings of tiredness due to the length of the interview. If you feel tired and would like to stop, please do not hesitate to let me know and we can reschedule for another date and time. Also, there may be times you feel uncomfortable answering certain questions. If a question makes you feel uncomfortable, you can refuse to answer that particular question. There will be no penalty for doing so. The benefits for participating in this project would be the knowledge that your participation could potentially improve future services that Mexican American mothers and their families receive from teachers, doctors, nurses, social workers, etc.

Protection of your rights is of utmost importance. If you have questions or concerns about this research project at any time, please do not hesitate to contact me at (573) 256-0030 (home) or (202) 262-5620 (cell). For additional information regarding your rights as a participant in research, please feel free to contact the UMC Campus IRB Office at 573-882-9585. If you are to become harmed due to participating in this research project, please contact the Risk Management Officer at (573) 882-3785 who can review the matter and provide further information.

APPENDIX B

Interview Questions (Spanish and English)

A. General Questions

1. *En su opinión, que es un “niño/a bueno” entre 6 y 10 años de edad. ¿Cómo sería este niño o niña? ¿Cuáles serían las buenas cualidades que tendría este niño/a? ¿Y las cualidades que no tendría?* [In your opinion what is a “good child” between the ages of 6 and 10? How would this child be? What qualities would this child have? What qualities would the child not have?]

2. *En su opinión, que es un “niño/a malo” entre 6 y 10 años de edad. ¿Cómo sería este niño o niña? ¿Cuáles serían sus malas características?* [In your opinion, what is a “bad child” between the ages of 6 and 10? How would this child be? What would be his bad qualities?]

3. *¿Qué consejos le daría usted a unas madres si ellas quisieran que sus hijos/as se comportaran como _____?* [What advise would you tell mothers if they wanted their children to behave like your children?]

4. *¿Esos consejos serían iguales para niños que para niñas?* [Would your advise be the same for girls than for boys?]

5. *¿En su opinión, cuáles son las características de una “madre buena?” Podría usted dar algunos ejemplos de una buena madre?* [In your opinion, what are the characteristics of a good mother? Could you give me some examples of a good mother?]

6. *¿En su opinión, cuáles son las características de una “madre mala?” Podría usted dar algunos ejemplos de una mala madre?* [In your opinion, what are characteristics of a bad mother? Could you give me some examples of a bad mother?]

7. *¿En su opinión, cuáles serían las estrategias apropiadas para criar buenos niños/as?* [In your opinion, what are the appropriate strategies to raise children?]

8. *¿Podría darme ejemplo de cuando usted se sintió orgullosa de su hijo/a?* [Could you give me an example of when you felt proud of your child?]

9. *¿Qué hizo usted para que sus hijos hicieran saber que usted estaba orgullosa de él/ella?* [What did you do so that your child knew that you were proud of him/her?]

10. *¿Podría darme ejemplo de cuando su niño/a se comportó mal? ¿Qué hizo él/ella? ¿Cómo respondió usted?* [Could you give me an example of when your child misbehaved? What did s/he do? How did you respond?]

11. *Imagine por favor a un niño de 8 años que se llama “Arturo” y a una madre que se llame la “Señora Rosa.” Un día, la mamá le dijo a Arturo, “Quiero que tu limpies tu cuarto mañana después de la escuela.” Llegó el día siguiente, pero Arturo se olvidó de limpiar su cuarto. ¿Cómo debería responder la mamá? ¿Si usted fuera la mamá, cómo le respondería a esta situación? ¿Sería diferente si Arturo fuera niña?* [Imagine please a child named Arturo who is 8 years old and a mother named, Mrs. Rosa. One day, the mother told Arturo, “I want you to clean your room tomorrow after school.” The

next day came, but Arturo forgot to clean his room. How should the mother respond? If you were the mother, how would you respond in this situation? Would it be different if Arturo was a girl?]

B. Extrafamilial/Intrafamilial Control

1. *¿Cuando esta adentro de la casa, cuales son las reglas que el/ella deberían seguir cuando esta en la casa?* [What are the rules for your children inside the home?]
2. *¿Donde juegue más su niño/a adentro o afuera de la casa?* [Where does your child play more, inside or outside of the home?]
3. *¿Por qué?*-[Why?]-[#2 Follow up]
4. *¿Cuál es su preferencia, su hijo/a juegue adentro o afuera de la casa?* [What is your preference? That your child plays inside or outside of the home?]
5. *¿Por qué?*—[Why?]-[#4 Follow up]
6. *¿Hay reglas que deberían seguir sus hijos cuando juegan afuera de la casa? ¿Cuáles son esas reglas?* [What rules do you have for your children when they play outside of the home?]
7. *¿En su opinión, por que son importantes?*—[Why are these important?] [#6 Follow up]
8. *¿Tiene su hija/a amistades? ¿Quiénes son los mejores amigos de _____? ¿Son familiares o no familiares?* [Does your child have friends? Who is his/her best friend/s? Are they family relatives or non-family relatives?]
9. *¿De amigos cual es lo/la que usted prefiere más?* [Who do you prefer your child plays with most?]
10. *¿Por que?* [Why?]
11. *¿Menos prefiere?* [Who do you prefer your child plays with least?]

C. Respeto

1. *If you had to explain the definition of “respect” to your child, what would you say to him/her?* [¿Si usted quisiera explicar la definición de “respeto” a su hijo/a que le diría?]
2. *Can you give me example of how a child demonstrates “respect?”* [¿Me podría dar ejemplos de como un niño/a demuestra “respeto?”]
3. *¿Usted piensa que es importante enseñar a sus niños ser “respetuosos?”* [Do you think it’s important to teach your children to be respectful?]
4. *¿Por qué?* [Why?]
5. *¿Cómo les enseña usted?* [How do you teach them?]

6. *¿Enseña a su hijo de la misma manera que enseña a su hija la importancia de ser respetuoso? ¿O utiliza estrategias diferentes?* [Do you teach your boy the same way you teach your girl to be respectful?]

7. *¿Cuándo le ha demostrado respeto su hijo/a a usted?* [When has your child demonstrated respect to you?]

8. *¿Cuándo usted era niña, como demostraba “respeto” a los demás?* [When you were a child, how did you demonstrate respect to others?]

9. *¿Cuándo usted era niña, como le enseñaron sus padres a ser respetuosa?* [When you were a child, how did your parents teach you to be respectful?]

10. *¿Ha visto usted niños que no demuestran respeto a otras personas? ¿Qué hicieron? ¿Puede darme otros ejemplos?* [Have you seen children not demonstrate respect to other people? What did they do? Could you give me other examples?]

11. *Imagine por favor a un niño de 8 años que se llama “Arturo” y a una madre que se llame “Señora Rosa.” Un día, Señora Rosa invitó a una amiga a su casa para tomar un café. Mientras platicaban las señoras, Arturo que tiene 8 años, le pega a la amiga de Señora Rosa. ¿Si usted fuera mamá, como usted respondería?* [Imagine please an 8 year old boy named Arturo and his mother Mrs. Rosa. One day, Mrs. Rosa invited a friend over for coffee. While they were talking, Arturo, who is 8, hit Mrs. Rosa’s friend. If you were the mother, how would you respond?]

12. *Imagine por favor a una niña de 8 años que se llama “Susie” y a una madre que se llama la “Señora Rosa.” Un día, la vecina vino para avisar a Señora Rosa que Susie le estaba contestando mal. Si usted fuera la mamá, como respondería?* [Imagine please an 8 year old girl named Susie and her mother, Mrs. Rosa. One day, the neighbor came to tell Mrs. Rosa that Susie was talking back to her. If you were the mother, how would you respond?]

D. Educación

1. *¿Que es la diferencia entre educación y respeto?* [What is the difference between education and respect?]

2. *¿Si usted quisiera explicar la definición de “ser bien educado/a” a su hijo/a, que le diría?* [If you were to explain the definition of being well educated to your child, what would you say?]

3. *¿En su opinión, es importante enseñar a su hijo/a ser “educado/a?”* [In your opinion, is it important to teach your child to be educated?]

4. *¿Por qué?* [Why]

5. *¿Cómo lo hace?* [How do you do it?]

6. *¿Enseña a sus hijos en la misma manera que enseña a sus hijas? ¿Si no, como es diferente?* [Do you teach your boys in the same way you teach your girls? If not, how is it different?]

7. *¿Le ha demostrado su hijo/a “buena educación” en el pasado? ¿Qué hizo Ud.?* [Has your child demonstrated good education in the past? What did you do?]

8. *¿Cuándo usted era niña, como demostraba sus buenos modales?* [When you were a child, how did you demonstrate your good manners?]

9. *¿Cuándo era niña, como le enseñaron sus padres a ser una persona “educada?”* [When you were a child, how did your parents teach you to be an educated person?]

10. *Ha visto usted a niños que no son bien educados? ¿Qué hicieron? Podría darme ejemplos que en su opinión no han demostrado “buena educación?”* [Have you seen children who were not well educated? What did they do? Can you give me examples that in your opinion did not demonstrate good education?]

11. *Imagine por favor a un niño de 8 años que se llama “Arturo” y a una madre que se llame la “Señora Rosa.” Un día, Señora Rosa y Arturito fueron a visitar a su abuelita en el hospital. Cuando llegaron al cuarto de la abuelita, Arturito no saludo a su abuelita. ¿Si usted fuera Señora Rosa, como respondería?* [Imagine please an 8 year old child named Arturo and a mother named Mrs. Rosa. One day, Mrs. Rosa and Arturo went to visit grandmother in the hospital. When they arrived to the grandmother’s room, Arturo did not greet his grandmother. If you were Mrs. Rosa, how would you respond?]

12. *¿Respondería diferente si Arturo fuera niña?* [Would you respond differently if Arturo was a girl?]

E. Familismo

13. *¿Es importante para usted enseñar a sus hijos/as la importancia de la familia?* [Is it important to teach your children the importance of family?]

14. *¿Por qué?* [Why]

15. *¿Durante el día, cuando es importante que sus niños estén con la familia (O con miembros de la familia)?* [During the day, when is it important that your children be with the family? Or with members of the family?]

16. *¿Y para usted, cuando pueden jugar sus niños con otros niños que no son de la familia?* [And for you, when can your children play with other children that are not of the family?]

17. *Hay algunas situaciones en las cual es importante que su hijo/a piense en lo que los otros miembros de la familia necesita? ¿Cuándo?* [Are there situations when it is important that a child think what other members of the family need? When?]

18. *¿Cómo le enseña usted esa cualidad a su hijo/a?* [How do you teach your child this value?]

19. . *¿Hay situaciones en las cual es importante que sus hijos/as le pida consejos a usted?* [Are there situations when it is important that your children ask you for advice?]

20. *¿Cuándo?* [When]

21. *¿Cómo le enseña a _____ que le pida consejos a usted?* [How do you teach _____ to ask you for advice?]

22. *Hay situaciones cuando sus hijos deben compartir sus cosas con otros miembros de la familia?* [Are there situations when your children should share things with other members of the family?]

22. *¿Cuándo?* [When?]

23. with who?

24. *Hay situaciones en las cual niños de la edad de _____ deben ayudar a sus padres?*
¿Cuándo? ¿Cómo? [Are there situations when children the same age as _____ should help their parents? When? How?]

25. *Hay situaciones cuando es importante que _____ sea fiel a su familia?* [Are there situations when it is important to be faithful to your family?]

26. *¿Cuándo? ¿Me puede dar ejemplos en su familia?* [When? Can you give me examples in your family?]

27. *Imagine por favor a un niño de 8 anos que se llama “Arturo” y una madre que se llama la Señora Rosa. Señora Rosa organizo una fiesta de cumpleaños para el Tío Pepe en la casa. Durante la fiesta, Arturito le pregunto a la mama si pudiera ir a la casa de un vecino, pero la mama quiso que Arurito quedaba en la casa para la fiesta. De repente, Arturito empezó a gritar y llorar. ¿Si usted fuera Señora Rosa, como respondería? ¿Respondería diferente si Arturo fuera niña?* [Imagine an 8 year old child named Arturo and his mother named Mrs. Rosa. Mrs. Rosa organized a party in their home for Uncle Pepe’s birthday. During the party, Arturo asked his mother if he could go to the neighbor’s house, but the mother wanted Arturo to stay in the house for the party. Suddenly, Arturo began to yell and cry. If you were Mrs. Rosa, how would your respond? Would you respond differently if Arturo was a girl?]

28. *Hay algunas situaciones en las cual es importante que _____ (su hijo/a) aprenda a tomar sus propias decisiones?* [Are there situations when it is important that _____ learn to make his own decisions?]

29. *¿Cuándo?* [When?]

30. *¿Cómo le ayuda? ¿Cómo les ayudan los padres Latino a sus hijos a tomar sus propias decisiones?* [How do you help him/her? How do Latino parents help their children make their own decisions?]

APPENDIX C

Phase 1: Demographic Questionnaire (Spanish)

MARITAL STATUS:

Por favor, escoja abajo:

Soltera

Casada

Separada

Divorciada

Viuda

EDAD: _____

NÚMERO TOTAL DE MIEMBROS ADENTRO CASA: _____

INGRESO TOTAL DE CASA:

debajo de \$10,000/year

entre \$10,000-\$20,000/year

entre \$21,000-\$30,000/year

entre \$31,000-\$40,000/year

entre \$41,000-\$50,000/year

sobre \$50,000/year

NIVEL DE LA EDUCACIÓN _____

LAS MUDANZAS:

Desde la mudanza al U.S., cuántas veces han mudado Ud. y su niño/nina _____

Desde la mudanza al U.S., cuántos estados han vivido Ud. Y su niño/nina: _____

Desde la mudanza al U.S., cuántos ciudades han vivido Ud. Y su niño/nina: _____

Phase 2: Demographic Questionnaire (English)

MARITAL STATUS:

Please check below your current marital status

Single

Married

Separated

Divorced

Widowed

AGE: _____

TOTAL NUMBER OF MEMBERS IN HOUSEHOLD: _____

HOUSEHOLD INCOME:

Below \$10,000/year

Between \$10,000-\$20,000/year

Between \$21,000-\$30,000/year

Between \$31,000-\$40,000/year

Between \$41,000-\$50,000/year

Above \$50,000/year

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL _____

MOVING:

Since moving to the U.S., how many times have you and your child moved? _____

Since moving to the U.S., how many states have you and your child lived?: _____

Since moving to the U.S., how many cities/towns have you and your child lived?: _____

APPENDIX D

Parenting Items by Construct (Spanish and English)

Warmth

1. Used affectionate nick names when talking to my child (e.g., my love, etc.). [Usé nombres de cariño cuando hablando con sus hijo/a (e.j., mi amor, mi flaca, mi gordo, mi prieto, etc.)]
2. Hugged or kissed my child. [Abracé o besé mi hijo/a]
3. Had an informal conversation with my child. [Platiqué con mi hijo/a].
4. Congratulated my child for doing something well. [Felicité a mi hijo/a cuando hizo algo bueno.]
5. Children should be glued to their mothers. [Los niños/as deben ser muy pegados/as a sus madres.]
6. In the last week, how many hours did you spend with your child in the same room. [Apunte abajo la cantidad de tiempo que UD y su hijo/a estuvieron juntos en el mismo cuarto.]

On Mon. [el lunes]

On Tues. [el martes]

On Wed [el miercoles]

On Thurs [el jueves]

On Fri [el viernes]

On Sat [el sabado]

On Sun [el domingo]

Protection/Monitoring

1. I knew where my child was and what she was doing at all times. [Todo el tiempo, supo donde estaba su hijo/a y que estaba haciendo.]
2. My child never plays at a friend's house unless I know the parents. [Prohibió que su hijo/a jugara a la casa de un amigo porque no conociera la familia o no tuvo confianza en las padres.]

3. During the last week, I knew with whom my child was playing at all times.[Todo el tiempo, supo con quien estaba jugando su hijo/a]
4. Watched my child while they played. [Miró su hijo/a mientras estaba jugando.]--
5. Mothers should hide their sadness or anger from their child to protect him/her. [Escondió su tristeza o enojo de su hijo/a para protegerlo/la.]
6. Gave advice to my child about the good and the bad in life. [Dio consejos a su hijo/a sobre lo bueno y lo malo de la vida.]
7. Have a hard time trusting other adults with my child, especially adults who are not from the family. [Es difícil tener confianza que otros adultos pasara tiempo con su hijo/a, especialmente los adultos que no son de la familia.]

Discipline

Verbal Punishment

1. Yelled at my child when he/she was misbehaving. [le grité a mi hijo/a cuando se estaba portando mal.]
2. When children are misbehaving, mothers should threaten their children with a punishment. [Cuando los niños/as se están portando mal, las madres deben amenazarlos con un castigo.]

Communication

1. Before mothers scold their children, they should ask the child's side of the story first. [Antes de regañar a sus hijos/as, las madres deben preguntar primero a sus hijos de que fue lo que pasó.]
2. When children misbehave, mothers should sit down and explain why their behavior was bad. [Cuando los niños se portan mal, las madres deben sentarse con sus hijos y explicarles por que su comportamiento no fue bueno.]

Physical Punishment

1. Mothers should spank their children when they misbehave. [Cuando los niños/as se portan mal, las madres deben darles unas nalgadas.]
2. Mothers should hit their children when they misbehave. [Cuando los niños/as se portan mal, las madres deben pegarles.]

APPENDIX E

Phase 2: Verbal Consent Script (Spanish)

¡Saludos! Mi nombre es Linda Citlali Manning y soy estudiante de la universidad de Missouri-Colombia. Para mi último proyecto de la escuela, estoy interesada en aprender cuales son los cualidades que las madres Latinas enseñan a sus hijos/hijas y las estrategias que ellas creen son eficaces para la crianza de sus niños/niñas de 6 a 10 años de edad. La mayoría de la literatura sobre estrategias eficaces para padres viene de una perspectiva Europea-Americana; poca investigación ha examinado este tema desde la perspectiva de las madres Mexicanas-Americanas. Entender esta perspectiva podría ayudar a enseñar profesionales tales como maestras, trabajadores sociales, y médicos a servir a las familias Mexicanas-Americanas mejor.

Para que yo pueda entender bien esa perspectiva, me gustaría platicar con un grupo de 3-6 madres Mexicanas-Americanas. Me gustaría mostrarles un cuestionario que yo construí, y pedir sus pensamientos ó opiniones sobre el cuestionario. El cuestionario tiene 21 preguntas en total, y pregunta en general sobre las cualidades y estrategias que las madres implementen con sus hijos. Para llenarlo, el cuestionario dura 10-20 minutos. También, me gustaría pedir un poco de información demográfico (e.j., su edad, numero de niños, nivel de educación).

Para su protección, todas sus respuestas serán *confidenciales*. Su nombre no estará en las notas que escribiré durante la reunión. Mis notas también serán guardadas en un cajón cerrado por lo menos 3 años. Solo yo tendré acceso a esta información. Nunca mencionaré su nombre a nadie ni en ninguna presentación ni reporte.

Su participación en este proyecto es voluntaria. Si usted decide no participar en este proyecto, me puede decir en cualquier momento y no sufrirá ninguna pérdida ni ninguna sanción. El único riesgo que puede resultar si usted participe en este proyecto es la posibilidad de que algunas preguntas le hagan sentir incomoda. Si alguna pregunta le haga sentir incomoda, usted no necesita contestarla. La ventaja de participar en este proyecto es el saber que su participación puede mejorar los servicios futuros que reciban las madres Mejicanas-Americanas y sus familias de parte de doctores, enfermeras, trabajadores sociales, maestros, etc.

Su protección es lo más importante de todo. Si usted tiene preguntas sobre este proyecto me puede llamar o preguntar en cualquier momento. Mi número de teléfono es (202) 262-5620 (celular). Para más información sobre los derechos de personas que participan en proyectos de investigaciones como esta, por favor llame a la universidad de Missouri-Columbia, Oficina del campus IRB a 573-882-9585. Si usted está dañada por ser participante en este proyecto, por favor llame al Oficial de la gerencia de riesgos a (573) 882-3785, donde se pueden revisar la situación y proveerles más información.

Phase 2: Verbal Consent Script (English)

Greetings! My name is Linda Citlali Manning, and I am a doctoral student at the University of Missouri-Columbia. For my dissertation, I am interested in researching the parenting values and practices perceived to be useful by Mexican American mothers in raising children 6-10 years of age. The majority of research on effective parenting has been based on a European American perspective; little research has examined parenting from the perspective of Mexican American mothers. Understanding this perspective could help school officials, medical staff, and other professionals to better serve Mexican American families.

In order to understand this perspective better, I would like to interview a group of 3-6 Mexican American mothers. I would like to show them a questionnaire that I constructed and to ask them their thoughts or opinions on the questionnaire. The questionnaire has a total of 21 questions, and asks, in general, about parenting values and strategies that mothers implement with their children. It takes about 10-20 minutes to fill out the questionnaire. I would also like to ask you a little demographic information, such as your age, number of children, and level of education.

For your protection, *all answers* as well as your identity will remain confidential. Your name will not appear in the notes I take during our meeting. Also, the notes I take will be locked in a cabinet for at least 3 years where no one can access them other than me. You will not be identified by name to anyone, nor in any report or presentation.

Your participation is voluntary. If you decide not to participate in this research project you will not suffer any loss or be penalized in any way. You may also decide to withdraw from this research project at any time. The foreseeable risks that could occur

would be the possibility of you feeling uncomfortable answering certain questions. If a question makes you feel uncomfortable, you can refuse to answer that particular question. There will be no penalty for doing so. The benefits for participating in this project would be the knowledge that your participation could potentially improve future services that Mexican American mothers and their families receive from teachers, doctors, nurses, social workers, etc.

Protection of your rights is of utmost importance. If you have questions or concerns about this research project at any time, please do not hesitate to contact me at (202) 262-5620 (cell). For additional information regarding your rights as a participant in research, please feel free to contact the UMC Campus IRB Office at 573-882-9585. If you are to become harmed due to participating in this research project, please contact the Risk Management Officer at (573) 882-3785 who can review the matter and provide further information.

APPENDIX F

Phase 2: Parenting Instrument (Spanish)

Todas las Secciones Enfocan a los Niños/as entre 6-10 Años

Edad de su hijo/a = _____

Sexo de su hijo/a = Mujer ó Hombre

Sección I: Marque una "X" en el lugar que más represente su nivel de acuerdo con las siguientes oraciones.

		Nivel de Acuerdo				
		0%	25%	50%	75%	100%
1	Los niños/as siempre deben ser "muy pegados/as" a sus madres.					
2	No dejo ir a jugar a mi hijo a las casas de sus amigos <u>a menos</u> que yo conozca a los padres.					
3	Antes de regañar a sus hijos/as, las madres deben preguntar primero a sus hijos de que fue lo que pasó.					
4	Es difícil para mí confiar en otros adultos con mi hijo/a, especialmente adultos que no son de la familia.					
5	Las madres deben esconder de sus hijos su tristeza y su enojo.					
6	Cuando los niños/as se están portando mal, las madres deben amenazarlos con un castigo.					
7	Cuando los niños/as se portan mal, las madres deben darles unas nalgadas.					
8	Cuando los niños/as se portan mal, las madres deben pegarles.					
9	Cuando los niños/as se portan mal, las madres deben sentarse con sus hijos/as y explicarles <u>por que</u> su comportamiento no fue bueno.					

Sección 2: Marque una "X" en el lugar que más la represente a UD y a su familia durante la semana pasada.

Días en la Semana Pasada

		Nunca	Un Día	Dos Días	Trés Días	Más de 4 Días
10	<u>Durante la semana pasada, yo...</u> miré a mi hijo/a mientras jugaba.					
11	Le dí consejos a mi hijo/a sobre lo bueno y lo malo de la vida.					
12	supe donde estaba mi hijo/a y que estaba haciendo <u>todo el tiempo</u> .					
13	usé nombres cariñosos cuando hablé con mi hijo/a (e.j., mi amor, mi gordo, etc.)					
14	abracé o besé a mi hijo/a.					
15	supe con quien estaba jugando mi hijo/a <u>todo el tiempo</u> .					
16	le grité a mi hijo/a cuando se estaba portando mal.					
17	felicité a mi hijo/a cuando hizo algo bueno.					
18	platicué con mi hijo/a.					

Sección 3: Apunte abajo la cantidad de tiempo que UD y su hijo/a estuvieron juntos en el mismo cuarto.

<i>El domingo</i>	<i>El lunes</i>	<i>El martes</i>	<i>El miércoles</i>	<i>El jueves</i>	<i>El viernes</i>	<i>El sábado</i>
____ horas ____ minutos	____ horas ____ minutos	____ horas ____ minutos	____ horas ____ minutos	____ horas ____ minutos	____ horas ____ minutos	____ horas ____ minutos

TOTAL POR LA SEMANA = _____ HORAS, Y _____ MINUTOS

Phase 2: Parenting Instrument (English)

All Sections Focus on Children Ages 6-10.

Child's Age = _____

Child's Sex = F or M

Section I: Mark an "X" in the box that best represents your level of agreement with the following sentences.

		Level of Agreement				
		0%	25%	50%	75%	100%
1	Children always should be "glued" to their mothers.					
2	My child <u>never</u> plays at a friend's house unless I know the parents.					
3	Before mothers scold their children, they should ask them their side of the story.					
4	It is hard for me to trust other adults with my child, especially adults who are not from the family.					
5	Mothers should hide their sadness or anger from their children.					
6	When children are misbehaving, mothers should threaten their children with punishment.					
7	Mothers should spank their children when they misbehave.					
8	Mothers should hit their children when they misbehave.					
9	When children misbehave, mothers should sit down and explain to them <u>why</u> their behavior was bad.					

Section 2: Mark an "X" in the box that best represents you and your family over the last week.

Days in Past Week

		None	One Day	Two Days	Three Days	More than 4 Days
10	<u>In the last week</u> , I watched my child while s/he played.					
11	gave advice to my child about the good and the bad in life.					
12	knew where my child was and what s/he was doing <u>at all times</u> .					
13	used affectionate nick names when talking to my child (e.g., my love, my chubby one, etc.)					
14	hugged or kissed my child.					
15	knew with whom my child was playing <u>at all times</u> .					
16	yelled at my child when s/he misbehaved.					
17	congratulated my child for doing something well.					
19	had an informal conversation with my child.					

Section 3: Note below the amount of time you and your child spent together in the same room.

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
____ hours ____ minutes	____ hours ____ minutes	____ hours ____ minutes	____ hours ____ minutes	____ hours ____ minutes	____ hours ____ minutes	____ hours ____ minutes

WEEK TOTAL = ____ HOURS, AND ____ MINUTES

APPENDIX G

Phase 3: Information Sheet (Spanish)

¡Saludos! Mi nombre es Linda Citlali Manning y soy estudiante de la universidad de Missouri-Columbia. Para mi último proyecto de la escuela, estoy interesada en aprender cuales son las cualidades que las madres Latinas enseñan a sus hijos/hijas y las estrategias que ellas crean son eficaces para la crianza de sus niños/niñas de 6 a 10 años de edad. La mayoría de la literatura sobre estrategias eficaces para padres viene de una perspectiva Europea-Americana; poca investigación ha examinado este tema desde la perspectiva de las madres Mexicanas-Americanas. Entender esta perspectiva podría ayudar a enseñar profesionales, tales como maestras, trabajadores sociales, y médicos, a servir a las familias Mexicanas-Americanas mejor.

Para que yo pueda entender bien esta perspectiva, me gustaría pedir 100-200 madres Mexicanas-Americanas a llenar unas formas describiendo sus pensamientos sobre la crianza de niños/niñas (e.g., las cualidades que ellas se tratan de enseñar a sus hijos/hijas entre la edad 6-10 y las estrategias diarias que ellas implementan para enseñar estas cualidades.) También hay preguntas sobre sus actividades culturales, y sus sentimientos durante la semana pasada.

Para llenar las formas se puede durar 5-10 minutos. Para su protección, todas sus respuestas serán confidenciales. Las formas no tendrán sus nombres y serán guardadas en un cajón cerrado. Solo yo tendré acceso a esta información. Nunca mencionaré su nombre ni el nombre de sus hijos/hijas en ninguna presentación o reporte.

Su participación en este proyecto es voluntaria. Si usted decide no participar en este proyecto, me puede decir en cualquier momento y no sufrirá ninguna pérdida ni ninguna sanción. Los únicos riesgos que pueden resultar si usted participe en este

proyecto es la posibilidad que usted se sienta un poco cansada. Sí usted se siente cansada, se puede descansar y llenar las formas en otro tiempo o en otra fecha que sea más conveniente. También, puede ser que algunas preguntas le hagan sentir incomoda. Si alguna pregunta le hace sentir incomoda, usted no necesita contestarla. La ventaja de participar en este proyecto es el saber que su participación puede mejorar los servicios futuros que reciban las madres Mexicanas-Americanas y sus familias de parte de doctores, enfermeras, trabajadores sociales, maestros, etc.

Su protección es lo más importante de todo. Si usted tiene preguntas sobre este proyecto me puede llamar o preguntar en cualquier momento. Mi número de teléfono es (202) 262-5620 (celular). Para mas información sobre las derechos de personas que participen en proyectos de investigaciones como esa, por favor llame a la universidad de Missouri-Columbia, Oficina del campus IRB a 573-882-9585. Si usted esté dañada por ser participante en este proyecto, por favor llama al Oficial de la gerencia de riesgos a (573) 882-3785, donde se puedan revisar la situación y proveerles más información.

Muchísimas gracias por su ayuda y su tiempo.

Phase 3: Information Sheet (English)

Greetings! My name is Linda Citlali Manning, and I am a doctoral student at the University of Missouri-Columbia. For my dissertation, I am interested in researching the parenting values and practices perceived to be useful by Mexican American mothers in raising children 6-10 years of age. The majority of research on effective parenting has been based from a European American perspective; little research has examined parenting from the perspective of Mexican American mothers. Understanding this perspective could help school officials, medical staff, and other professionals to better communicate with and serve Mexican American families.

In order to understand this perspective better, there will be some forms that I will ask you to fill out. The forms will ask you questions about your thoughts on certain parenting values and practices. They will also ask you about your cultural values and practices, and about your feelings over the past week.

Participation in this project will last approximately 5-10 minutes. For your protection, all answers as well as your and your child's identity will remain confidential. The forms will not have your name on them and will be locked in a cabinet for at least 3 years where no one can access them other than me. Your names will not be identified in any report or presentation.

Your participation is voluntary. If you decide not to participate in this research project you will not suffer any loss or be penalized in any way. You may also decide to withdraw from this research project at any time. The foreseeable risks that could occur would be feelings of tiredness due to the length of the forms. If you feel tired and would like to stop, please do not hesitate to let me know and we can reschedule for another date

and time. Also, certain questions on these forms may cause you to feel uncomfortable. In such and event, please feel free to skip those particular questions. The benefits for participating in this project would be the knowledge that you could be teaching others more about the Mexican American culture and may be improving future services that Mexican American mothers and their families receive from teachers, doctors, nurses, social workers, etc.

Protection of your rights is of utmost importance. If you have questions or concerns about this research project at any time, please do not hesitate to contact me at (202) 262-5620. For additional information regarding your rights as a participant in research, please feel free to contact the UMC Campus IRB Office at 573-882-9585. If you are to become harmed due to participating in this research project, please contact the Risk Management Officer at (573) 882-3785 who can review the matter and provide further information.

APPENDIX H

Phase 3: Cover Page (Spanish)

Madres Mexicanas

Este cuestionario es para madres que nacieron en México, que tienen por lo menos 25 años, y que tienen un/a hijo/a entre 6-10 años.

Direcciones:

(1) Pensando en su hijo/a (6-10 años), por favor conteste todas las preguntas que pueda en las siguientes 6 formas. [Si UD tiene más de un/a hijo/a entre 6-10 años, por favor escoja uno/a para este cuestionario. Se puede escoger usando una moneda.]

(2) Después de llenar todas las formas, por favor, entréguelas a Sr. XXX, o se puede enviarlas por correo a:

1347 Mass. Ave. SE apt. 2
Washington, DC 20003

(donde vivo con mi esposo)

¡Muchísimas Gracias!
¡Todas sus respuestas son confidenciales!

Mexican Mothers

This questionnaire is for mothers who were born in Mexico, who are at least 25 years old, and who have a child between 6-10.

Directions:

(3) Please think of her child (6-10 años) when answering questions on the following 6 forms. [If you have more than one child between 6-10 years of age, please choose just one child by flipping a coin.]

(4) After filling out the forms, please turn them into Mr. XXX, or you can mail it to

1347 Mass. Ave. SE apt. 2
Washington, DC 20003
(where I live with my husband)

Thank you!
All your answers will be confidential!

APPENDIX I

Phase 3: Child Assent Script (Spanish)

Hola, _____.

Mi nombre es Linda. Estoy haciendo un proyecto para mi clase en la universidad. Me gustaría aprender de lo que los niños y las niñas Latinos/as piensan sobre sus familias. Quisiera preguntar si tú podrías dibujar un dibujo de tu familia en este papel, usando estos marcadores.

Si no te gustaría dibujar este dibujo, no te preocupes. No hay problema. A mí no me va a molestar. Si te gustaría dibujar este dibujo, solo yo voy a ver el dibujo y nadie más. Tampoco voy a escribir tu nombre en el dibujo. Si tienes preguntas, por favor pregúntame en cualquier momento.

¿Entendiste todo lo que te expliqué? ¿Tienes preguntas?

¿Podrías dibujar un dibujo de tu familia en este papel?

Phase 3: Child Assent Form (English)

Hi, _____.

My name is Linda, and I am doing a project for school. I would like to learn how children think about their families. I was going to ask you if you could draw a picture of your family on this paper using these markers.

If you decide not to draw a picture of your family, then that will be o.k. There will be no bad feelings. If you do decide to draw a picture of your family, I will make sure that no one will see your picture but me. I will not even put your name on it. If you have questions at any time, please ask me.

Do you understand everything I just said? Do you have any questions?

Would you draw a picture of your family on this sheet of paper?

APPENDIX J

Phase 3: Teachers/Academic Mentors Consent Form

My name is Linda Citlali Manning, and I am a doctoral student at the University of Missouri-Columbia. For my dissertation, I am interested in researching the parenting values and practices perceived to be useful by Mexican American mothers in raising children ages 6-10. The majority of research on effective parenting has been based on a European American perspective; little research has examined parenting from the perspective of Mexican American mothers. Understanding this perspective could help school officials, medical staff, and other professionals to better communicate and serve Mexican American families.

I would like to ask for your participation in this study. Your participation would involve filling out a form on your mentee's current social and academic behavior. The form should take approximately 10 minutes to complete. For your protection, all answers as well as your identity will remain *confidential*. Your name will not be linked with the answers or opinions you provide on the form. Any names that exist on the forms will be crossed out with a black magic marker and will be replaced with an ID number. All forms will be placed in a locked cabinet for at least 3 years that only I can access.

Your participation is voluntary. If you decide not to participate in this research project you will not suffer any loss or be penalized in any way. You may also decide to withdraw from this research project at any time. There are no foreseeable risks that could occur as a result in participating in this project. The benefits for participating in this project would be the knowledge that you could be helping to inform others more about the Mexican American culture and may be improving the future services that Mexican American mothers and their families receive from teachers, doctors, nurses, social workers, etc.

Protection of your rights is of utmost importance. If you have questions or concerns about this research project at any time, please do not hesitate to contact me at (202) 262-5620. For additional information regarding your rights as a participant in research, please feel free to contact the UMC Campus IRB Office at 573-882-9585. If you are to become harmed due to participating in this research project, please contact the Risk Management Officer at (573) 882-3785 who can review the matter and provide further information.

Participant's Signature

Date

Investigator's Signature

Date

APPENDIX K

Phase 3: Demographic Questionnaire (Spanish)

MARITAL STATUS:

Por favor, escoja abajo:

- Soltera
- Casada
- Separada
- Divorciada
- Viuda

INGRESO TOTAL DE CASA:

- Abajo de \$10,000/year
 - Entre \$10,000-\$20,000/year
 - Entre \$21,000-\$30,000/year
 - Entre \$31,000-\$40,000/year
 - Entre \$41,000-\$50,000/year
 - Sobre \$50,000/year
-

EDAD: _____

CUANTOS AÑOS FUE UD A LA ESCUELA

ES USTED EMPLEADO? Yes No

CUANTAS Horas/Semana TRABAJA UD?

CUANTOS AÑOS HA VIVIDO EN LOS
ESTADO UNIDOS?

Madre _____

Su Hijo/a (lo/a que tiene 6 a 10 años)

NÚMERO TOTAL DE MIEMBROS EN CASA:

LAS MUDANZAS:

Desde la mudanza al U.S., cuantas veces han mudado
Ud. Y su niño/niña de hogar a hogar :

Phase 3: Demographic Questionnaire (English)

MARITAL STATUS:

Please check below your current marital status

- Single
- Married
- Separated
- Divorced
- Widowed

HOUSEHOLD INCOME:

- Below \$10,000/year
 - Between \$10,000-\$20,000/year
 - Between \$21,000-\$30,000/year
 - Between \$31,000-\$40,000/year
 - Between \$41,000-\$50,000/year
 - Above \$50,000/year
-

AGE: _____

HOW MANY YEARS DID YOU ATTEND SCHOOL) = _____

ARE YOU EMPLOYED? Yes No

NUMBER OF YEARS IN U.S. :

Mother = _____

HOW MANY "Hours/Week" DO YOU WORK?

Target Child (6-10 yrs) = _____

TOTAL NUMBER OF MEMBERS IN HOUSEHOLD:

MOVING:

Since moving to the U.S., how many times have you and your child moved? _____

APPENDIX L

Phase 3: Parenting Instrument

Todas las Secciones Enfocan a los Niños/as entre 6-10 Años

Edad de su hijo/a = _____

Sexo de su hijo/a = *Mujer* ó *Hombre*

Sección 1: Marque una "X" en el lugar que más represente su nivel de acuerdo con las siguientes oraciones. Acuérdesse que está bien si UD esté ó no esté de acuerdo con una oración. No hay respuestas "correctas." Sólo estoy interesada en su opinión.

1.	Los niños/as siempre deben ser "muy pegados/as" a sus madres.	Estoy muy en desacuerdo	Estoy en desacuerdo	No estoy en acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	Estoy de acuerdo	Estoy muy de acuerdo
2.	No deje ir a jugar a mi hijo a las casas de sus amigos <u>a menos</u> que yo conozca a los padres.	Estoy muy en desacuerdo	Estoy en desacuerdo	No estoy en acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	Estoy de acuerdo	Estoy muy de acuerdo
3.	Cuando los niños/as se portan mal, las madres deben darles unas nalgadas.	Estoy muy en desacuerdo	Estoy en desacuerdo	No estoy en acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	Estoy de acuerdo	Estoy muy de acuerdo
4.	Es difícil para mí confiar en otros adultos con mi hijo/a, especialmente adultos que no son de la familia.	Estoy muy en desacuerdo	Estoy en desacuerdo	No estoy en acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	Estoy de acuerdo	Estoy muy de acuerdo
5.	Las madres deben esconder de sus hijos su tristeza y su enojo.	Estoy muy en desacuerdo	Estoy en desacuerdo	No estoy en acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	Estoy de acuerdo	Estoy muy de acuerdo
6.	Cuando los niños/as se están portando mal, las madres deben amenazarlos con un castigo.	Estoy muy en desacuerdo	Estoy en desacuerdo	No estoy en acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	Estoy de acuerdo	Estoy muy de acuerdo
7.	Antes de regañar a sus hijos/as, las madres deben preguntar primero a sus hijos de que fue lo que pasó.	Estoy muy en desacuerdo	Estoy en desacuerdo	No estoy en acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	Estoy de acuerdo	Estoy muy de acuerdo
8.	Cuando los niños/as se portan mal, las madres deben pegarles.	Estoy muy en desacuerdo	Estoy en desacuerdo	No estoy en acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	Estoy de acuerdo	Estoy muy de acuerdo
9.	Cuando los niños/as se portan mal, las madres deben sentarse con sus hijos/as y explicarles <u>por que</u> su comportamiento no fue bueno.	Estoy muy en desacuerdo	Estoy en desacuerdo	No estoy en acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	Estoy de acuerdo	Estoy muy de acuerdo

Sección 2: Marque una "X" en el lugar que más la represente a UD y a su familia durante la semana pasada.

Días en la Semana Pasada

	<i>Durante la semana pasada, yo ...</i>	Nunca	Un Día	Dos Días	Trés Días	4 or más Días
10	miré a mi hijo/a por una hora o más mientras jugaba.					
11	Le dí consejos a mi hijo/a sobre lo bueno y lo malo de la vida.					
12	supe donde estaba mi hijo/a y que estaba haciendo <u>todo el tiempo</u> .					
13	usé nombres cariñosos cuando hablé con mi hijo/a (e.j., mi amor, mi gordo, etc.)					
14	abracé ó besé a mi hijo/a.					
15	supe con quien estaba jugando mi hijo/a <u>todo el tiempo</u> .					
16	le grité a mi hijo/a cuando se estaba portando mal.					
17	felicité a mi hijo/a cuando hizo algo bueno.					
18	platicué con mi hijo/a por una hora o más.					

Phase 3: Parenting Instrument

All Sections Focus on Children Ages 6-10

Your Child's Age = _____

Your Child's Sex = Female or Male

Section 1: Mark an "X" in the box that best describes your level of agreement with the following sentences. Remember that it is OK to agree or disagree with any of the sentences. There are no "right" answers. I just want to know your opinion.

1	Children always should be "glued" to their mothers.	I strongly disagree	I disagree	I neither agree nor disagree	I agree	I strongly agree
2	My child <u>never</u> plays at a friend's house unless I know the parents.	I strongly disagree	I disagree	I neither agree nor disagree	I agree	I strongly agree
3	Mothers should spank their children when they misbehave.	I strongly disagree	I disagree	I neither agree nor disagree	I agree	I strongly agree
4	It is hard for me to trust other adults with my child, especially adults who are not from the family.	I strongly disagree	I disagree	I neither agree nor disagree	I agree	I strongly agree
5	Mothers should hide their sadness or anger from their children.	I strongly disagree	I disagree	I neither agree nor disagree	I agree	I strongly agree
6	When children are misbehaving, mothers should threaten their children with punishment.	I strongly disagree	I disagree	I neither agree nor disagree	I agree	I strongly agree
7	Before mothers scold their children, they should ask them their side of the story.	I strongly disagree	I disagree	I neither agree nor disagree	I agree	I strongly agree
8	Mothers should hit their children when they misbehave.	I strongly disagree	I disagree	I neither agree nor disagree	I agree	I strongly agree
9	When children misbehave, mothers should sit down and explain to them <u>why</u> their behavior was bad.	I strongly disagree	I disagree	I neither agree nor disagree	I agree	I strongly agree

Section 2: Mark an "X" in the box that best describes you and your family over the last week.

Days in Past Week

	<i>In the last week, I</i>	Never	One Day	Two Days	Three Days	4 or More Days
10	watched my child for an hour or more while s/he played.					
11	gave advice to my child about the good and the bad in life.					
12	knew where my child was and what s/he was doing <u>at all times</u> .					
13	used affectionate nicknames when talking to my child (e.g., my love, my chubby one, etc.).					
14	hugged or kissed my child.					
15	knew with whom my child was playing <u>at all times</u> .					
16	yelled at my child when s/he misbehaved.					
17	congratulated my child for doing something well.					
18	had an informal conversation for at least 1 hour with my child.					

APPENDIX M

Phase 3: Marin Acculturation Scale (Spanish)

(Madres : Por favor, Haga un « X » en el cajón que corresponda a su respuesta)

1. En general, que idioma usted lee y habla?	Solamente Español	Mas Español Que Ingles	Ambos Igual	Mas Ingles Que Español	Solamente Ingles
2. Que idioma hablaba usted de niña?	Solamente Español	Mas Español Que Ingles	Ambos Igual	Mas Ingles Que Español	Solamente Ingles
3. Que idioma habla usted usualmente en su casa?	Solamente Español	Mas Español Que Ingles	Ambos Igual	Mas Ingles Que Español	Solamente Ingles
4. En que idioma usted piensa usualmente?	Solamente Español	Mas Español Que Ingles	Ambos Igual	Mas Ingles Que Español	Solamente Ingles
5. En que idioma usted habla usualmente con sus amigos?	Solamente Español	Mas Español Que Ingles	Ambos Igual	Mas Ingles Que Español	Solamente Ingles
6. En que idioma son los programas de TV que usted ve usualmente?	Solamente Español	Mas Español Que Ingles	Ambos Igual	Mas Ingles Que Español	Solamente Ingles
7. En que idioma son los programas de radio que usted escucha usualmente?	Solamente Español	Mas Español Que Ingles	Ambos Igual	Mas Ingles Que Español	Solamente Ingles
8. En general, en que idioma son las peliculas y los programas de TV y radio que usted <u>prefiere</u> ver y escuchar?	Solamente Español	Mas Español Que Ingles	Ambos Igual	Mas Ingles Que Español	Solamente Ingles

Ahora, por favor Haga un « X » abajo en el cajón que corresponda a su respuesta.

1. Sus amigos intimos son	Todas Latinas	Mas Latinas que Americanas	Mitad y Mitad	Mas Americanas que Latinas	Todas Americanas
2. Usted prefiere ir a reuniones sociales o fiestas en las cuales las personas son	Todas Latinas	Mas Latinas que Americanas	Mitad y Mitad	Mas Americanas que Latinas	Todas Americanas
3. Las personas que usted visita o que la visitan a usted son	Todas Latinas	Mas Latinas que Americanas	Mitad y Mitad	Mas Americanas que Latinas	Todas Americanas
4. Que serian los amigos de sus hijos si usted los pudiera escoger?	Todas Latinas	Mas Latinas que Americanas	Mitad y Mitad	Mas Americanas que Latinas	Todas Americanas

Phase 3: Marin Acculturation Scale (English)

Please tell me if you use only Spanish, more Spanish than English, both equally, more English than Spanish or only English.

Only Spanish 1	More Spanish than English 2	Both equally 3	More English than Spanish 4	Only English 5
----------------------	-----------------------------------	----------------------	-----------------------------------	----------------------

Circle the number that applies

- | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. In general, what language do you read and speak? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. What was the language you used as a child? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. What language do you usually speak at home? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. In which language do you usually think? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. What language do you usually speak with your friends? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. In what language are the TV programs you usually watch? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7. In what language are the radio programs you usually listen to? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 8. In general, in what language are the movies, TV, and radio programs you prefer to watch and listen to? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Now please tell me if the people mentioned are all Latinos, more Latinos than Americans, half and half, more Americans than Latinos, or all Americans.

All Latinos 1	More Latinos than Americans 2	Half and half 3	More Americans than Latinos 4	All Americans 5
---------------------	-------------------------------------	--------------------	-------------------------------------	-----------------------

- | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Your close friends are | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. Do you prefer going to social gatherings or parties at which people are | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. Are the persons you visit or who visit you | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. If you could choose your children's friends, they would be | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

APPENDIX N

Phase 3: Parent Depression (Spanish)

Direcciones: Por favor, marque una “X” en el lugar que más represente su respuesta.

Con que frecuencia durante la semana pasada, ¿se ha sentido.....

1.	molestada por cosas que por lo general no la/lo molestan?	Menos de 1 Día	1-2 Días	3-4 Días	5-7 Días
2.	que no deseaba comer; no tenía buen apetito?	Menos de 1 Día	1-2 Días	3-4 Días	5-7 Días
3.	que no podía quitarse la melancolía de encima, ni siquiera con la ayuda de su familia y amigos?	Menos de 1 Día	1-2 Días	3-4 Días	5-7 Días
4.	que le era difícil concentrarse en lo que hacía?	Menos de 1 Día	1-2 Días	3-4 Días	5-7 Días
5.	deprimida?	Menos de 1 Día	1-2 Días	3-4 Días	5-7 Días
6.	que todo lo que hacía tomaba esfuerzo?	Menos de 1 Día	1-2 Días	3-4 Días	5-7 Días
7.	con miedo?	Menos de 1 Día	1-2 Días	3-4 Días	5-7 Días
8.	que durmió agitadamente?	Menos de 1 Día	1-2 Días	3-4 Días	5-7 Días
9.	que hablaba menos de lo normal?	Menos de 1 Día	1-2 Días	3-4 Días	5-7 Días
10.	que se sentía sola?	Menos de 1 Día	1-2 Días	3-4 Días	5-7 Días
11.	que se sentía triste?	Menos de 1 Día	1-2 Días	3-4 Días	5-7 Días
12.	que no podía “arrancar”?	Menos de 1 Día	1-2 Días	3-4 Días	5-7 Días

Phase 3: Parent Depression (English)

Directions: Mark an “X” in the space that best represents your answer.

How often during the past week have you felt.....

1.	bothered by things that usually don't bother you?	Less than 1 Day	1-2 Days	3-4 Days	5-7 Days
2.	you did not feel like eating; your appetite was poor?	Less than 1 Day	1-2 Days	3-4 Days	5-7 Days
3.	that you could not shake off the blues, even with help from family and friends?	Less than 1 Day	1-2 Days	3-4 Days	5-7 Days
4.	you had trouble keeping your mind on what you were doing?	Less than 1 Day	1-2 Days	3-4 Days	5-7 Days
5.	depressed?	Less than 1 Day	1-2 Days	3-4 Days	5-7 Days
6.	that everything you did was an effort?	Less than 1 Day	1-2 Days	3-4 Days	5-7 Days
7.	fearful?	Less than 1 Day	1-2 Days	3-4 Days	5-7 Days
8.	your sleep was restless?	Less than 1 Day	1-2 Days	3-4 Days	5-7 Days
9.	you talked less than usual?	Less than 1 Day	1-2 Days	3-4 Days	5-7 Days
10.	you felt lonely?	Less than 1 Day	1-2 Days	3-4 Days	5-7 Days
11.	you felt sad?	Less than 1 Day	1-2 Days	3-4 Days	5-7 Days
12.	you could not get going?	Less than 1 Day	1-2 Days	3-4 Days	5-7 Days

APPENDIX O

SCORING MANUAL DRAWINGS

Checklist of Specific Markers Used in Scoring Family Drawings Fury, Carlson & Sroufe (1997)

(Signs 1-13 = Kaplan & Main's predicted signs;
Signs 14-24 = Fury's additional signs)

1. Lack of individuation of family members.
2. Arms positioned downward, close to body.
3. Absence of "real world" elements or background detail (pets, sun, etc.)
4. Figures not grounded on page or imaginary surface.
5. Incomplete figures.
6. Figures positioned extremely close together (leaning together or bodies overlapping).
7. Figures separated by barrier(s).
8. Unusually small figures.
9. Unusually large figures.
10. Figures positioned on corner of page.
11. Exaggeration of soft body parts (stomach, lower body).
12. Exaggeration of facial features.
13. False starts/scratched out figures.
14. Exaggeration of heads.
15. Exaggeration of arms/hands.
16. Lack of color in drawing as a whole (entirely or primarily black).
17. Complete omission of mother (m) or child (c). (Check only if mother is alive).
18. Disguised family members (portrayed as non-human, creature-like).
19. Mother figure not feminized in the drawing (via hair, body, clothing).
20. Males, females undifferentiated by gender (including child).
21. Mother positioned far apart from child on the page.
22. Scrunched figures (constricted in appearance).
23. Negative or neutral facial affect.
24. Unusual signs/symbols or scenes.

Global Rating Scales for Family Drawings
7-point Rating Scales

1. Vitality-Creativity

This scale is designed to capture the child's emotional investment in completing the task of drawing his or her family. In applying this scale, consider how the child may have gone beyond the immediate task, by embellishing or adding lively elements to the drawing which suggest energy, creativity, and perhaps abstract symbolism.

Importantly, drawings rated high on this scale may or may not reflect emotional closeness between family members and/or positive feeling on the part of the child. What they share however, are qualities of being expressive, complete and interesting to look at. In some cases, they may appear humorous and light-hearted; in other cases, they may appear disturbing, complex, and rich in symbolism.

In general, highly rated drawings are colorful, imaginative and decidedly unique. They may have a dramatic look. Distinguishing features include: individuation of family members, elaboration of background detail, dress, or physical features; and generally completed drawings.

Scale points: Vitality-Creativity Scale

- 7) Very high At this end, drawings are very engaging to look at. In some cases, they appear very lively in a positive sense, perhaps showing family members in the outer world doing something fun or playful together. In other instances, the drawing may hold your attention in being strikingly disturbing or bizarre in some way. Typically, these drawings are colorful, complete and quite distinctive in some way. The child has clearly invested energy in his or her drawing.
- 6) High Perhaps somewhat less unusual or elaborate in content than the highest scale point, this category shares many of the same distinguishing features. The drawing has more in the way of detail and shows considerable imagination and/or effort on the part of the child. Note: Drawing ability is not a criteria for placement in these upper categories. Rather, these drawings seem to reflect something "going on", either in a direct, playful manner, or in a more indirect symbolic way.
- 5) Moderately High This category acts as a marker in distinguishing drawings which have "more to say" than those which simply do not. There may be some small background details (a pet, clouds, surface underneath figures) or family members show movement or interesting dress, hair or facial features. These drawings are in some way, somewhat interesting or engaging to look at.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 4) Neither Particularly Engaging or Dull (Flat) | These drawings are difficult to distinguish as either high or low in terms of overall emotional investment. They have the appearance of being done with considerably less emotional energy, although they would not be considered impoverished, careless or depressed in overall feeling. The child has simply drawn his/her family in a complete, yet relatively uninteresting manner. Use of color, detail, and background elaboration are less striking. It may also be difficult to ascertain the emotional connectedness of family members (positive or negative). |
| 3) Moderately Flat or Restricted in Feeling | These drawings have the appearance of being done without much energy or enthusiasm. Elaboration of family figures or background detail is minimal. Figures may be incomplete or drawn somewhat haphazardly. There is no background detail and use of color is decidedly diminished. Rather than filling the page or being centered and on a surface, figures may float or bunch together in the corner. |
| 2) Low on Vitality/ Creativity | At this scale point, drawings begin to take on an impoverished look. Figures may be strikingly small or drawn in a seemingly careless fashion. In some cases, figures may be incomplete or they may appear to have been drawn in a rote-like automatic manner with little attention to detail. |
| 1) Striking Absence of Vitality/ Creativity | These drawings have an overall depressed quality. There is no background world and no apparent effort has been made to invest in how the drawing ends up looking. The drawing will have the appearance of being a bare-bones portrayal of the family |

2. Family Pride/Happiness

This scale is designed to capture the child's sense of family pride, belongingness (security) and general feelings of happiness in the family, as they are expressed in the drawing. Regardless of who comprises the child's family at the time of the drawing, (step-parents, aunts, grandparents, etc.) the aim of this scale is to capture how the child appears to feel supported (by adults), included, and generally happy in this family group.

Rating markers at the upper end of this scale will include: family members positioned in a direct, open stance – neither crowded together or floating apart in a random fashion, completed figures (facial features and if bodies are included, limbs are all present, i.e. hands and feet), positive facial affect, family members appear emotionally connected and as a unit. (They may wear similar clothing with minor alterations for gender, or they may be holding hands without being bunched together, or they may be doing and activity together.) At the upper end, drawings are colorful and will likely make you feel like smiling.

At the lower end, there appears to be little or no family cohesion, pride, or sense of belonging on the child's part. Family members may be depicted in a colorless, automatic fashion or in a careless, chaotic or disheveled way. Figures may float on the page, be incomplete, or the child (or mother) may be omitted completely. In other cases, family members may be disguised or distorted in some unusual way. Signs of positive affect – facial or, in the bodies (hands waving) or in the families activities are absent.

Scale Points: Family Pride/Happiness

- 7) Very high At the upper end, the drawing seems to radiate positive feelings which are revealed in clarity, completeness, presence of detail – either in the figures themselves or in some type of background scene, and/or in some signs of positive affect or activity. There is often a direct, open stance in which the figures face forward and are positioned and centered on some surface or imaginary surface. These drawings appear organized in depicting family members and the proportions are clearly adults being larger in size than the children.
- 6) High These drawings may be somewhat less rich and positive in terms of how the family is depicted, but they are generally quite happy looking, complete, and the figures appear to be organized on the page in some deliberate way. Again, the family members are portrayed in a direct, natural way as a family (not disguised, distorted or doing something unusual). They are not overly large or small in proportion to the page, and adults are larger in size than children.
- 5) Moderately High At this scale point, drawings may not appear as positively robust as in the higher ratings described above, but there is some indication of positive connectedness and belonging in this family. There may be little or no detail here, yet the family members appear as a happy unit, regardless of size. They may simply be standing together with smiles on their faces or matching/coordinated clothing. These drawings retain the appearance of organization and completeness though they may be somewhat less overtly positive and perhaps less clear in portraying family closeness and pride.
- 4) Moderate At this scale midpoint, there are fewer indicators of positive family feelings expressed in the drawings, although they may not appear particularly negative either. Use of color, detail and

background elaboration may be somewhat diminished. The positioning of the figures may appear less centered, grounded and organized. Facial affect may be neutral vs. positive.

- 3) Moderately Low Drawings rated here should be those which arouse some sense of uncertainty with regard to positive feelings and security on the child's part. There may be subtle indications of ambivalence such as the child placing him or herself separate from the family by way of space on the page, or some kind of barrier (in the context of some scene, or via a character, or perhaps even a pet or tree). There is less clarity with respect to size of figures and they may not appear as grounded in the world or connected as a unit.
- 2) Low At the lower end, drawings may be distinguished by being relatively unorganized, seemingly careless, or perhaps disproportionate to the size of the page. At first glance, it may even be difficult to distinguish the drawing as a family drawing. Figures may float on the page, be incomplete, or they may be drawn in a disguised or distorted way. There is no clear indication of positive affect anywhere on the family members.
- 1) Very Low Rather than reflecting family pride and emotional connectedness, these drawings look either very sad and vacant, or disturbing in some way with respect to parent child relations. Family figures may be tiny and scrunched, partially completed, or instead, there may be elaborate negatively toned symbolism, disguised family figures (i.e., monsters or creature-like) or the drawing may appear peculiar and disturbing in some way.

3. Vulnerability Scale

This scale aims to capture feelings of vulnerability and emotional ambivalence as they are expressed in the child's family drawing. The emphasis here is primarily on the size of the figures, proximity of figures in relationship to each other, placement of figures on the page and an exaggeration of body parts and/or facial features.

In general, drawings rated high on this scale will not appear centered, grounded and proportionate to the size of the page. Figures may be very small (or unusually large, they may appear bunched closely together or overlapping, or they may be separated or enclosed by a barrier of some kind. They may cluster together on the corner of the page or float on the page in a seemingly random fashion. The drawing may have the appearance of depicting something which is overwhelming to the child. There may or may not be a background world, but if there is, it is not a peaceful positive setting.

Scale Points: Vulnerability

- 7) Very High These drawings have the appearance of extreme vulnerability and/or emotional uncertainty on the part of the child. Figures are very small and perhaps bunched together on the corner of the page, or they may float on the page with no background scene. Expression of positive affect is absent. There may be a seemingly chaotic scene depicted, in which the child is alone or separate from parent.
- 6) High These drawings, while perhaps not as striking in overall appearance as those rated above, still have a decidedly vulnerable appearance. Again, the emphasis is on the size of figures, the relative proximity of the figures to each other, and the placement of the page. Mother or child may be positioned in a “slanting away” posture in relation to the other. Some drawings may also include exaggerated facial features or body extremities and or soft, rounded body parts.
- 5) Moderately High Drawings placed at this level suggest more subtle signs of vulnerability and ambivalence. Drawings may appear less developed or perhaps immature in some way. Figures may be “stick” figures and may float on the page or they may be positioned on the corner of the page. Alternatively, they may crowd together, appearing small in stature. Body parts (hands, etc.) may be left off, exaggerated, or unusually small (heads).
- 4) Moderate At this scale point, it becomes difficult to infer feelings of vulnerability and/or ambivalence on the child’s part. The drawing is not clearly distinguished by tiny figures, nor are they crowded together, floating or clustered together in the corner. They may simply stand together as a group or on surfaces, and background scenes which have been drawn in.
- 3) Moderately Low These drawings have a slightly more settled, organized and direct appearance, which is generally evident in the completeness, size and proximity of family members, in proportion to the page. Family members may appear more potent (via their size and completeness) and more emotionally connected as a family unit (i.e., they wear similar clothing or are doing something positive together).
- 2) Low At this near-end scale point, the drawings have a more organized, unified and complete appearance. Size of figures is proportionate either to the background scene or to the page itself. There is little or no indication of vulnerability.
- 1) Very Low These drawings show no signs of emotional ambivalence or vulnerability. Family members are complete, grounded and centered

on the page, maybe enjoying and activity together, and are characterized by clear signs of positive affect

4. Emotional Distance/Isolation (between mother and child)

This scale is intended to assess feelings of emotional distance and/or loneliness on the part of the child. Drawings rated high on this scale will differ from those rated high on the “vulnerability” scale in being more controlled, complete and perhaps thematic (including the presence of signs, symbols and/or perhaps disguising family members in some way). Within each individual child’s drawing, watch particularly for the placement of the child in relation to the mother, individuation of family members and for the expression of affect in the figures. Also note instances of sideward (vs. direct and open) eye contact and/or a downward focus on the part of the child or mother. Use of color in the drawing as a whole will vary in applying this scale.

Rather than having the appearance of a child who feels overwhelmed and ambivalent in relationship to his/her mother (and others), these drawings may appear more sophisticated and/or complex in how the child expresses anger or distance within the relationship.

Scale points: Emotional Distance/Isolation

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| 7) Very High | The drawing suggests absolutely no positive emotional connection between the mother and her child. Instead, there are clear signs of anger and emotional distance expressed in the drawing, which may take the form of the mother being deliberately placed apart from the child (i.e., underground) or being disguised (i.e., as a monster-like creature) or being distorted in some way. |
| 6) High | Drawings will resemble those in the above category, though perhaps in a somewhat less pronounced and vivid way. The child and mother appear to be deliberately apart on the page and are not engaged in any sort of fun or playful activity together. There is no sign of positive affect – there may be indirect, downward eye contact or the child may appear to be doing a completely different activity, such as sleeping. |
| 5) Moderately High | At this scale point, the drawing will suggest a somewhat diminished or emotionally reserved relationship between mother and child. Facial affect may be neutral or negative. Figures may appear rotely drawn or incomplete. There may be subtle distortions of body parts. The child may be distinctly separated from the mother on the page (via other family members between them or some other barrier or space). |
| 4) Moderate/ Neutral | Drawings placed in this category show neither clear cut signs of emotional distance or signs of warmth and closeness between the |

mother and child. Due to placement of the figures, their relative size, use of affect and use of background context (or lack of it), it is relatively difficult to determine the emotional connectedness of the dyad.

- 3) Moderately Low Drawings placed here will begin to show some subtle signs of positive emotional regard between mother and child. There may be less to go on, content-wise or style-wise but the relative size, positioning of the figures, use of affect and detail will create some sense of a better-than-neutral emotional relationship between the child and his or her mother.
- 2) Low These drawings appear to reflect positive feelings and a close mother-child relationship. The mother figure is larger in size than the child and is depicted in a complete way. Often they are doing something fun or positioned neither too close nor far apart in the outer world. Positive affect is evident in the faces and the drawing as a whole.
- 1) Very Low These drawings show absolutely no signs of emotional distance between child and mother. There are clear, positive and direct signs of a positive relationship.

5. Tension/Anger Scale

This scale is concerned with the degree of tension/anger which is aroused in the child as a result of being asked to draw a picture of his or her family. For purposes here, tension and anger will be inferred on the basis of these dimensions in the family drawings: figures will appear very rigid, often without color or clear positive facial affect or figures may have a “scrunched” appearance, whereby body extremities (arms, legs and neck) have a constricted, bound-up look about them. Arms will be held rigidly downward vs. somewhat open relaxed or animated. Figures may be drawn relatively small and crowded together with little or no background world surrounding. Parts of the drawing may appear scribbled or careless.

The drawing may also include what Main refers to as “false starts”; that is, the child may have started drawing a particular person, then crossed him or her out and started over again on the page.

Scale Points: Tension/Anger

- 7) Very High Drawings placed at this highest scale point have a definite tense appearance. Figures are either scrunched up at the bottom or corner of the page or they appear very rigid, colorless and undifferentiated. The arms may be downward or absent altogether. There is no background world and there may be some careless scribbling which has no apparent meaning or relation to the drawing as a whole.

- 6) High These drawings have a predominantly tense appearance. There may be broken lines, false starts, an absence of faces, missing body parts (unfinished figures). Angry strokes and/or scribbling may be present.
- 5) Moderately High Drawings may have been unfinished or they may have very stiff-looking postures with no positive affect. There is little or no background world; figures may be scrunched and off center or they may include some clearly distorted body part and/or several “false starts”
- 4) Moderate/Neutral At scale midpoint, it is difficult to assess the presence or absence of tension/anxiety in the child. The drawing is generally complete. It may include color and affect but it is not clear whether the child feels relaxed and secure or tense and angry during this task.
- 3) Moderately Low Drawings suggest only minor elements of tension, which are more apt to be balanced by some positive elements, such as positive affect, completed figures, or some effort to use color and detail.
- 2) Low These drawings have very few signs of tension and an overriding number of elements which suggest a kind of freedom of expression on the child’s part. The drawing generally appears direct and organized, even if simple in style.
- 1) Very Low Drawings at this end scale point suggest no indications of tension and anxiety on the child’s part. These drawings are typically colorful and animated with complete figures showing positive affect or activity. Figures appear alive and differentiated, yet together in the world.

6. Role-Reversal Scale

This scale attempts to capture feelings on the part of the child which suggest a role-reversing kind of relationship with the mother. More specifically, the mother is perceived by the child as weak (perhaps having less power and authority in the relationship with the child), or vulnerable herself, and therefore unreliable as a consistent supportive parent-figure.

Three dimensions in the family drawing are the focus here:

- 1) A size distinction between the child and mother (with mother depicted as smaller in size than the child).
- 2) Drawings which depict the child as floundering in some way and the mother elsewhere.
- 3) Distortions of body extremities (large hands, exaggerated arms).

Scale Points: Role Reversal

- 7) Very High These drawings are immediately identifiable as unusual either because the child is clearly larger in size than the mother, or child and/or mother has distorted/exaggerated arms or hands. In some drawings the child is depicted as floundering, apart from the family and mother figure.
- 6) High Drawings meet the criteria of the above category although to a somewhat less extreme degree. The child is notably larger in size than the mother and there may be a lack of human-like features overall.
- 5) Moderately High At this scale point, the child may appear more potent than the mother as a result of size, body posture or proximity to other family members. There may be some distortion of body parts or facial features.
- 4) Moderate At this scale midpoint, it becomes difficult to make a clear judgment regarding role-reversal because the figures may be only slightly differentiated by size and proportion. Perhaps all the figures (including siblings) are relatively small and more or less equal in size. Also, they may not be as well-developed (as humans), which may simply be due to style or drawing ability.
- 3) Moderately Low Drawings have slightly more clarity with regard to parent-child roles than above. The child appears in some ways more child-like (clothing, via an activity) than the mother, even though the size differentiation is less clear.
- 2) Low At this scale point, children and mothers are more easily distinguished by size and more often, gender. There may be elaboration and appropriate detail on these decidedly human-appearing figures. These drawings appear far more clear and integrated in terms of who is who (via role relationships in the family).
- 1) Very Low These drawings suggest absolutely no signs of role-reversal in the mother-child relationship. The child appears smaller in stature than the mother and appears emotionally connected and protected by her in the drawing (that is, she does not appear peculiar or distorted, or distant in any way). They both appear as human beings, alive and connected in the world.

7. Bizarreness/Dissociation

This scale addresses a particular form of anger expressed by the child in his/her family drawing. Of particular interest is how some children may reveal feelings of hostility, betrayal and abandonment in a variety of subtle and disguised forms (in their drawings). The underlying aim is to tap the unconscious processing of anger and resentment.

The primary dimensions to be considered when applying this scale are:

- Unusual signs and symbols: perhaps having a morbid, dark, or aggressive quality (i.e. black clouds, dead trees, rivers of blood, houses/castles as fortresses) and angry scribbling in the context of the drawing as a whole.
- Angry, aggressive facial features (sharp, exaggerated teeth, angry eyes and body postures).
- Fantasy themes in which the child is empowered in some way (depicted as an animal-like creature, a king, in a castle).
- Unusual markings having no apparent relation to the drawing as a whole.

Scale Points: Bizarreness/Dissociation

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| 7) Very High | This drawing suggests a strikingly high degree of anger and/or dissociative thought process Drawings placed at this end look disturbing and complex, either because of angry affect, elaborate and morbid fantasy themes, and/or human figures which are disguised in an aggressive way. |
| 6) High | Drawings in this category include several clear signs of angry feelings, although they may be somewhat less pronounced and perhaps dramatic than in the above category. |
| 5) Moderately High | These drawings have either one clear and direct sign of disguised anger (sharp, aggressive teeth on the child) or they may have an overall scribbled, reckless or unfinished quality. The drawing may appear hurried, frenzied or impoverished in terms of background detail or use of color. |
| 4) Moderate | At scale midpoint, the drawings may be more difficult to distinguish as angry or bizarre in appearance. There may only be one or two unusual or ambiguous elements, or on seemingly unusual symbol which arouses suspicion, but are not adequate to infer dissociative anger on the child's part. |

- 3) Moderately Low These drawings suggest only minor, if any, indications of disguised anger or bizarre features which are generally balanced by a number of more healthy features overall. In general, drawings in this category appear more positive than neutral or disturbing.
- 2) Low These drawings suggest no signs of bizarre and/or dissociative representational thought. The drawing as a whole may appear slightly less healthy than the following scale point but there are clearly no distorted or disguised figures, or unusual elements.
- 1) Very Low Drawings placed at this end contain none of the elements designated as markers for this scale. These drawings have the appearance of being grounded, complete, happy and organized in a real-world setting or background

8. Global Pathology Rating Scale

This final rating scale has been designed to capture the overall degree of pathology reflected in the child’s drawing of his or her family. The rating should be focused on global aspects of the drawing as a whole, rather than on specific, discrete dimensions such as size or proportion of figures, use of color, etc., although the knowledge and experience acquired in the process of completing the 7-point scales will be useful here.

In doing this interpretation, raters should consider the following question: How does the child feel in this family? To some extent, this rating might be viewed as an overall index of the child’s emotional health in the context of the family (as depicted in the drawing). As such, it aims to capture the underlying emotional themes such as: anxiety, fear, dependency, self-esteem, anger, alienation, dissociation, and depression.

NOTE: It may be useful to do a preliminary sorting of the drawings into three piles: 1) most disturbing, 2) generally “OK” or unsure, 3) and those which appear happy and complete. After completing this step, each drawing should be shifted into one of the following seven categories.

- 7) Very High At the uppermost end, family drawings reflect a strikingly high degree of family disharmony, sadness, and/or emotional alienation. Themes of anger, confusion, low self-esteem, and/or general relationship anxiety clearly predominate, though they may be expressed in a variety of ways.

Rating Keys: (Consider all of the following). Distorted or disguised figures, omissions, poor integration, false starts, impoverished drawings, absence of color (predominantly black), very tiny figures, child(ren) larger in size than parent(s), expressions of anger (facial or more general), floating, unconnected figures, and/or stiffness, rigidity in posture of figures, and incomplete figures (e.g. arms, hands omitted).

- 6) High Drawings placed at this scale point appear decidedly disturbing in one clear-cut way or in a number of ways combined. Consider the rating keys described above, as well as information/knowledge acquired in the process of applying the 7-point rating scales. Though perhaps not as striking as drawings placed in category 7 (above), these drawings clearly fall into the “disturbing” end of this rating scheme.
- 5) Moderate High These family drawings suggest some degree of ambivalence or negative feelings on the part of the child, though not as pronounced as in the above. Some degree of disharmony, disorganization, or confusion may be present. Or there may be more subtle signs of the family being emotionally disconnected or ambivalent. Generational boundary issues and/or parent/child coalitions may also be revealed (i.e., as in the case of the child being placed conspicuously close to one parent, with the other parent positioned apart, or when the child appears larger in size than the parent.
- 4) Moderate At scale midpoint, drawings may be difficult to gauge in terms of overall feeling (positive or negative) and in terms of how the individual rating markers are organized within the drawing as a whole. There may be a few points of negative concern, combined with generally positive features (figures complete and grounded, animated, or background detail, etc.).
- This category should be used when the rater feels unclear or unsure about the overall tone of the drawing. It may simply appear average or “OK”
- 3) Moderately Low At this scale point, drawings appear to be slightly more positive than neutral in terms of overall organization and feeling. For example, there may be no background world or added details, but the mother and child are depicted as individuated, complete, differentiated by size, and perhaps smiling. These drawings may appear to be simpler than others, yet there are some indications of positive feelings regarding family relationships.
- 2) Low These family drawings appear to reflect overall feelings of security, happiness, and confidence in the family. Figures are generally complete, grounded and colorful, often showing motion or activity, and often positive affect. Arms are sometimes open or connected to other family members (without appearing crowded together). Background detail is frequently colorful and rich. Overall, these drawings appear complete, deliberate, calm and positive. Most important, family members appear in some way positively connected, involved, and perhaps proud.
- 1) Very Low At the lowest scale point, drawings appear unquestionably and organized along a variety of positive dimensions. These drawings are the most cheerful and fun to look at. Family members are often doing something together in the world (e.g., at a park, playing catch, etc.), or they may be depicted as

colorful individuals via their clothing or style of dress. Figures are grounded, whether on the page or on a drawn-in surface. These drawings appear colorful, deliberate, and complete.

APPENDIX P

Table 1. *Summary of Goodness-of-Fit Indices for Warmth Model*

<i>Models</i>	<i>Goodness-of-Fit Measures</i>			
	χ^2	<i>Df</i>	χ^2 / df	<i>CFI</i>
Optimal value			< 3.0 ^a	> .95 ^b
Hypothesized one factor model (5 items)	32.4**	5	6.5	.77
Respecified Model 2: one factor model (4 items)	26.0**	2	13	.79
Respecified Model 3: two factor model (4 items)	.054	1	.05	1.0

a. Kline (2005)
b. Hu and Bentler (1999)
** $p < .001$

Table 2. *Summary of Goodness-of-Fit Indices for Monitoring Model*

<i>Models</i>	<i>Goodness-of-Fit Measures</i>			
	χ^2	<i>df</i>	χ^2 / df	<i>CFI</i>
Optimal value			< 3.0 ^a	> .95 ^b
Hypothesized one factor model (7 items)	42.4**	14	3.0	.78
Respecified Model 2: one factor model (4 items)	4.9	2	2.5	.97

a. Kline (2005)
b. Hu and Bentler (1999)
** $p < .001$

Table 3. *Summary of Goodness-of-Fit Indices for Discipline Model*

<i>Models</i>	<i>Goodness-of-Fit Measures</i>			
	χ^2	<i>df</i>	χ^2 / df	<i>CFI</i>
Optimal value			< 3.0 ^a	> .95 ^b
Hypothesized three factor model (6 items)	6.9	6	1.2	.99

a. Kline (2005)

b. Hu and Bentler (1999)

Table 4: Descriptive Statistics, Internal Reliability, and Correlations among Parenting Scales, Maternal Depression, Acculturation, Education, and Income

Scales		M	SD	α	1a	1b	2	3a.	3b.	3c.	4	5	6
1. Warmth													
	a. Affection	3.95	1.11	.66									
	b. Verbal Guidance	4.60	.79	.70	.35**								
2. Monitoring		4.38	.71	.70	.45**	.47**							
3. Discipline													
	a. Verbal Punishment	3.01	.98	.40	-.10	-.09	-.09						
	b. Communication	4.43	.65	.66	.10	.09	.05	.04					
	c. Physical Punishment	2.65	.89	.69	-.07	-.03	-.05	.43**	-.09				
4. Education		9.6	3.3		.13	.08	.12	-.04	.02	-.09			
5. Income/Member Ratio		.53	.29		.09	.17*	.19*	-.03	.04	.13	.16 ⁺		
6. Depression		1.56	.61	.92	-.18*	-.17*	-.09	.11	-.03	.04	-.11	-.18*	
7. Acculturation		1.8	.52	.86	.12	.06	.14	-.06	.17*	-.13	-.40**	.06	-.07

** $p < .001$

* $p < .05$

+ $p = .051$

Table 5: *Partial Pearson Correlation Coefficients for CBCL and Parenting Subscales Controlling for Maternal Acculturation, Depression, Education, and Income*

<i>N</i> = 123	Affection	Verbal Guidance	Monitoring	Verbal Punishment	Communication	Physical Punishment
Anxious/ Depression	.01	-.10	.05	-.04	-.02	.02
Withdrawal/ Depression	-.08	-.02	-.04	.02	.00	-.03
Somatic Problems	-.11	-.16	-.13	-.04	-.05	.00
Social Problems	-.06	-.09	-.04	.07	.05	.04
Thought Problems	-.07	-.13	.02	-.03	.01	.04
Attention Problems	-.05	-.07	.00	.20*	.17	.10
Rule Breaking	.03	-.04	-.04	.03	.08	-.04
Aggressive	-.02	-.13	.07	.09	.15	.02

* $p < .05$

Table 6: *Partial Pearson Correlation Coefficients for TRF and Parenting Subscales Controlling for Maternal Acculturation, Depression, Education, and Income*

<i>N</i> = 22	Affection	Verbal Guidance	Monitoring	Verbal Punishment	Communication	Physical Punishment
Anxious/Depression	.24	-.08	.31	.16	.22	.16
Withdrawal/Depression	.09	-.22	.30	.11	.11	.08
Somatic Problems	-.18	-.42*	-.01	-.15	-.00	-.34
Social Problems	.25	-.07	.31	-.06	-.05	-.12
Thought Problems	-.44*	-.02	-.41*	-.06	-.18	-.03
Attention Problems	-.16	-.12	-.41*	.26	-.14	-.05
Hyper-Impulsive	-.22	.05	-.51*	.21	-.19	-.06
Rule Breaking	-.01	-.34	-.02	.34	-.01	.30
Aggressive	-.05	-.21	-.00	.31	-.19	.11

* $p < .05$

+ $p = .055$

Table 7: *Partial Pearson Correlation Coefficients for Children's Drawings and Parenting Subscales Controlling for Maternal Acculturation, Depression, Education, and Income*

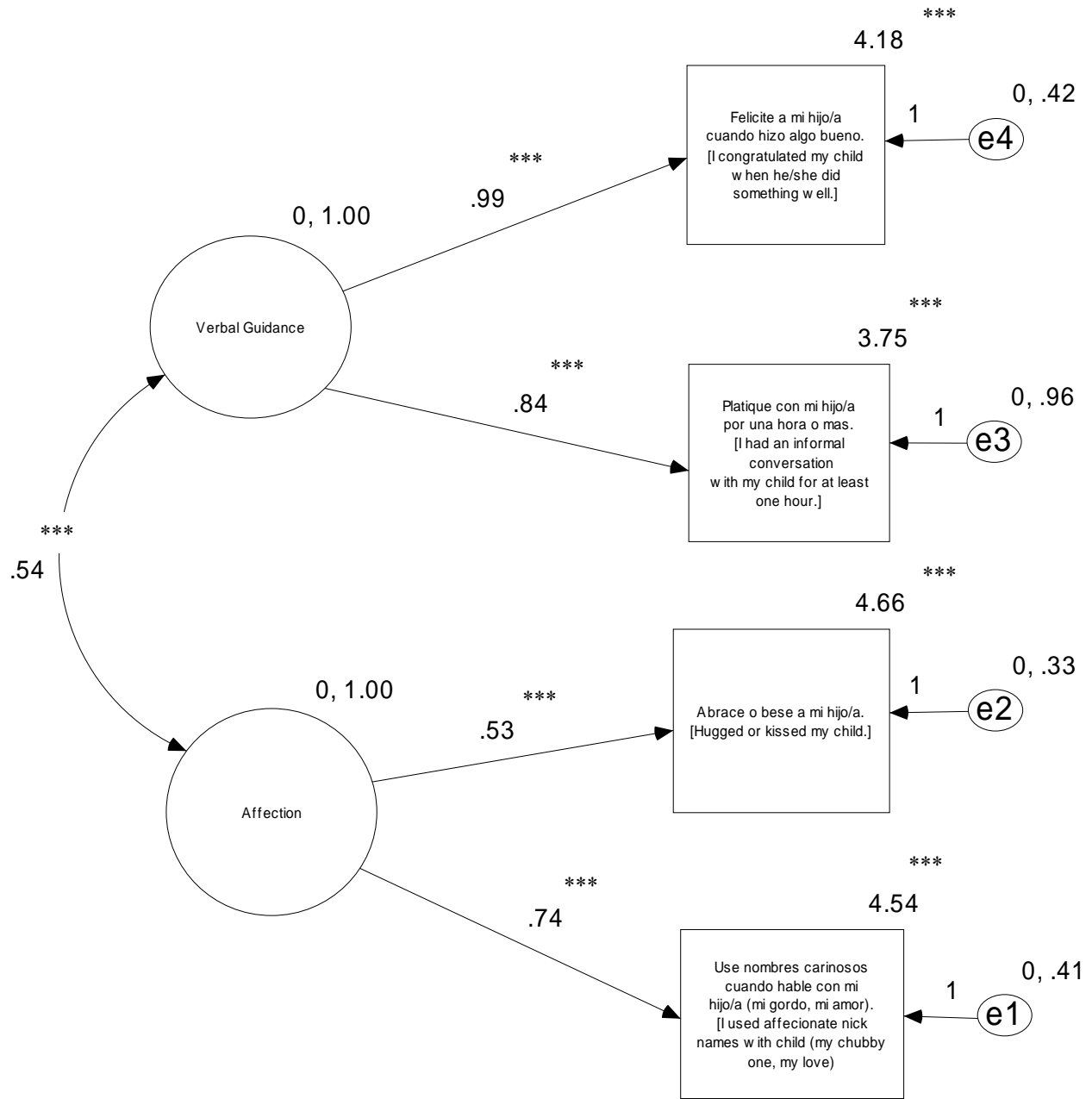
<i>N</i> = 24	Affection	Verbal Guidance	Monitoring	Verbal Punishment	Communication	Physical Punishment
Vitality	-.14	-.26	.03	-.09	.21	-.08
Happiness	-.18	.06	.09	-.34 +	-.15	.21
Vulnerable	-.05	-.24	-.15	.25	.06	-.28
Emotional Isolation	-.00	-.26	-.21	.36 +	.18	-.10
Tension	.18	-.09	-.08	.18	-.15	-.29
Role Reversal	.25	.19	.07	.07	-.19	-.37 +
Bizarreness	.19	.08	.00	-.05	-.31	-.46*
Global	.08	-.01	-.17	.27	.08	-.23

+ $p > .05$

* $p < .05$

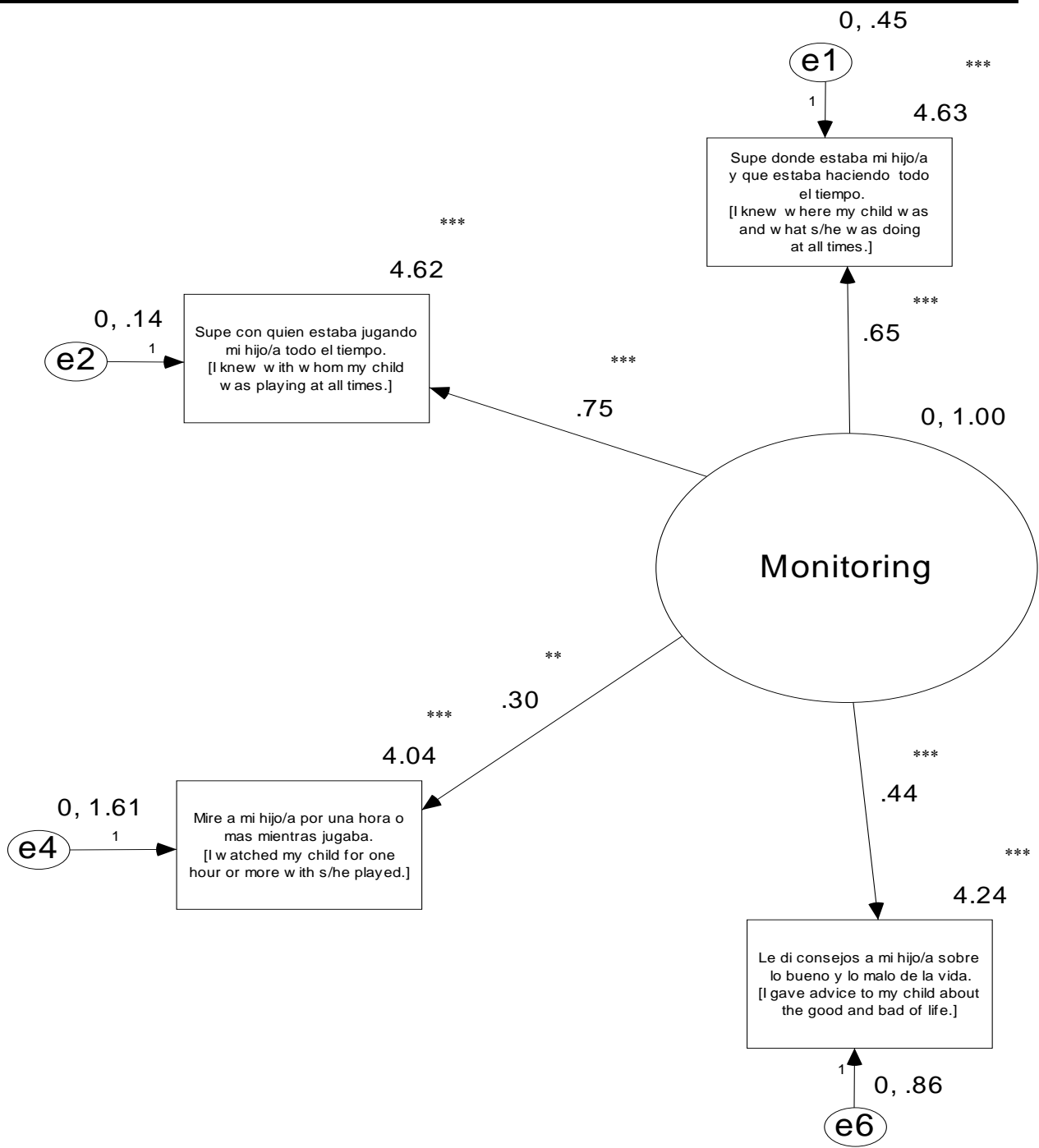
APPENDIX Q

Figure 1. *Unstandardized Regression Coefficients for Warmth Model*



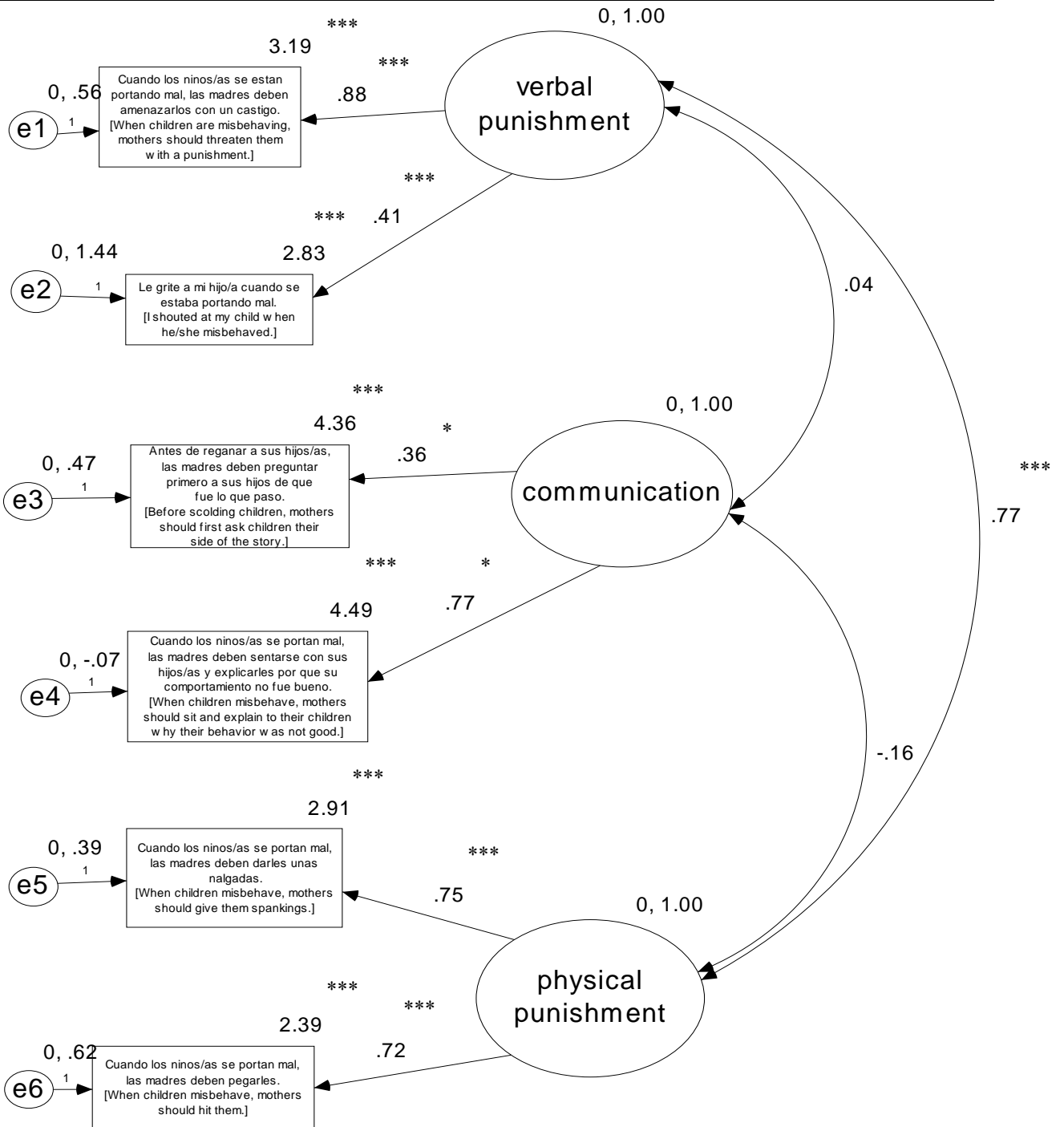
*** $p < .001$

Figure 2. Unstandardized Regression Coefficients for Monitoring Model



*** $p < .001$
 ** $p < .01$

Figure 3. Unstandardized Regression Coefficients for Discipline Model



*** $p < .001$

* $p < .05$

APPENDIX R

Expanded Literature Review

During the past decade, there has been a marked increase in the investigation of Latino parenting in the United States. Between the years 1950 and 2004, approximately 40% of articles on Latino parenting were published during the 1990s (1980s = approximately 20%; 1970s = approximately 20%; 1960s = approximately 5%). The heightened interest in Latino families during this time may be due, in part, to the concurrent demographic changes occurring in the U.S. The Latino population was reported to have grown 58% from 1990 to 2000, and is now considered the nations largest minority group (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001; U.S. Census Bureau News Release, 2003). However, the particular focus on parenting may stem from the relative youthfulness of this rapidly developing population. The number of Latino children enrolled in K-12 schools have risen from 3 million in 1975 to 8.1 million by 2000 (U.S. Department of Education, 2002). In addition, 71% of the Latino population is estimated to be younger than 40 years old (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001). While attention and production of literature on Latino parenting has increased, research in this area has yielded many inconsistent findings.

The high prevalence of inconsistent findings may be due to the vast heterogeneity that exists within the Latino population. Latino families come from approximately 20 different countries, each containing its own history, culture, and reasons for emigration. In 2000, the largest percentage of Latinos claimed Mexican heritage (66.1%), followed by Puerto Rican (9%), and Cuban (4%). In addition, Dominicans (2.2%), Salvadorans (1.9%), Guatemalans (1.1%), Hondurans (.6%), Colombians (1.3%), Ecuadorians (.7%), and inhabitants of several countries in the Caribbean are represented by the broad term Latino or Hispanic (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001).

Latinos may emigrate for economic reasons (e.g., Mexicans and Puerto Ricans), political oppression (e.g., Cubans), or to pursue a better education (e.g., Colombians). On the other hand, the ancestors of some Latinos of Mexican heritage became U.S. citizens after the Mexican-American war of 1848, and their descendants have lived their entire lives in what is currently known as the Southwestern region of the U.S (Harwood, Leyendecker, Carlson, Asencio, & Miller, 2002; Leyendecker & Lamb, 1999).

Furthermore, Latinos residing in the United States may differ in level of acculturation. Acculturation is the process of adopting values and practices of the host society (Parra & Guarnaccia, 1998) and is generally measured by: (1) the ability to speak English, (2) acceptance of and promotion of American ideas, or (3) generational status (Buriel, Calzada, & Vasquez, 1988; Plunkett & Bámaca-Gómez, 2003; Rumbaut, 2001). There are three types of generational status. The first or immigrant generation refers to those who were born abroad and immigrated to the U.S. as adults or after the age of 12. The 1.5 generation refers to those who were born abroad and immigrated to the U.S. before the age of 12. The second generation refers to those who were born in the U.S. to immigrant parents. The third generation refers to those who were born in the U.S. to parents who were also born in the U.S. This generation may include persons in the fourth and subsequent generations whose grandparents may or may not have immigrated to the U.S. (Harwood et al., 2002; Buriel & Cardoza, 1988). With successive generations, there is a trend for greater exposure to and adoption of U.S. mainstream customs and values (Buriel, Calzada, & Vasquez, 1988). Thus, generational and acculturation status may differ across and within Latino families in the U.S.

In the current paper, research on Latino parenting values, practices, and their links to children's well being will be reviewed. In addition, this paper will explore how relations between parenting practices and children's well being in Latino families compare to findings from other ethnic and cultural groups. Lastly, recommendations for future research and public policies will be made. In this paper, specific ethnic groups labels (e.g., Puerto Ricans) and generational status (e.g., first or immigrant generation) will be used when researchers have identified them. The global identifiers, Latino and Hispanic, will be used when ethnic group membership or generational status are unclear or when the information can be generalized to other groups.

Latino Parenting Values

Collectivism. Despite great variability within the Latino population, the literature indicates that there are certain core values shared by the majority of Latino families, regardless of country of origin (Harwood et al., 2002) and, in some cases, across acculturation (Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999) and socio-economic status (Bulcroft, Carmody, & Bulcroft, 1996). A collectivistic orientation to the world (i.e., a view that emphasizes the promotion of a group rather than the self) seems to underlie several of the values shared across Latino families (Cauce & Rodríguez, 2000). Conforming to external standards, believing that the group is central to one's identity, and maintaining harmonious interpersonal relations also characterize a collectivistic orientation (Hofstede, 1980).

For the past three decades, research has attested to the collectivistic nature of Latino families. In their meta-analysis, Oyserman, Coon, and Kemmelmeier (2002) found that Latinos generally scored higher on measures of collectivism than European Americans, although they did not differ on levels of individualism. Also, Okagaki and Frensch (1998) found in their sample

that Latino parents, 94% of whom were of Mexican descent, rated higher on the childrearing belief of conformity than either Asian or European American parents.

Earlier studies have also found that Mexican American children are more likely than their African American and European American peers to adhere to a group- vs. an individual-orientation (Holtzman Diaz-Guerrero & Schwartz, 1975; Rotherum-Borus & Phinney, 1990). Kagan and Madsen (1971) found in their sample of American children that those of Mexican descent were more cooperative in play than those of European descent. Kagan and Madsen (1971), unlike Oyserman et al. (2002), found that Mexican American children were less individualistic than European-American children in that the former was less competitive than the latter. The discrepancy in findings may be due to differences in samples. The samples examined by Oyserman et al. (2002) consisted primarily of college students, while the sample in Kagan and Madsen's study consisted entirely of young children. In addition, while the participants in Kagan and Madsen's study were of Mexican American descent, those in Oyserman et al. (2002) included a wide range of Latinos.

Familism/El Familismo. Past studies have found the value of familism to be consistently shared by the majority of Latino families across country of origin, acculturation, and socioeconomic status (Bulcroft et al., 1996; Delgado-Gaitan, 1993; Fuligni et al., 1999; Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000; Rueschenberg & Buriel, 1989). The Latino value of familism relates to a collectivistic orientation in that it also emphasizes a sense of obligation and the belief that a group is an extension of the self (Cortés, 1995); in familism, however, the group referenced is the family. Included in the construct of familism is the expectation that the family will be the

primary source of both instrumental and emotional support as well as the center of loyalty and solidarity (Negy & Woods, 1992; Staples & Mirandé, 1980).

Previous studies have found that Latino families report higher levels of cohesiveness than other ethnic groups in the United States. Drawing data from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), the largest U.S. study of its kind, Rumbaut (2001) examined family cohesion and parent-child conflict across Latin, Asian, European/Canadian, and Black-Caribbean American children (ages 14-18). Children were evenly balanced between foreign born (the 1.5 generation) and U.S. born (the second generation). Rumbaut (2001) found that Latin American youth reported the lowest level of parent-child conflict and the highest levels of family cohesion in their sample. When each ethnic category was broken down into subgroups, Mexicans and Southeast Asians were the two groups that had most strongly adhered to attitudes granting primacy to family obligations. These findings coincide with those reported by Knight, Viridin and Roosa (1994), who found that Hispanic families reported higher levels of cohesiveness than European American families.

In an effort to strengthen feelings of familism, Latino parents may implement strategies that teach their children family obligation. Children may be expected to contribute to the family by performing work roles such as household chores, baby-sitting, transporting other family members by car or helping parents at their place of employment (Zuniga, 1992). Additionally, Latino parents may help foster feelings of family loyalty by insisting that their children spend time with the family (Moore, 1991), and limiting their contact with non-familial peers. Research has found that high parental control over the extrafamilial behaviors of children (e.g., strict curfews, no summer camp) is evident among Latino families (Minturn & Lambert, 1964; Reese,

Kronesen, & Gallimore, 2000), even more than in European American families (Bulcroft et al. 1996; Marshall, Noonan, McCarney, Marx, & Keefe, 2001).

The literature offers two possible reasons as to why Latino parents prefer that their children stay close to the family; both reasons are rooted in familism. First, scholars have argued that Latino parents are restrictive of their children's extrafamilial behavior due to their fear of outside negative influences and role models. In a qualitative study conducted in the U.S., Reese et al. (2000) reported that their sample of immigrant Mexican and Central American working class parents would often refer to "*la calle*" when explaining the motives for their use of high extrafamilial control. "*La calle*" literally translates into "the streets," however, for these immigrant parents it seemed to encompass a broader meaning. Reese et al. (2000) explained that for their sample, "*la calle*" was a cultural schema that represented potential danger, a life of increasing delinquency (i.e., *malas amistades* or bad friendships), and a place where parents can no longer help and protect their children (i.e., "a point of no return"). In the home, among family members, parents reported feeling assured that their children were surrounded by individuals who could be trusted and would not lead their children astray (Reese et al., 2000). In limiting behaviors to the family, parents were also providing opportunities for their children to develop close, trusting, and emotionally supportive relationships, which would contribute to the solidarity of the family. As one father proudly reported, "*Mi hijo no tiene amigos, yo soy su amigo*" (My son doesn't have friends. I am his friend) (Reese et al., 2000, p. 305). Children in the sample reported having minimal non-familial school friends, but instead having friends mainly consisting of family members such as cousins and siblings (Reese et al., 2000).

It would be remiss not to mention that the Latino family can be quite extensive. A Latino family can include both fictive and non-fictive kin. For example, close friends of the family may be asked to be godparents or *padrinos* of children. The word *padrinos* resembles the word *padres* or parents. *Padrinos* are treated like family and are considered to be another set of parents to the child. A Latino child's father and godfather often refer to each other as *compadres* (co-fathers) and a Latino child's mother and godmother refer to each other as *comadres* (co-mothers) (Vidal, 1988). Furthermore, the children of both families consider each other to be like siblings. Latino children may have several sets of godparents, depending on the number of religious traditions they choose to celebrate (baptism, communion, *quincienera*, and marriage). Thus, while Latino children are generally limited to interacting with family members, the family in reference can be quite large (Zuniga, 1992).

Bulcroft et al. (1996) offer an alternative explanation for the restrictive extrafamilial practices of Latino parents living in the U.S. These authors explain that because independence in the U.S. culture is valued both within the family and across other social institutions, European American parents can rely on indirect societal assistance in the teaching of individualistic values. Hispanic-American parents, on the other hand, are forced to rely solely on the family to teach and enforce their cultural values. After controlling for SES, Bulcroft et al. (1996) found Hispanic parents reported higher levels of extrafamilial control (e.g., stricter curfews) than European American parents. However, this study also found that while Hispanic parents were highly restrictive on extrafamilial behaviors, they were relatively less restrictive on children's intrafamilial behaviors (e.g., amount of TV watching, homework); this was especially true for Hispanic boys. Therefore, while Reese et al.'s (2000) findings were limited to working-class

Mexican immigrant parents, Bulcroft et al. (1996) suggest that high extrafamilial control exists more in Hispanic families than in European American families, regardless of socio-economic status.

Furthermore, both Bulcroft et al. (1996) and Reese et al. (2000) provide evidence suggesting that Latino parents may attempt to foster familism by making the home and family an appealing alternative to the outside or "*la calle*." They may do this by requiring less intrafamilial rules, as found in Bulcroft et al. (1996), or by purchasing toys, as found by Reese et al. (2000). For example, one Mexican immigrant mother reported buying a Super Nintendo for her sons so that they would prefer to play at home where she could monitor them (Reese et al., 2000).

According to past findings, acculturation status appears to have minimal influence on the stability of familism. For example, in their sample of Latino highschoolers, Fuligni et al. (1999) found that attitudes emphasizing family loyalty and obligation remained high in Mexican, Central American, and South American youth, regardless of generational status. In a sample of Puerto Rican parents and their children, Procidano and Rogler (1989) and Rogler and Stantana Cooney (1984) found that parent-child relations remained strongly supportive from one generation to the next. In addition, Delgado Gaitan (1993) and Phinney et al. (2000) found comparable levels of familism between Mexican American parents and children. In their sample of Cuban and Nicaraguan families, Gil and Vega (1996) found the value of familism to remain high across acculturation levels for both parents and adolescents. Lastly, Rueschenberg and Buriel (1989) found that levels of family cohesiveness also remained stable across acculturation levels.

There are few and inconsistent findings suggesting that acculturation influences the level of familism. Although Gil and Vega (1996) found the value of familism to remain stable, they also found that family cohesion decreased across acculturation levels in their sample of Cuban and Nicaraguan families. Also, while Rogler and colleagues (Procidano & Rogler, 1989; Rogler & Stantana Cooney, 1984) found that supportive parent-child relations remained high across generations of Puerto Rican America families, they also found that familism as a value decreased across generations and according to socio-economic mobility. Lastly, Rumbaut (2001) found that in his study on children of immigrants, children who were predominantly English speakers were less familistic than their bilingual and native speaking peers.

Such inconsistent findings on acculturation and familism indicate that there may be problems in the measurements of these constructs. While familism is considered to incorporate both instrumental (familial obligations) and emotional (family loyalty and cohesion) components, future research may benefit from considering each construct separately. For example, researchers may find that the instrumental component to familism may be influenced by the socio-economic status of families while the emotional component may remain fairly constant. In addition, inconsistencies across Latino subgroups (e.g., Mexican American, Puerto Rican) seem to exist (Gil & Vega, 1996; Rueschenberg & Buriel, 1989). Hence, it seems that caution must be taken in generalizing findings in familism across ethnic subgroups as well as across dimensions of this construct.

Respect/El Respeto. An essential principle guiding interactions among Latino family members is the notion of respect. Respect also relates with a collectivistic orientation in that they both share the common goal of maintaining harmonious interpersonal relationships. Respect

includes both respect for the self (i.e., self-dignity) and others (i.e., honoring the dignity of others). Delgado-Gaitan (2004) explained that demonstrations of respect are highly valued and considered a form of love in Latino families. Children from an early age (i.e., prior to 4 years old) are taught the verbal and nonverbal rules of respect such as politely greeting elders, not challenging an elder's point of view, being a good listener, participating in conversations with adults only when solicited, not interrupting conversations between adults, and recognizing the needs of others during interactions (Delgado-Gaitan, 1993; Valdés, 1996; Zuniga, 1992).

In her ethnographic study of 10 Mexican American immigrant families, Valdés (1996) found that the term *respeto* was more comprehensive than the American usage of respect in that family members were not only to respect other family members, but their family roles as well. For example, children were expected to respect the role of the father (i.e., provider and authority figure), even if the father's behaviors did not necessarily warrant respect. In addition, sisters did not show signs of affection with their boyfriends or husbands in front of their brothers because it would be considered a *falta de respeto* or an offense to her brother's sense of dignity in his role as brother (Valdés, 1996). Lastly, children were taught that in order to not invite disrespect from others they should try to behave in manners prescribed by their particular roles (i.e., role of child, role of sister/brother) (Valdés, 1996).

Contrary to stereotypes of male dominance, the mother's role in Latino families has been characterized as being highly revered by both the literature and observational studies (Rodríguez, 1999; Valdés, 1996; Vega, 1990; Witkin, Dyk, Faterson, Goodenough, & Karp (1962). Rodríguez (1999) explained that Latino fathers are made to feel that they rule the home; however, Latina mothers are the ones with the actual power. Witkin et al. (1962) also observed

that the role of mother was revered as the primary source of affection in the family. In her ethnographic study, Valdés (1996) described that children were expected to respect the mother's role (i.e., moral guide, teacher of appropriate behavior, and manager of the household) by obeying and not challenging her authority.

Research on Latino families has found respect to be an important in raising children of different ages. In raising preschoolers, there are three studies that have found respect to be a high priority for Latino mothers (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; Gonzalez-Ramos et al. 1998; Valdés, 1996). In her three-year longitudinal study (mothers began the study when their children were four- or five-years old), Valdés (1996) found respect to be a childrearing goal for all of her participating Mexican American immigrant mothers. Delgado-Gaitan (1994) also found respect to be highly endorsed and equally valued for immigrant and U.S. born Mexican American parents of two-to-four year olds. Lastly, Gonzalez-Ramos, Zayas, and Cohen (1998) examined Puerto Rican mothers of preschoolers and their childrearing goals. When asked to rank desired child qualities, these mothers tended to rate honesty, respectful/obedient, and responsibility as top priorities.

In addition to Latino parents of preschoolers, three studies have found that Latino parents of children in middle-to-late childhood also endorsed the childrearing value of respect. In their qualitative study, Reese et al. (2000) found that all 21 Mexican immigrant parents in their sample espoused values of family unity and respect. In addition, Azmitia, Garcia, and Dunbar (1996) found that among first and second generation Mexican American parents, respect for self/other were ranked second highest in regards to parental aspirations and guidance strategies. Being a good/moral person was rated first (Azmitia et al., 1996). Lastly, Holtzman et al. (1975) found

that Mexican American children were more respectful to figures of authority than European American children.

However, researchers should be careful when interpreting results pertaining to respect. For example, the findings reported above were conducted on families primarily of low or working class. Harwood, Scholmerich, Ventura-Cook, Schulze, and Wilson (1996) have argued that caution should be taken when generalizing findings on respect across Latino families of different socioeconomic status (SES). In their study, Harwood et al., (1996) found that lower-SES Puerto Rican mothers were more likely to value children's display of proper demeanor than higher-SES Puerto Rican mothers. This finding supports Kohn's (1977) argument that lower SES parents are more likely than higher SES parents to value conformity to authority and less likely to value autonomy. Thus, additional research is needed to verify whether Latino's endorsement of respect is due to cultural as opposed to SES factors.

In addition to SES, acculturation may influence the importance Latino parents place on children demonstrating respect. While Delgado-Gaitan (1993) and Phinney et al. (2000) found respect to be stable across first and second generation Mexican American mothers, the majority of research seems to indicate that more acculturated Latino mothers are more likely to prefer autonomous as opposed to conforming child behavior. For example, Okagaki and Sternberg (1993) found that U.S. born Mexican American mothers favored autonomous behavior in children, while immigrant Mexican American mothers favored children who followed rules. In addition, in her sample of Puerto Rican mothers, Harwood et al. (in press) found that those who had spent more time in the mainland United States, who were more educated, and who were not Catholic were more likely to show patterns of beliefs and behaviors similar to those of their

European American counterparts. Lastly, Fuligni (1998) found that successive generations of non-European (Mexican and Central Americans included) adolescents were related to a higher likelihood of believing that disagreeing with parents was acceptable and had greater expectations for behavioral autonomy.

Therefore, while there are a few studies that have found respect to be a stable value across successive generations (Delgado-Gaitan, 1993; Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; Phinney et al., 2000), the majority of research seems to indicate that acculturation and SES influence the extent to which respect is endorsed by Latino families. However, it is unclear whether findings on respect are due primarily to SES or culture, since currently Latinos are highly over represented in the lower socio-economic sectors of society (Garcia Coll et al., 1995; Leyendecker & Lamb, 1999). In addition, conflict in findings on respect could be due to inconsistent measurement of acculturation (Plunkett & Bámaca-Gómez, 2003). Future research that detangles the SES, cultural, and religious influences on respect is needed.

Education/La Educación. Another consistent theme in the Latino parenting literature is the childrearing goal of *educación*. The terms *educación* and education are not translation equivalents. Even though both terms may refer to schooling or book learning, *educación* is more comprehensive than the English usage of education in that the former also encompasses training in human understanding and interpersonal relationships (Delgado-Gaitan, 2004; Valdés, 1996). Children who are referred to as *educados* (educated) are those who possess a collection of qualities and interpersonal skills such as good manners and high morals. During interactions, these same children would be perceived as warm, responsive, polite, and deferential to authority. They would also know how to behave and treat others in ways that elicit mutual respect. If a

child was called *mal educado* (poorly educated), it would mean that the child has exhibited bad manners, was rude, and has not been reared appropriately (Delgado-Gaitan, 2004; Reese et al. 1995; Valdés, 1996; Zuniga, 1992).

Limited empirical research on *educación* exists in the literature, and even less has considered the influence of acculturation and SES. This may be because the construct itself is multidimensional and consists of several qualities and skills. However, four previous studies have provided evidence supporting the high appraisal of *educación* among Latina mothers. First, Harwood and Miller (1991) contrasted Puerto Rican and European American mothers' descriptions of a "secure child." European American mothers liked how the securely attached child displayed self-confidence and independence, while the Puerto Rican mothers complimented the securely attached child's quality of relatedness, demeanor, and obedience.

Second, Valdés (1996) conducted a three-year ethnographic study of 10 Mexican immigrant parents and their children. She noted that the mothers in her sample would often mention *la educación de los hijos* (the moral education of their children) in discussing childrearing goals. According to the mothers, they felt it was their primary responsibility to teach children how to behave, how to act around others, and what was good and moral (e.g., being hard working and virtuous). Mothers began *educando* (teaching) as soon as children were able to understand and interact verbally. Valdés (1996) reported that *consejos* (spontaneous homilies designed to influence behaviors and attitudes) seemed to be the primary mechanism in *educando a los hijos* (teaching children). Mothers believed that it was their role as "educators" to constantly engage in the practice of *dando consejos* (guiding their children). For young children, *consejos* were often embedded in moral tales. For example, when one mother became concerned

that her daughter was gossiping, she told her daughter the tale of a childhood girlfriend whose habit of gossiping ultimately caused her grandmother's home to be robbed (Valdés, 1996).

Lastly, findings from Okagaki and Sternberg (1993) and Okagaki and Frensch (1998) have supported the notion of *educación* and its importance among Latino parents. Okagaki and Sternberg (1993) examined the childrearing values of U.S. born parents (European American, Mexican American, Cambodian American, and Vietnamese American) and foreign-born parents from Mexico, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Vietnam. Regardless of economic status, all parents except European Americans indicated that non-cognitive characteristics (e.g., social skills, motivation) were just as important or more important than cognitive skills (problem solving, creative ability). The authors reported that similar findings existed for both high and low income families. In addition, Okagaki and Frensch (1998) examined childrearing beliefs of Latino, Asian American, and European American parents. In the Latino sample, 94% were of Mexican descent and approximately half were immigrants. The authors found that Latino parents gave higher ratings than did either Asian or European American parents when childrearing questions focused on the importance of developing general characteristics in the child (i.e., autonomy and conformity) rather than on specific aspects of school achievement.

Overall, the value of *educación* seems well supported in the literature, yet less is known on the stability of this value across acculturation and SES. Increased attention toward developing measures that can capture the complexity of this construct would contribute to the body of literature on Latino parenting. Furthermore, exploring the consistency of *educación* across Latino subgroups other than Mexican and Puerto Rican families is needed.

Acculturation and Latino Families. The measurement of acculturation has been an area of concern in the literature. Researchers of Latino families have criticized past acculturation models for not including both parents and children in their frameworks. Rueschenberg and Buriel (1989), for example, contended that acculturation should be conceptualized using a family systems perspective. In order to address this issue, they presented a model that categorized acculturation of Mexican American families into three groups: unacculturated (all family members were born in Mexico, parents are monolingual Spanish-speaking and have immigrated within the past 5 years), moderately acculturated (parents born in Mexico, parents resided in the United States at least 10 years, children born in the United States, parents were monolingual Spanish-speaking or Spanish-dominant, and children have English-speaking ability), and acculturated (both parents and children were born in the United States, bilingual or English speaking preference for both parents and children). Using this model, Rueschenberg and Buriel (1989) found that increased acculturation for Mexican American families influenced cultural familial practices outside but not inside the home.

However, some Latino family researchers remained unsatisfied. Portes and Rumbaut (1996) argued that pace of acculturation between parents and children is an essential but often lacking component in models of acculturation. For example, Latino children have been known to acculturate at a faster pace than their parents (Leyendecker & Lamb, 1999). In order to address this need, Portes and Rumbaut (1996) developed an intergenerational acculturation typology, which distinguished among three acculturation paths. The first path is called consonant acculturation and includes both parents and children learning the mainstream language and culture at approximately the same pace. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) have suggested that this path

would include highly educated parents who are fluent in English, and who are familiar and sensitive with their children's daily struggles. Consonant acculturation has been associated with greater family cohesion and familism among high schoolers of immigrant parents (Rumbaut, 2001).

The second path is called dissonant acculturation. This path includes children learning English and internalizing American values at a faster pace than their parents. Value for native cultural values and practices, however, gradually diminishes for children in this category. As children and parents begin to espouse divergent expectations, family conflict increases and parental authority decreases. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) have suggested that this category would most likely include families who reside outside of ethnic enclaves due to the lack of external validation for parental expectations and practices. Dissonant acculturation was associated with higher levels of parent-child conflict and feelings of embarrassment over parents' ways (Rumbaut, 2001).

A qualitative example taken from Reese et al. (2000) helps demonstrate the turmoil that dissonant acculturation ensues in Latino families. Tearfully, A Mexican American immigrant mother explained how her middle-school daughter had whispered, "I hate you" under her breath after being told she couldn't put on makeup for her upcoming slumber party. The mother believed that although this statement may not carry much literal meaning and may not be uncommon to hear between American teenagers and their parents, in her culture the statement is "something terrible" (Reese et al., 2000, p. 315). Thus, in this scenario, a daughter had adopted a practice from the American culture, which clashed with behavior expected in her home (Reese et al., 2000).

The third path is called selective acculturation. Children in this path are considered bicultural in that their learning of the host culture is accompanied by retaining significant elements of the culture of origin. While children in this path are typically bilingual, parents can be either bi- or monolingual. Ethnic enclaves may contribute to children participating in selective acculturation in that they can provide indirect cultural assistance in reinforcing cultural values learned at home. Selective acculturation is associated with a relative lack of intergenerational conflict, the presence of many co-ethnic friends, and the achievement of fluent bilingualism in the second generation (Rumbaut, 2001).

Parental Control

Parental Control has been a popular area of research in the study of Latino families. This may be because several Latino family values (e.g., *familismo*, *respeto*, *educación*) and their associated expectations for children's behavior often imply a family hierarchy in which the parent is a dominant figure. Past research has investigated the extent to which Latino families practice higher levels of parental control compared to other ethnic groups; however, findings have been inconsistent. The various ways in which parental control has been operationalized may be one contributing factor for the conflict in findings. In this section, cross-cultural and within ethnic-group findings will be presented according to the level of parental physical involvement: parental non-physical control (rule setting, emotional manipulation, expectations) and parental physical control (modeling, intrusiveness, physical punishment).

Cross-Cultural Findings. The majority of research on parental control and Latino families has been cross-cultural. In general, past researchers have compared the level of parental control practiced in Latino families with the level used in European American families; however,

a few studies have also included African and Asian American comparisons. Findings, overall, suggest that Latino parents tend to implement more non-physical forms of control than parents of other ethnic groups.

Two cross-cultural studies have investigated adolescent reports of parental rule setting. Blair, Blair, and Madamba (1999) examined adolescent reports of rules pertaining to homework, chores, television viewing, and friends. They found that Latino adolescents reported a higher number and more extensive use of rules than European American adolescents. No differences existed among Latino, African, and Asian American families. In addition, Finkelstein, Donenberg, and Martinovich (2001) also found that Latino adolescents reported more parental rules and strictness than European American adolescents, while no difference existed between Latino and African American reports. Unlike Blair et al. (1999), however, this study sampled from a clinical female population. Findings from Blair et al. (1999) and Finkelstein et al. (2001) do not coincide with those reported by Wasserman, Rauth, Brunelli, Garcia-Castro, and Necos (1990), who found that low-income Latino parents were stricter than low-income African American parents.

Context as well as the sex and age of adolescents are important variables to consider in the cross-cultural examination of parental rule setting. Bulcroft et al. (1996) accounted for these factors in their study on Latino, European, and African American families. A distinction was made between parental rules that pertained to behavior inside the home (intrafamilial) versus outside the home (extrafamilial). Intrafamilial rule setting was measured by the number of household rules (i.e., types and number of television shows watch, completing homework). Extrafamilial rule setting was measured by the lateness of weekend curfew. After controlling for

socio-economic status and family structure, Bulcroft et al. (1996) found that Latino parents and adolescents reported more intrafamilial and extrafamilial rule setting than European American families. Yet, when contrasted with African American parents, Latino parents rated higher only on intrafamilial rule setting. Examining the influence of sex and age, has revealed that Latinas in mid and late adolescents were the most restricted group both inside and outside the home. Latino boys, on the other hand, were given considerably more independence in the home with age, more so than African and European American boys. Bulcroft et al. (1996) also found that with age, Latino and Anglo parents set later curfews for girls than boys. African American parents, however, functioned just the opposite; with age, stricter curfews were given for African American girls than African American boys.

Therefore, even after controlling for socio-economic status, cross-cultural research on parental rule setting suggests that Latino parents tend to set more rules for their adolescents than European American parents. Contrasts with other ethnic groups (e.g., African American) are more variable, especially when considering age and sex of adolescent. The Latino value of *familismo* is one reason why Latino parents may emphasize household rules more than other ethnic groups.

Children's expression of emotions is another area parents may attempt to control. Cross-cultural researchers have examined the extent to which Latino families compare to other ethnic groups in terms of controlling their children's emotions. Barber (1994) found that Latino parents expected their children to control their temper more than European American parents.

Considering parent's sex seem to reveal similar results. After controlling for socio-economic status, Julian, McKenry, and McKelvey (1994) and Durrett, O'Bryant, and Pennebaker (1975)

found Latino fathers to place more emphasis on not crying and controlling temper than European American fathers; this contrast did not exist between Latino and European American mothers. In addition, Durrett et al. (1975) found that low-income Mexican American mothers were more likely than low-income African American mothers to control their children's behavior through the use of guilt.

Additionally, control over children's behaviors may be exerted through parental expectations. Research that exists in this area has suggested that Latino parents hold higher expectations for their children than parents of other ethnic groups. Barber (1994) found that Latino parents and children under the age of 18 reported significantly higher expectations than both African and European American parents and children in regards to family rules, carrying out responsibilities, keeping busy, getting along with other children, and doing well in athletics. In addition, Julian et al. (1994) found after controlling for socio-economic status that Latino fathers expected more obedience than European American mothers and fathers, Asian American mothers and fathers, and Latino mothers. No differences emerged with African American mothers and fathers. Thus, findings indicate that Latino parents, especially fathers, tend to hold higher expectations for children's behavior than European and Asian American parents, and in some cases with African American parents.

Parental control that is physical (e.g., corporal punishment, intrusiveness, modeling) has also been examined in cross-cultural studies. Substantial evidence exists suggesting that Latino parents use more physical control than parents of other ethnic group. However, a debate among scholars exists in regards to these findings. While some researchers argue that ethnic differences in parental control can be explained by socioeconomic variables (Kagan & Ender, 1975; Laosa,

1980; Uno, Florsheim, and Uchino, 1998), others provide evidence indicating that differences are due primarily to culture (Carlson & Harwood, 2003; Hill, Busch, & Roosa, 2003).

Three cross-cultural studies found that initial ethnic differences in parental physical control no longer existed after socioeconomic indicators were considered. All studies examined Mexican American and European Americans. First, Uno et al. (1998) found that Mexican American adolescent mothers reported more harsh disciplinary and less nurturing behavior than their European American counterparts. After controlling for socioeconomic status (i.e., combined variable of financial stress, employment status, level of social support), however, this relation no longer existed. Second, Kagan and Ender (1975) found in their sample of Mexican American, Mexican American rural, and European American mothers that economic level and not culture was significantly related to use of punishment. Third, Laosa (1980) examined frequency of teaching techniques between Mexican and European American mothers. Before controlling for maternal education, Mexican American mothers scored higher in negative physical control (e.g., slapping) and modeling than did European American mothers. Yet, these initial group differences disappeared after maternal education was controlled in analyses. Therefore, Uno et al. (1998), Kagan and Ender (1975), and Laosa (1980) provide evidence arguing that ethnic differences in maternal physical control may stem from the differential educational and economic opportunities that mothers experience.

More recently, however, Hill et al. (2003) and Carlson and Harwood (2003) have provided evidence suggesting that ethnic differences exist in parental physical control, regardless of socioeconomic status. Hill et al. (2003) compared the level of hostile control (i.e., firm and rejecting discipline) between Mexican American and European American parents. After

controlling for socioeconomic status, Mexican American children (mean age=10) and mothers reported more maternal hostile control than did their European American counterparts. In addition, Carlson and Harwood (2003) compared observations of middle class native Puerto Rican and middle class European American mothers interacting with their infants. Native Puerto Rican mothers rated significantly higher than European American mothers in the use of feed/teach physical control and in the use of open-ended physical control (i.e., manipulating, limiting, and controlling infant's movements). Therefore, the findings from Hill et al. (2003) and Carlson and Harwood (2003) do not support earlier socioeconomic explanations for ethnic differences in parental physical control.

Another issue of debate in the literature is whether Latino parenting should be characterized as controlling. Cross-cultural evidence presented thus far in this review suggests that Latino parents set more rules, attempt to control their children's emotions more, and use more physical control than parents of other ethnic groups (Bulcroft et al., 1996; Hill et al., 2003; Julian et al., 1994). However, there are some studies that have provided evidence indicating just the opposite.

Two cross-cultural studies have found that Latino parenting is less controlling than European American parenting. First, Mosier and Rogoff (2003) found that Guatemalan mothers were more accommodating to their toddler's desires and allowed them considerable more freedom during play than European American mothers. Second, Moreno (1997) found after controlling for socioeconomic status that European American mothers were more likely than Mexican American mothers to use modeling/demonstration, physical control, and correction when teaching their children. Thus, according to Mosier and Rogoff (2003) and Moreno (1997)

Latino parents seem to be less controlling than European American parents. These findings are consistent with those of Levine and Bartz (1979) who found Mexican American mothers to be more permissive than European American mothers.

Furthermore, two additional studies suggest that there are no ethnic differences in the use of physical control. Medora (2001) found that mothers in both groups preferred using praise and reasoning over the use of spanking. Also, Julian et al. (1994) found that Latino parents were just as likely to use corporal punishment as European American parents, and less likely to use corporal punishment than Asian American parents.

In sum, cross-cultural findings on parental control suggest some trends for Latino families and several inconsistencies. A review of past findings indicate that Latino parents tend to implement more household rules for their adolescents than European American families, regardless of socioeconomic status. In addition, it seems that Latino fathers in particular expect their children to control their expression of emotions more than European American fathers and mothers, and at times more than Asian American fathers and mothers. However, findings on parental physical punishment vary. Some studies characterized Latino parents as being more controlling than other ethnic groups, European American parents in particular (e.g., Carlson & Harwood, 2003; Hill et al., 2003). On the other hand, some studies find that Latino parents are more permissive than European American parents (Moreno, 1997; Mosier & Rogoff, 2003). Furthermore, while some researchers argue ethnic group differences, others contend that differences can be explained by socioeconomic indicators. These inconsistencies may be due in part by the many different ways parental control is measured in the research.

Within-Ethnic Group Findings. In addition to the variable measurement of control, the nature of cross-cultural studies may be another reason for past contradictory findings. Cross-cultural models have been criticized for assuming homogeneity within ethnic groups (Buriel, 1993; Garcia Coll, 1995; Harwood et al., 2002). Since Latino families differ on many dimensions including acculturation, country of origin, and socioeconomic status, within-ethnic group examinations may be more useful in understanding how and when parental control is being used in Latino families. Few studies exist in this area; however, those that do tend to focus on parental acculturation status.

Two studies have examined the influence of acculturation on maternal control within low-income Mexican American families. First, Hill et al. (2003) determined acculturation status by dichotomizing her Mexican American mothers into two groups: Spanish-speaking and English-speaking. After controlling for income and family structure, Hill et al. (2003) found that children (mean age = 10) of Mexican American Spanish-speaking mothers reported higher maternal hostile control than children of Mexican American English-speaking mothers. Children of Spanish-speaking mothers also reported higher maternal hostile control than children of European-American mothers. Thus, the authors reported that parental control decreased as mother's acculturation level increased. However, Cousins, Power, and Olvera-Ezzell (1993) found evidence indicating a different relation with acculturation. In their study of predominately first generation Mexican American mothers (primarily Spanish-speaking) with children ages four to eight, higher levels of acculturation was related to more forceful childrearing techniques during mealtimes.

Several reasons may explain why findings in Cousins et al. (1993) do not support those from Hill et al. (2003). Measures of acculturation varied between the two samples. While Hill et al. (2003) used language as an index of acculturation, Cousins et al. (1993) implemented an established acculturation scale developed by Hazuda et al. (1988). Also, the sample size of Cousins et al.'s (1993) study ($N = 8$) was substantially smaller than that of Hill et al.'s study ($N = 177$). Lastly, although both samples were classified as low-income, Hill et al. (2003) controlled for income and family structure in all analyses, while Cousins et al. (1993) did not control for socioeconomic influences.

In addition to acculturation, demographic variables such as age and sex are important to consider when examining ethnic group differences in parental control. Two studies have found age and sex differences in their study of Mexican origin mothers. First, Buriel (1993) examined parental control in three generations of Mexican American families. He found that first and second generation adolescents reported more parental strictness (i.e., expecting obedience to parental rules) than third generation children. Third generation children, on the other hand, reported higher parental control (i.e., stressing high expectations at home and school) than first and second generation. Furthermore, Buriel (1993) found that fathers were less strict with third generation boys than girls. The author explained that the consistency between first and second generation reports of parenting is because both groups of parents were born in Mexico and share similar immigrant experience. Also, he explained that consistency in childrearing between mothers and fathers may weaken with increased exposure to different options for childrearing.

Second, Solis-Camara and Fox (2000) sampled 221 mothers in Guadalajara, Mexico who had at least one child in between the ages of one and five. Using a translated version of the

Parent Behavior Check List (PBC; Fox, 1994), the authors found that younger mothers reported using more discipline practices (e.g., “I yell at my child”) than older mothers. In addition, mothers who reported lower on socioeconomic indicators also reported a higher use of discipline practices. Lastly, Solis-Camara and Fox (2000) found that the older the child, independent of the child’s sex, the more likely mothers reported using corporal punishment.

To this author’s knowledge, only one published study (Wasserman et al., 1990) has found differences in the use of maternal control across different Latino subgroups. The majority of studies on maternal control that combine Latino subgroups into one sample have either neglected to examine the subgroup differences (e.g. Barber, 1994) or have done so and have found no differences (Fracasso, Busch-Rossnagel, & Fisher, 1994). Wasserman et al. (1990), however, examined parental reports of strictness and aggravation between Dominican and Puerto Rican mothers. Children were between 12 and 24 months old. The total number of children born to each mother was controlled in all analyses. Wasserman et al. (1990) found that Dominican parents reported more strictness and aggravation with their children than their Puerto Rican counterparts. No difference was found between adolescent or adult mother reports of maternal control.

In sum, minimal within-ethnic group research has been conducted in regards to parental control and Latino families. Findings that do exist are few and inconsistent. Future research that attempts to replicate past findings on generational, acculturation, country of origin, and age/sex effects on parental control within the Latino population is warranted.

Parental Control and Children's Well being

A review of the literature produced eight published cross-cultural and five within-ethnic group studies that included Latino families and examined the extent to which parental control related to children's well being. Studies in this area seem to have been published in the last decade. This coincides with the rapid increase in the Latino school-age population. Between 1990 and 2000, the population of Hispanic children and youth under 18 reached 12.3 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001).

Cross-Cultural Findings. Cross-cultural research on parental control and children's well being suggest that the use of corporal punishment is related to poor child well being for Latino children, while less harsh or punitive forms of parental control are associated with either positive or beneficial child well being.

Two cross-cultural studies have found negative relations between parental control and children's well being. In both studies, the form of control measured was physical and punitive (e.g., spanking, rejecting). Hill et al. (2003), for example, examined a sample of Mexican American-English speakers, Mexican American-Spanish speakers, and European American mothers and children (mean age = 10). After controlling for income and family structure, Hill et al. (2003) found that maternal hostile control was positively associated with children's depression and conduct problems. Ethnicity did not moderate this relation; thus, it was assumed that there were no ethnic group differences in these relations. Also, Barber (1994) found that parental reports of negative parenting (spanks, slaps, yells) were associated with higher levels of parental reports of conflict in Hispanic, European, and in the case of one study, in African American families. This association was strongest for Hispanic families. Thus, parental physical

control may be equally linked to negative well being for Latinos and European American children; yet, caution should be considered in generalizing these findings considering the limited number of studies available.

On the other hand, two studies have found that parental physical control that is not punitive may be associated with better child well being for Latino families and European American families, and in the case of one study, for African American families. First, Barber (1994) found that expectations (e.g., follow family rules) predicted less conflict in Hispanic families, where it was unrelated for African American and European American families. In addition, Carlson and Harwood (2003) found that maternal physical control (i.e., abrupt pick-ups) predicted secure attachment in middle class Puerto Rican toddlers, but was associated with insecure avoidant attachment for middle class European American toddlers.

Nonphysical forms of parental control may also be related to the same or more positive well being for Latino children relative to European and African American children. Two studies have found this to be the case. First, after controlling for SES, Shakib et al. (2003) found that parental monitoring was a protective factor in preventing adolescent smoking for Latinos, European American, and Multi-Ethnic students. Second, Walker-Barnes and Mason (2001) found that more unilateral parental decision making (psychological control) was related to decreases in gang involvement for Hispanic teenagers. No relation existed for European Americans adolescents, while more psychological control was related to increased gang involvement for African American adolescents.

Lastly, three studies have found nonphysical parental control to have a more benign affect on Latino children's well being compared to children from other ethnic groups. First,

Lindhal and Malik (1999) found that an affectively neutral hierarchical parenting style (i.e., where one or both parents hold authority) was associated with externalizing behaviors for European American boys, but not for Hispanic American boys. Moreover, two studies found no relation between amount and extent household rules were enforced and educational performance (Blair et al., 1999) and depression (Finkelstein et al., 2001). In comparison, rule setting was positively correlated with educational achievement for European American children, but not with depression (Blair et al., 1999; Finkelstein et al., 2001).

Within-Ethnic Group Findings. A review of the limited within-ethnic group studies on parental control, children's well being, and Latino families indicates the importance of distinguishing between maternal control that is affectively positive or negative in tone. However, the majority of research in this area has not contributed much to the understanding of how acculturation, country of origin, and demographic variables influence the relation between maternal control and children's well being in Latino families.

Two studies have found a negative relation between parental physical control that is negative in tone and children's well being in Latino families. First, Siantz and Smith (1994) examined primarily low-income Mexican American migrant farm workers and their children (ages 3-8). They found that mothers' reports of being more rejecting was positively related to corresponding teacher reports of child behavior problems. Second, in a sample of native Mexican mothers, Bronstein (1994) examined two types of parental control: punitive (threatens, criticizes) and psychological (moralizes/corrects, pressures). The researcher found that observed punitive control was related to more passive resistance, inattentive obedience, and provocative resistance

in Mexican children. Parental psychological control was related to more passive resistance and less child assertive self-expression.

On the other hand, two studies have found that maternal control was associated with positive or neutral effects for Latino children. First, Fracasso et al. (1994) examined immigrant Puerto Rican and Dominican mothers and found that maternal control (i.e., abrupt pickups) while playing with infants (13 months old) was more characteristic of secure infants than insecure infants (13 months old). The researchers reported that acculturation and country of origin did not influence maternal behavior or infant classification. Second, Hill et al. (2003) found that maternal harsh control by Mexican American mothers was unrelated to depression. This was true for both Mexican American English-speakers and Mexican American Spanish-speakers.

Two studies emphasize the importance of distinguishing maternal control that is affectively positive or negative in tone. Martínez (1988) observed that mother's negative control (i.e., physically restraining behaviors indicating maternal disapproval) predicted children's negative talk to them. Yet, mother's positive physical control (i.e., manual control meant to facilitate the child's successful task solution) predicted children's positive verbal responses to their mothers during play. Moreover, Hill et al. (2003) found that parental hostile control was positively correlated with acceptance for Mexican American Spanish speaking parents, unrelated for Mexican American English-speaking parents, and negatively related for European American parents. Therefore, Hill et al. (2003) and Martínez (1988) reveal that parental control may differ in affective meaning across ethnic and acculturation groups.

In sum, within-ethnic group research in the area of parental control and children's well being in Latino families is minimal. In addition, existing research contributes little to the

understanding of how acculturation, country of origin, and demographic variables influence the relation between parental control and children's well being in Latino families. However, a trend exists across within-ethnic group and cross-cultural research suggesting the importance of distinguishing between maternal control that is affectively positive or negative in tone.

Parenting Styles

A related area to maternal control that has received attention by Latino family scholars is the issue of parenting styles. Baumrind (1971) developed a parenting style typology that distinguishes between three different categories: Authoritative (i.e., parenting characterized by firm rules and high levels of warmth), Authoritarian (i.e., parenting that emphasizes firm rules and displays low levels of warmth), and Permissive (i.e., parenting that displays minimal rules and high levels of warmth).

For decades, scholars have applied conflicting labels to describe the predominant parenting style of Latino families. In an effort to characterize Latino parenting, some scholars have described it as authoritarian (Escovar & Lazarus, 1982; Holloway, Gorman, & Fuller, 1988; Holtzman & Diaz-Guerrero, 1955; Radziszewska et al., 1996), while others have claimed permissiveness (Buriel, 1993; Cahill, 1966; Durrett, O'Bryant, & Pennebaker, 1975; Keefe, 1984; LeVine & Bartz, 1979). Lastly, scholars have argued that Latino parenting is primarily authoritative (Calzada & Eyberg, 2002; Martínez, 1988). However, empirical research in this area has not been as extensive. In addition, little is known on whether parenting styles in Latino families differ according to acculturation, socio-economic status, and/or country of origin.

Children's Well being. The limited research that exists on Baumrind's parenting style typology and children's well being in Latino families has primarily been cross-cultural and has

used adolescent reports (Carlson et al., 2000; Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987; Radziszewska, Richardson, Dent, & Flay, 1996; Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992). With the exception of Dornbusch et al. (1987), past cross-cultural and within-ethnic group studies have found that authoritative parenting predicts better children's well being for Latino adolescents.

Three cross-cultural studies provide evidence indicating that an authoritative parenting style relates to better adolescent well being for both Latino and European American adolescents. First, Carlson, Uppal, and Prosser (2000) examined the relation between self-esteem and adolescent report of authoritative parenting in a sample of Latina, European American, and African American adolescents. No other parenting style was assessed in this study. The authors found that authoritative parenting was negatively related with self-esteem for all ethnic groups. Second, Radziszewska et al. (1996) found in their sample of adolescents that authoritative parenting was related to less depression in both Latinos and European Americans, regardless of adolescent's sex. Third, Steinberg et al. (1992) found that authoritative parenting was positively associated with grades for Latino and European American adolescents.

One study has found results that conflict with previous studies. In a sample of adolescents, Dornbusch et al. (1987) found ethnic and sex differences in the relation between authoritative parenting and adolescent well being. In this study, authoritative parenting predicted better grades for European American adolescents, regardless of sex. For Latino adolescents, however, no relation existed between authoritative parenting and grades.

In conclusion, several scholars have attempted to characterize Latino parenting in the literature using Baumrind's (1971) parenting style typology. In comparison, however, limited

empirical research has actually investigated relations between this typology and Latino children's well being. As a group, existing research in this area generally suggests a positive trend between authoritative parenting and well being for Latino children. However, the various ways in which control is operationalized can also influence the parenting style assigned to Latino parenting and hence, the findings in this area of research.

Parenting Teaching Styles

The high school dropout rate among Latinos emphasizes the need for research on cognitive learning styles of Latino children. In 2000, Latinos accounted for 38.6% of all dropouts. In addition, among 16- to 24-year olds who had not graduated high school, 27.8% were Latino, more than twice that for African Americans (13.1%) and more than four times than that for European Americans (6.9%) (U.S. Department of Education, 2001). In light of the growing number of Latino school aged children in the U.S., it is crucial that those who work with Latino children understand the teaching and learning styles commonly used in Latino families.

Some past researchers (e.g., Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; Laosa, 1982) have attempted to partially explain low achievement among Latino children using cultural continuity and discontinuity theories (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; Okagaki, Frensch & Gordon, 1995). Continuity and discontinuity theories assume that the development of cognition is influenced by the cultural and social context. From this perspective, it has been suggested that Latino parents may provide a home context in which children develop cognitive skills that may not necessarily work well in the school environment (Laosa, 1980; Okagaki et al., 1995). Ramirez and Price-Williams (1974) found that Mexican American children were more likely to have a field dependent cognitive style (i.e., relies primarily on external cues), while mainstream educational classrooms emphasized a

field-independent cognitive style (i.e., relies primarily on the self for cues and the ability to restructure information). Thus, researchers have suggested that Latino children may have difficulty decoding cues as presented in the mainstream classrooms and actively engaging in the teaching-learning process (Okagaki et al., 1995).

One of the first studies to empirically examine the teaching styles of Latino parents was conducted by Laosa (1980). In this study, Mexican American parents and their five year-old children were observed in their homes during a teaching task using a Tinkertoy model. Laosa (1980) found that Mexican American mothers scored higher than European American mothers in teaching strategies such as directives, visual cues, modeling, and negative physical control. In addition, Moreno (1997) found that the teaching pattern most common for Mexican American mothers consisted of modeling, visual cues, and directives, whereas for European American mothers, the teaching pattern consisted of praise, visual cues, and inquiry. However, Laosa (1980) found that after controlling for maternal education, ethnic differences in teaching strategies no longer existed. Thus, he argued that ethnic differences in teaching strategies were due to levels of maternal education.

Moreno (1997), on the other hand, has provided evidence that does not support Laosa's (1980) argument. Moreno (1997) examined the teaching strategies used by low income Mexican American and European American mothers with their five year-old children. Unlike Laosa (1980), mothers in this study were able to videotape themselves in their homes teaching their children an every day task (i.e., tie shoes laces). After controlling for maternal education, income, and initial performance, Moreno (1997) found that Mexican American mothers used significantly less controlling and nonverbal teaching behaviors (i.e., commands, corrections,

physical control, and modeling) than European American mothers. In addition, Moreno (1997) found that Mexican American mothers' use of modeling was most associated with descriptions whereas European American mothers' use of modeling was most associated with commands. Thus, findings from Moreno (1997) do not support Laosa's (1980) argument that ethnic differences in teaching strategies are due to maternal education level. In addition, this study revealed that teaching strategies may have varying affective tones depending on the cultural context. These findings coincide with those provided by Hill et al. (2003), which suggested that maternal hostile control may be accompanied by different affective tones in Latino versus European American families.

Two studies have examined variations in teaching practices within Latino families. First, Tenenbaum and Campbell (1997) observed teaching practices between Mexican American mothers and fathers during two play sessions, one that incorporated toy food and plates (i.e., feminine) and one that incorporated a track and car set (i.e., masculine). Both parents asked more questions during the toy food setting than the toy track setting. However, mothers asked a higher proportion of conceptual questions than fathers. Also, mothers directed more didactic questions to sons during the food play session than with daughters. In addition, English-speaking mothers were more likely than Spanish-speaking mothers to use conceptual questions during the toy food play session. The second study was conducted by Planos, Zayas, and Busch-Rossnagel (1997). They examined the influence of country of origin in the teaching behaviors of low income Puerto Rican and Dominican mothers. Using a similar teaching task as used in Laosa (1980), Planos et al. (1997) found that Dominican mothers participated in more modeling than Puerto Rican mothers.

Unlike Moreno (1997), however, Planos et al. (1997) found maternal use of modeling to be associated with negative maternal characteristics. In combining both Puerto Rican and Dominican mothers, they found that maternal anxiety was positively correlated with directives and modeling, while maternal depression was positively correlated with modeling. In addition, parenting stress was positively correlated with modeling, negatively correlated with praise, and negatively correlated with inquiry. Lastly, social support was positively correlated with inquiry and praise. Two possible reasons for this conflict in findings may be related to the effects of acculturation status and country of origin. Samples in both studies were primarily low-income; however, Moreno's (1997) sample was entirely composed of Mexican American mothers, while the sample in Planos et al. (1997) study was composed of both Puerto Rican and Dominican mothers. Furthermore, all mothers in Moreno's (1997) study were English-speaking, while in Planos et al.'s (1997) sample 31% of Puerto Rican and 96% of Dominican mothers were not born in the U.S.

In sum, more research is needed in the area of teaching and learning styles in Latino families. The literature on Latino families lacks studies that have examined the interrelations between parental teaching strategies and other parental characteristics such as country of origin, acculturation and socioeconomic status, sex, and age. Thus, future research that examines the variability within specific ethnic groups is warranted.

Conclusion

The study of Latino parenting values and practices has increased over the last decade, in part due to the rapidly developing population of Latino children. A review of the literature suggests that the Latino value of *familismo* remains stable and consistent across families of

varying countries of origin as well as acculturation and socioeconomic status. Research on the prevalence of parental rule setting both inside and outside the home helps to support the emphasis Latino families place on family loyalty, solidarity, and interdependent familial relationships (Bulcroft et al., 1996; Reese et al., 2000). While less is known over the values of *respeto* and *educación*, existing evidence suggests that these values may be influenced by acculturation and socioeconomic factors.

Past research on Latino parenting practices, styles, and teaching strategies and their relations to children's well being has produced inconsistent findings. This may be due to the diversity of the Latino population or the variable use of acculturation, socioeconomic, and parental control measures. Before generalizations can be made regarding predominant parenting and teaching styles in Latino families, more research is needed that examines parenting and teaching practices as well as their relations to children's well being within specific Latino subgroups. How these relations vary according to acculturation and socioeconomic variables should also be considered.

Furthermore, findings on Latino parenting values and teaching strategies may guide the development of future public policies. Whether or not they are aware of this, parents are their children's first and most regular teacher. Using a cultural continuity and discontinuity framework, Laosa (1979) has argued that school and family environments may have different functional adaptation demand characteristics; thus, the more overlap there is between the two sets of cognitive and personality demands, the higher the degree of academic success for children. Considering that Latinos ages 16 - 24 are four times more likely to drop out of high school than their European American peers (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2001),

public policies that can bridge home and school for Latino children may influence academic success for this at-risk population. Equal treatment in the schools may not always mean equal educational opportunities for every student (Banuelos, 1982).

Possible educational programs that include Latino family values such as *familismo* and *educación* may help in closing the gap between home and school for Latino children. In addition to Parents and Teachers (PTA or PTO), schools could implement other programs or activities such as “Big Brother/Big Sister Day” that includes interactions with other family members, both kin and fictive kin. In addition, homework and projects that requires interaction with family members and focuses on moral guidance (e.g., develop a moral tale with words or pictures) may be alternative methods to motivate and encourage achievement in an interpersonal and familial context with which they feel comfortable.

In conclusion, research on Latino families has been developing. However, Latino parenting will continue to remain a mystery unless more attention is given to detangling the various sources of heterogeneity that exists in the Latino population. In addition, increased understanding on Latino parenting values and teaching styles may help guide the development of educational policies and programs that encourage a connection between Latino families and schools.

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As a doctoral student, Linda published several articles with her advisor Dr. Jean M. Ispa on parenting and child development in African, European, and Mexican American families. As a graduate student, she also actively volunteered in an after-school program for Latino children K-12 at *Centro Latino de Salud, Educación, y Cultura*. For her dissertation, Linda constructed a parenting measure for use with immigrant Mexican American mothers. She graduated with her Ph.D. in May 2007.

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