Making my family proud: The unique contribution of familism pride to the psychological adjustment of Latinx emerging adults

By: Gabriela L. Stein, Alyson M. Cavanaugh, Laura Castro-Schilo, Yesenia Mejia, and Scott W. Plunkett

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Abstract:

Objectives: Familism values serve to provide key cultural scripts in Latinx families, and these values have been associated with positive psychosocial outcomes for Latinx youth (Stein et al., 2014). Yet, how familism values intersect with the experience of positive emotions remains relatively unknown. In particular, familism pride may be an important positive emotion that links familism values to positive psychosocial outcomes. To fill this gap in the literature, the current study developed a measure of familism pride and examined its unique prediction to psychosocial outcomes. Method: Self-report survey data were collected from 2 samples of Latinx emerging adults who were part of a psychology subject pool at a comprehensive university in Los Angeles designated as an Hispanic-serving institution. Sample 1 (n = 352) was 72.2% women with a mean age of 18.9 years, whereas Sample 2 was 68.6% women with a mean age of 19.3 years. Results: Factor analyses supported that familism pride was distinct from familism values (familial support, obligation, reference, respeto). Familism pride was associated with fewer depressive symptoms and greater experience of joy when controlling for familism values in both samples. Conclusions: Our study underscores the importance of examining emotional processes in the study of familism and suggests a new dimension of familism that has not received research attention.

Keywords: Latinx | familism | cultural values

Article:

As researchers have increased their focus in identifying positive developmental factors influencing the healthy developmental trajectories of Latinx youth, familism has emerged as a critical cultural value that contributes significantly to the development of a host of positive psychological and educational outcomes in Latinx youth across childhood through emerging adulthood (Stein et al., 2014). The majority of this literature focuses on the attitudinal and behavioral aspects of familism (e.g., Hernández & Bámaca-Colbert, 2016; Stein et al., 2014) and

has not fully explored whether the affective components of familism play a role in conferring promotive effects. To fill this gap in the literature, the current study proposes a new measure of familism pride to further the understanding of how positive emotions rooted in familism impact psychosocial outcomes.

Familism

Familism is a multifaceted construct that encompasses both value endorsement (i.e., attitudinal familism) and the enactment of behaviors aligning with familism (i.e., behavioral familism; Stein et al., 2014). Familism values typically include obligations to the family, expectations of familial support, and family serving as a referent when making decisions (Knight et al., 2010), and some have argued that respect for parents and familial elders are also part of the larger construct critical to these values (i.e., *respeto*; Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999; Stein et al., 2014). The majority of past work on familism has focused on the effects of familism values on adolescent psychosocial outcomes, finding that familism values predicted fewer depressive symptoms, greater self-esteem, less substance use, less externalizing symptoms, greater academic motivation, and more prosocial behavior (see Stein et al., 2014 for a review). These positive effects are, in large part, considered to be because of the enactment of familism values at both the parental and child levels. In a theoretical review of the literature, Hernández and Bámaca-Colbert (2016) identified key family behavioral processes that linked parental and youth endorsement of familism values to positive psychological adjustment in youth. Parental familism values led to positive parenting behaviors (e.g., warmth, support, monitoring), which directly predicted youth self-esteem and less psychopathology. Similarly, youth familism values predicted prosocial behaviors and less engagement in risky behaviors, which led to the same youth outcomes. Although the larger mediational model has not been tested, the literature supported the links described previously.

While these behavioral mechanisms are critically important, absent in this conceptualization is the role of positive affect associated with familism values. Positive affect broadly defined has been associated with the same psychological outcomes in adolescence (e.g., fewer depressive symptoms, greater self-esteem; Davis & Suveg, 2014). In addition, familism values dictate the provision of support to family members, including emotional support and beliefs about familial loyalty and connectedness (Lugo Steidel & Contreras, 2003). Conceptualizations of the familism referent facet have included having pride (Gill, Wagner, & Vega, 2000) or feeling embarrassed (Sabogal, Marín, Otero-Sabogal, VanOss Marín, & Perez-Stable, 1987) by one's family, further pointing to the role of emotions in this literature. Together, this suggests that the affective components of familism may need to be more strongly incorporated into its conceptualization. Past work has highlighted the need to distinguish between attitudinal and behavioral familism (Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1994), and we argue that delineating value endorsement from the affective components of familism would be useful to the field.

Studies focusing on the behavioral enactment of familism values further point to an important connection between familism values and positive affect. In a daily diary study, Telzer and Fuligni (2009) found that Latinx adolescents who provided more daily assistance to their families reported greater daily happiness, and this effect was mediated by greater satisfaction in being a good family member. In a follow-up neurocognitive experimental study, Mexican

American youth who endorsed greater familism values experienced greater activation in a reward neural circuit when sacrificing rewards for themselves to give to their family (Telzer, Masten, Berkman, Lieberman, & Fuligni, 2010). This activation further predicted declines in subsequent risk taking and depressive symptoms 1 year later (Telzer, Fuligni, Lieberman, & Galván, 2013, 2014). Neurocognitive affect perspectives highlight that positive affect results from response to reward, and therefore, can be understood as activation of the reward systems (Schultz, 2000). Taken together, acting in a way consistent with one's familism values predicted feelings of happiness that were evidenced by neurocognitive reward activation. These findings underscore the need to further understand how positive affect is experienced through the lens of familism, as well as how this predicts psychological functioning.

Positive Affect and Pride

We chose to focus on the role of pride as a central aspect of positive affect embedded in the experience of familism. First, familism values include acting in accordance to familial referents and not bringing shame to the family (Lugo Steidel & Contreras, 2003), suggesting that acting according to parental and familial mandates will bring honor and pride to the family, and feeling pride in one's family has also been included in past measures of familism (Gill et al., 2000). Second, individual feelings of pride are considered to be a key positive emotional process involved in motivating social behavior (Tracy & Robins, 2007). Third, pride is the positive emotion associated with achievement (Tracy & Robins, 2007), and we argue that pride would be the emotion associated with the fulfillment of family obligations and expectations. Pride is considered to be different from other positive emotions because of its role in social functioning, providing information about one's social status and reinforcing socially valued behaviors (Tracy & Robins, 2007). Given this social role of pride, for Latinx youth with high levels of familism, pride is likely a key emotion that motivates prosocial behavior and also accompanies the fulfillment of obligations and sacrifice associated with familism. Although not measured in the set of studies by Telzer and colleagues (2010, 2013, 2014) noted previously, we propose that pride in acting in accordance to values of self-sacrifice serve as an important aspect of the "feeling good" (i.e., neural activation) when "doing good" (i.e., giving to family over self).

While individuals endorsing familism values likely experience individualistically oriented pride (i.e., satisfaction in one's self), positive affect is also experienced in bringing pride to one's family or "making one's family proud." This goal of making one's family proud becomes a key motivator of positive behavior and achievement promoting adaptive behavior. Therefore, pride intersects with familism by eliciting pride when acting in accordance to one's values, and also as a motivator to bring honor and pride to one's family because of the happiness and satisfaction one feels in bringing happiness to other family members.

In summary, the literature on familism has not fully examined the role of pride. Our study sought to address this limitation in the literature by developing a new scale of familism pride that would have the potential to increase our understanding of the mechanisms associated with the promotive effects of familism. We believe this scale serves to bridge the literature focusing on the behavioral mechanisms associated with familism and the neurocognitive studies by identifying a key positive emotion that is socially embedded and motivates social behaviors.

Aims and Hypotheses

Our primary aim for the current study was the development of a familism pride scale and testing whether it was an independent construct from other established familism value scales. We hypothesized that the familism pride items would load on a factor that was sufficiently distinct from factors in the familism value scales but would be significantly correlated with familism support because of the emotional salience of the items.

To further establish its contribution to the literature, we also examined whether familism pride uniquely predicted psychological outcomes previously associated with familism values in the literature. We chose to examine depressive symptoms and self-esteem because there have been numerous studies establishing the role of positive emotions with depressive symptoms (see review by Davis & Suveg, 2014) and pride with self-esteem (Tracy & Robins, 2007), and both outcomes have been associated with familism values (Stein et al., 2014). In addition, we also examined family responsive joy as a positive emotion embedded in familial experiences. We hypothesized that familism pride would significantly predict these outcomes because they were associated with familism values in past literature (i.e., lower depressive symptoms, greater self-esteem, and greater responsive joy).

We sought to establish convergent validity through the association between familism pride and other aspects of familism (i.e., familism support) and the psychosocial outcomes described previously. In terms of discriminant validity, we also included ethnic pride (i.e., positive feelings about group membership; Rivas-Drake et al., 2014) to distinguish familism pride from other aspects of pride in the literature of ethnic minority family functioning.

Method

Procedures

Data for this study came from a larger study examining family qualities related to mental health of emerging adults, which was approved by the university's institutional review board. Participants were recruited from a psychology subject pool at a comprehensive university (designated as an Hispanic-serving institution) in Southern California. The subject pool was comprised of students in a lower-division, general education, introductory psychology course. Students in the course are required to participate in research studies or complete an alternative assignment.

For Sample 1 (collected in Fall 2015), the participants completed a short paper-and-pencil survey in a classroom setting (10–20 students in a group). Most participants completed the survey in 12–15 min. There were six "check questions" throughout the survey to determine whether participants were reading the survey (e.g., "Please answer "agree" on this item to show you are reading the survey carefully"). Five Latinx participants were excluded from the data analyses because they missed more than one check question. Trained research assistants (RAs) collected, coded, and entered the data. Data coding and data entry were verified for accuracy in a multistep process.

In Spring 2018, the participants in Sample 2 completed an online survey in a computer lab (10–24 students in a group). Most participants completed the survey in 32–37 min. Eleven Latinx participants were excluded from the data analyses because they missed more than two check questions (out of 33 check questions).

Participants

Sample 1 was comprised of 352 participants (72.2% women, 27.3% men, 0.6% other) who ranged from 18 to 28 years of age ($M = 18.9$ years) and self-reported in a Latinx group (e.g., Latinx, Hispanic, Mexican, Chicano, Salvadoran). Most participants were freshmen (i.e., 58.5%), with 25.6% sophomores, 11.1% juniors, 4.0% seniors, and 0.9% missing. The family form of the participants follows: 73.0% two-parent, intact families; 6.0% stepfather families; 14.8% single-mother families; and the remaining came from other family forms. Most of the participants (i.e., 76.1%) lived at home. In regard to generation status, 13.6% were first generation (participant and parent born outside of the United States), 69.0% were second generation (participant was U.S.-born, but both parents were foreign born), 8.0% were 2.5 generation (participant and one parent were U.S.-born while one parent was foreign-born), and 9.4% third generation (participant and both parents were U.S.-born). The birth places of the parents were Mexico (56.5% fathers, 53.5% mothers), El Salvador (15.6% fathers, 16.8% mothers), United States (10.5% fathers, 14.5% mothers), and Guatemala (9.2% fathers, 8.5% mothers). Most of the remaining parents were born in Central or South America.

Sample 2 was comprised of 315 Latinx participants (68.6% women, 31.4% men) who ranged from 18 to 27 years of age ($M = 19.3$ years). Most participants were freshmen (i.e., 50.2%), with 30.8% sophomores, 13.7% juniors, and 5.4% seniors. The family form of the participants follows: 71.7% two-parent, intact families; 6.0% stepfather families; 20.0% single-mother families; and the remaining came from other family forms. Most participants (i.e., 79.4%) lived at home. In regard to generation status, 12.1% were first generation, 67.0% were second generation, 12.4% were 2.5 generation, and 8.6% third generation. The birth places of most parents were Mexico (59.4% fathers, 55.9% mothers), El Salvador (12.4% fathers, 14.3% mothers), United States (12.7% fathers, 16.8% mothers), and Guatemala (8.6% fathers, 7.6% mothers). The remaining parents were born in Central or South America.

Measures

Familism pride. Two Mexican-origin (first generation) psychologists (one an expert of familism values) and one Mexican-origin psychology doctoral-level student (second generation) developed the familism pride measure. The measurement development process started with a review of past pride and familism measures (i.e., Knight et al., 2010; Lugo Steidel & Contreras, 2003; Sabogal et al., 1987; Tracy & Robins, 2007) that were discussed. Positive affective words associated with pride were identified in past measures (e.g., proud, happy, achieve, fulfilled), and key familism items related to pride. Based on this review, we developed a nine-item scale (Table 2) that assessed level of agreement on pride as motivator or feelings of pride emanating from making family proud or bringing happiness to family through success. We did not define the types of achievement or successes so that participants could define using their own metrics. The response choices followed a 7-point Likert-type scale on level of agreement. Sample items

follow: "Making my family proud brings me happiness," "My motivation for achieving things is to make my family proud," and "I feel fulfilled when I achieve something that will make my family proud." The scale demonstrated good internal consistency reliability (Sample 1 α = .94; Sample 2 α = .95).

Familial cultural values. Participants completed a subset of the Mexican American Cultural Values Scale (MACVS; Knight et al., 2010) to assess four Mexican American familism related values: six-item family support, five-item family obligations, six-item referent familism, and six-item family respect. The items were preceded with the following stem: "How much do you believe . . ." The items for each subscale are shown in Table 2. The response choices follow: 1 = *not at all*, 2 = *a little*, 3 = *somewhat*, 4 = *very much*, and 5 = *completely*. This measure has demonstrated adequate reliability and has been validated in samples of Mexican American youth and their parents (Gonzales, Dumka, Mauricio, & Germán, 2007; Roosa et al., 2008). The scales demonstrated adequate to good reliability in our samples (Sample 1 αs = .82–.88; Sample 2 αs = .82–.90).

Depressive symptoms. A 10-item version (Kohout, Berkman, Evans, & Cornoni-Huntley, 1993) of the longer 20-item Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CES-D) was used to assess students' depressive symptoms (Radloff, 1977) in Sample 1. Items are based on clinical diagnostic criteria for depression. The items are preceded by the following stem: "How often have you been bothered by each of the following symptoms during the past 2 weeks?" The response choices follow: 1 = *rarely or none of the time (less than 1 day)*, 2 = *some or a little of the time (1–2 days)*, 3 = *occasionally (3–4 days)*, and 4 = *most or almost all the time (5–7 days)*. Sample items include "I felt depressed" and "I could not get going." In a sample of Latinx university students, the 10-item scale was significantly and positively correlated with another widely used depression measure (Alpizar, Plunkett, & Whaling, 2018). The scale demonstrated good reliability (Sample 1 α = .95).

In the Sample 2, an eight-item version of the Patient Health Questionnaire (PHQ-9; Johnson, Harris, Spitzer, & Williams, 2002) was used to assess depressive symptoms (without the suicidality item). The stem was, "How often have you been bothered by each of the following symptoms during the past two weeks?" A sample item follows: "Feeling down, depressed, irritable, or hopeless." The response choices were 0 = *not at all*, 1 = *several days*, 2 = *more than half the days*, and 3 = *nearly every day*. The scale demonstrated good reliability (Sample 2 α = .90).

Self-esteem. The 10-item Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale was used to assess students' self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1979). Sample items included, "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself" and "I feel that I have a number of good qualities." Response choices follow: 1 = *strongly disagree*, 2 = *disagree*, 3 = *agree*, and 4 = *strongly agree*. Validity of the overall scale and subscales have been demonstrated with samples of Latinx adolescents (Supple & Plunkett, 2010). The scale demonstrated good reliability (Sample 1 α = .87; Sample 2 α = .87).

Family responsive joy. An eight-item scale was created for this study to assess family responsive joy. Sample items included, "I feel happy when I see my family laughing and enjoying themselves," and "When someone in my family is feeling excited, I tend to get excited

too." The response choices follow: 1 = *strongly disagree*, 2 = *disagree*, 3 = *somewhat disagree*, 4 = *somewhat agree*, 5 = *agree*, and 6 = *strongly agree*. The scale demonstrated good reliability (Sample 1 α = .95; Sample 2 α = .91).

Ethnic pride. Items from the 20-item Multi-Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992) were used to assess ethnic pride. Sample items included, "I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to" and "I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group." Response options follow: 1 = *strongly disagree*, 2 = *disagree*, 3 = *agree*, and 4 = *strongly agree*. The five-item scale demonstrated good reliability (Sample 1 α = .85). This measure was not administered to Sample 2.

Data Analysis Plan

Using Mplus 7.3 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2012), we examined whether the subscales of the MACVS (familism support, obligation, referent familism, and respect) loaded on separate constructs that were also distinct from familism pride, and whether the indicators were a strong representation of the latent constructs. To accomplish this goal, we used the data from Sample 1 to conduct an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) with Geomin rotation, with the full set of items belonging to the aforementioned constructs. We selected Geomin rotation because we expected correlated factors, its capacity to attain simple structure while minimizing variable complexity (Browne, 2001), and because it is preferred when there is no clear expectation about the true loading structure (Asparouhov & Muthén, 2009). We relied on a combination of guidelines for deciding on the appropriate number of factors to retain. First, we examined the scree plot of the eigenvalues of the variables' correlation matrix, whose elbow at the fifth eigenvalue suggested a five-factor solution. Then, we compared fit indices (and not χ^2 because of our large sample size) across six models for which we extracted a range of one to six factors. We focused on the comparative fit index (CFI), standardized root mean residual (SRMR), and root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA). Ideally, the CFI should be close to .95, and the SRMR and RMSEA should be .08 or lower for a model to have acceptable fit (Browne & Cudeck, 1993; Hu & Bentler, 1999). Notably, we used these values as guidelines and not as golden rules because of the risk of overgeneralizing such "rules of thumb" (Marsh, Hau, & Wen, 2004).

Once we had the EFA solution, we moved to the structural equation modeling framework to examine associations between the various familism domains and key outcome measures (i.e., depressive symptoms, ethnic pride, self-esteem, and joy). Because the EFA solution allows for all items to load on all factors, we used the following criteria to select which indicators would load on which factors in a path model. Variables with standardized loadings of .3872 or higher were specified as indicators of their corresponding factor. This assured that factors explaining at least 15% of an item's variance would retain the item as an indicator. Moreover, items that had standardized cross loadings of .3162 or higher (i.e., the factor explained at least 10% of the variance) were specified to cross load onto the corresponding factor in the path model.

Items that did not meet either of these criteria were dropped (i.e., items whose loadings were not substantial on any factor). Finally, rather than assuming that all our outcome variables had good construct validity in our sample, we submitted them to additional EFAs. That is, each construct's items were separately used in an EFA to make sure they were valid indicators of the underlying

construct. As before, if items did not share at least 15% of the variance with the factor, they were dropped from further analyses.

Because we had 54 variables (26 indicators of predictors and 24 as indicators of key outcomes), it was critical to use parcels to avoid an overparameterized model. Specifically, overparameterized models are likely to result in unstable solutions in addition to often having poor fit (Little, Cunningham, Shahar, & Widaman, 2002). Using the process described by Kishton and Widaman (1994), we specified a one-factor EFA model of each measure. Then, we inspected the factor loadings to evenly distribute the true score variance across each of the three parcels specified per latent variable. For example, the highest factor loading was placed on Parcel 1, second highest on Parcel 2, third highest on Parcel 3, fourth highest on Parcel 3, fifth highest on Parcel 2, sixth highest on Parcel 1, and so on. Given a minimum of three parcels with two items per parcel were needed, we did not create parcels for variables with five or less items but instead used all five items as indicators of the latent variable.

To test whether familism pride operated similarly in an independent sample (i.e., Sample 2), we conducted a path analysis with familism support, obligation, referent familism, respect, and familism pride predicting depressive symptoms, self-esteem, and joy. All measures were manifest, summary variables and analyses were again conducted in Mplus v7.3 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2012).

Results

Preliminary Results: EFAs

Fit indices for the 6 EFAs are reported in Table 1. The six-factor solution had the best fit indices (CFI = .91, SRMR = .03, RMSEA = .08). However, the standardized factor loadings for the sixth factor ranged from −.31 to .37, suggesting this factor was weakly defined. The fit of the five-factor model was somewhat lower (CFI = .88, SRMR = .04, RMSEA = .08), but all factors were well defined. Thus, because the five-factor model showed better structure than did the six-factor model, and the scree plot also pointed to a five-factor solution, we decided to retain this model.

Using the five-factor model solution (see Table 2 for factor loadings), we dropped a total of six items (obligation1, obligation4, obligation5, respect2, respect4, respect8, respect1) because their respective factor did not explain at least 15% of their variance. Dropping these items resulted in improved model fit according to the CFI = .91 and SRMR = .03, but not the RMSEA = .09 (although the latter's 90% confidence interval included .08). Table 3 shows the factor loadings of the five-factor solution after trimming the model. The factors that emerged in the solution were familism support, familism obligation, familism referent, familism respect, and familism pride. Each of these factors were distinct but correlated, with interfactor correlations ranging between .27 and .66 (Table 3).

Next, we conducted EFA models of all outcome variables. This enabled us to empirically assess the dimensionality of the constructs under investigation rather than assuming unidimensionality. Using the CESD shortened measure of depressive symptoms, four items out of 10 were dropped because they loaded on a separate factor, were nonsignificant, or the factor did not explain at

least 15% of their variance. The items that were dropped were as follows: (a) "I felt that everything I did took a lot of effort," (b) My sleep was restless," (c) "I was happy" (reverse coded), and (d) "I enjoyed life" (reverse coded). For the same reasons, we dropped the five negatively worded items of the 10-item Rosenberg self-esteem scale, which is in line with previous research on Latinx adolescents demonstrating the negatively worded items may reflect a distinct construct of self-deprecation (Supple & Plunkett, 2010).

Primary Results: Structural Equation Model in Sample 1

With all psychometric analyses completed, we proceeded to fit the structural equation model of familism values predicting key outcomes. Results indicated that familism pride significantly predicted lower levels of Latinx students' depressive symptoms ($b = -0.15$, $SE = 0.05$, $p = .004$) above and beyond familism support, obligation, referent familism, and respect (Figure 1). None of the predictors significantly predicted Latinx students' ethnic pride. Familism support ($b = 0.21$, $SE = 0.09$, $p = .025$) and familism pride ($b = 0.12$, $SE = 0.05$, $p = .009$) significantly predicted higher levels of Latinx students' positive self-esteem. Similarly, familism support ($b = 0.32$, $SE = 0.13$, $p = .009$) and familism pride ($b = 0.20$, $SE = 0.06$, $p = .002$) significantly predicted higher levels of Latinx students' family responsive joy.
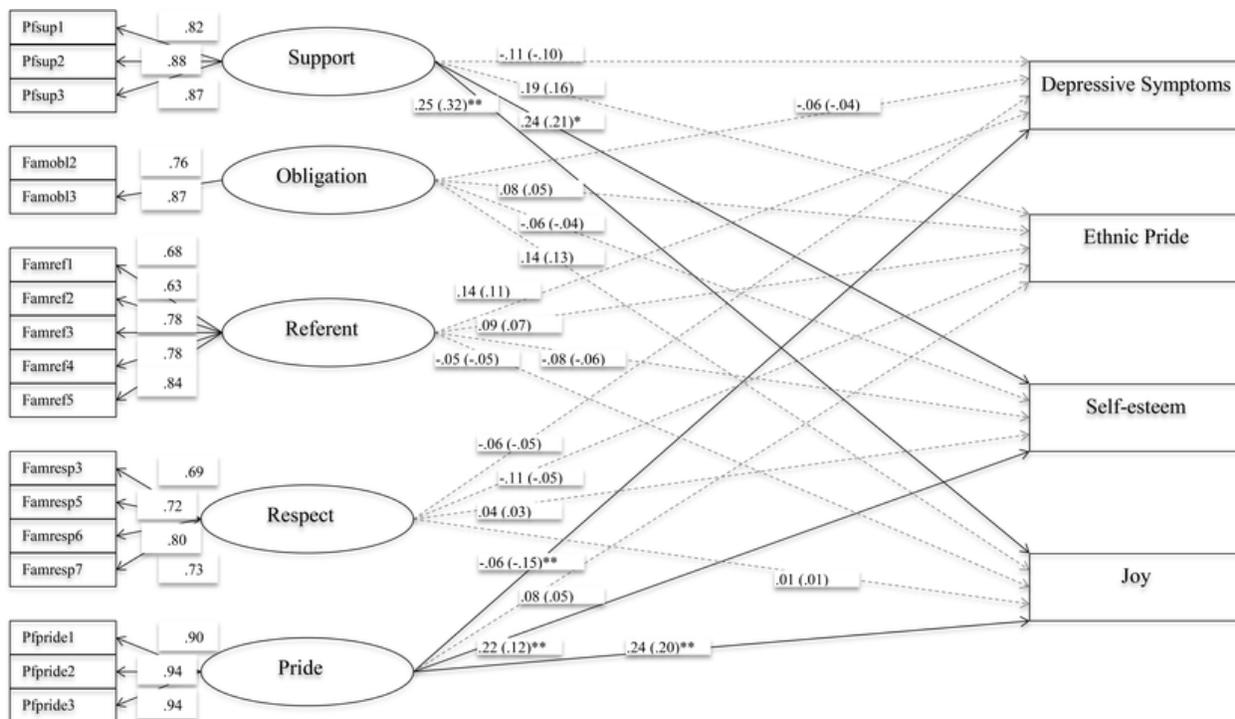
Figure 1. The structural model including familism pride: $\chi^2(459) = 798.67$, p = .00; comparative fit index (CFI) = .95; root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) = .05; RMSEA 90% = .04–.05; standardized root mean residual (SRMR) = .04. Pfsup = parcels, family support; Famobl = family obligation; Famref = familism referent; Famresp = family respect; Pfpride = familism pride. Unstandardized coefficients are displayed in parentheses. Dashed lines indicate nonsignificant paths. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Path Analysis in Sample 2

We investigated whether effects from Sample 1 were replicable in an independent sample. As displayed in Figure 2, familism pride significantly predicted lower levels of depressive symptoms ($b = -0.16$, $SE = 0.04$, $p < .001$) and higher levels of self-esteem ($b = 0.18$, $SE = 0.03$ $p < .001$) and joy ($b = 0.31$, $SE = 0.04$ $p < .001$). In addition, obligation also predicted higher levels of depressive symptoms ($b = 0.15$, $SE = 0.07$, $p = .039$) and joy ($b = 0.31$, $SE = 0.07$ $p < .001$). Fitting this model with all predictors as latent variables led to the exact same patterns of significance.
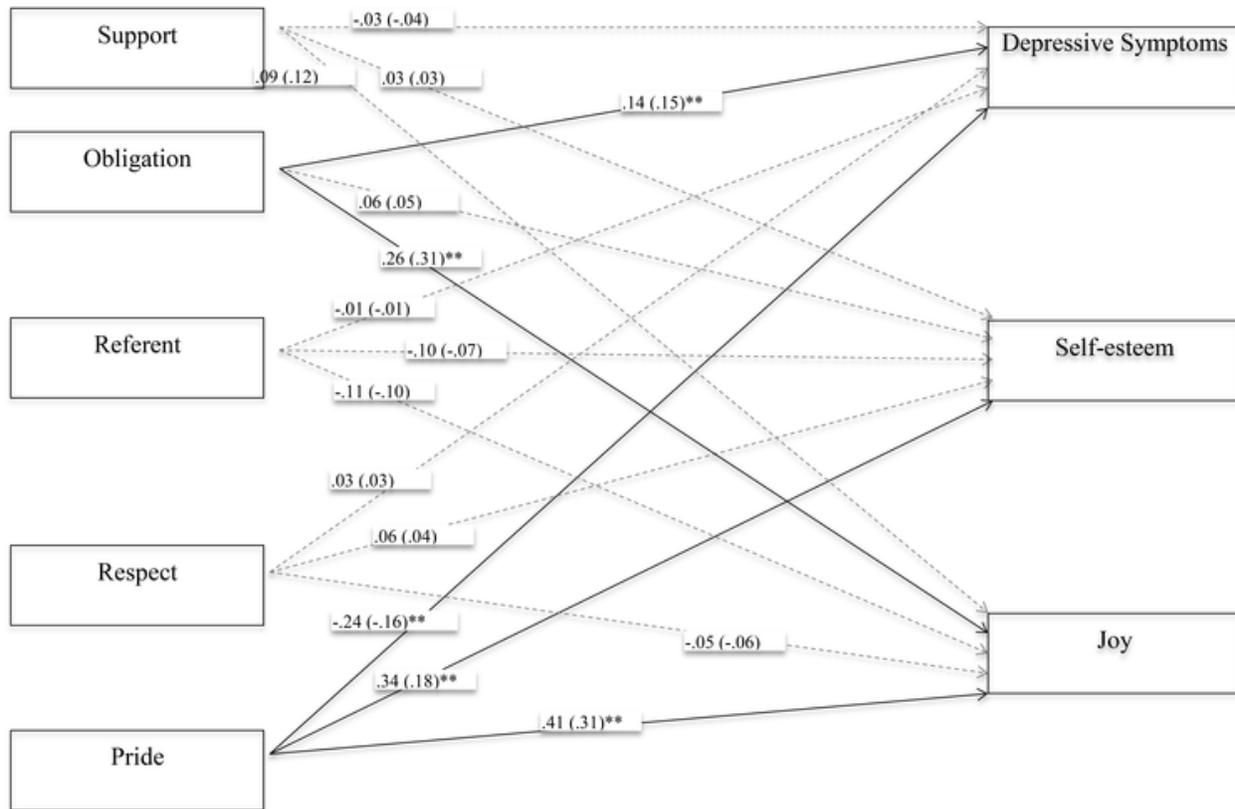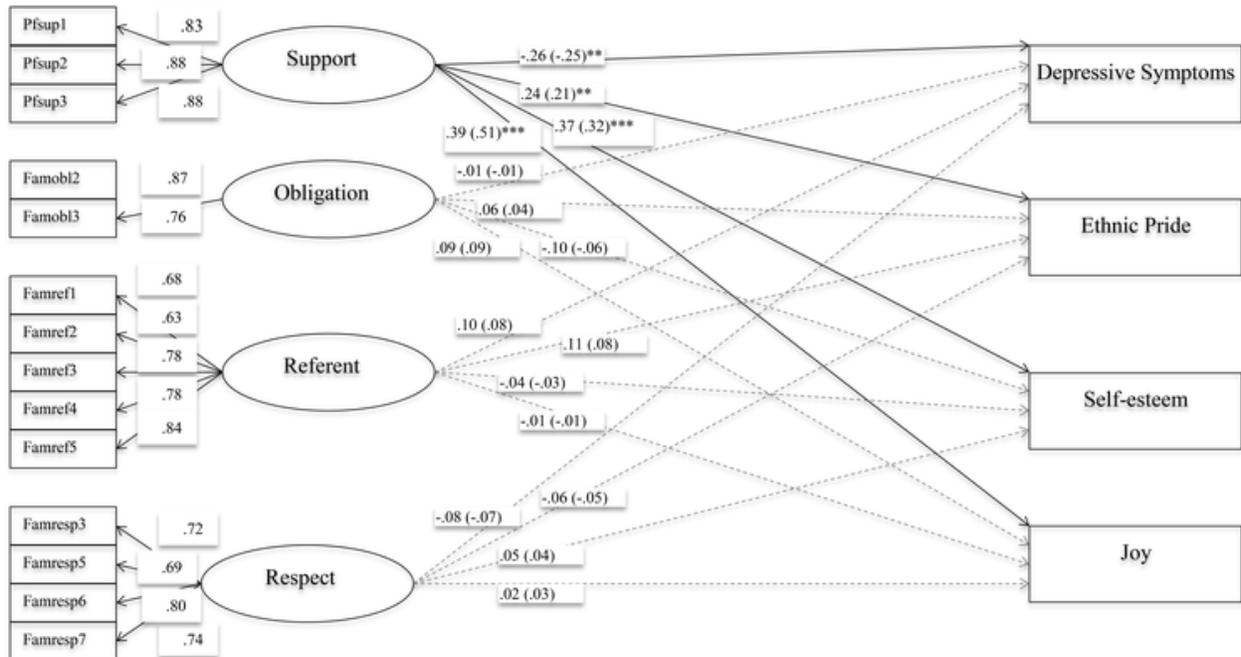

Figure 2. The path model for Sample 2 including familism pride: $\chi2(0) = 0$, p = .000; comparative fit index (CFI) = .95; root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) = .00; RMSEA 90% = .00–.00; standardized root mean residual (SRMR) = .00. Unstandardized coefficients are displayed in parentheses. Dashed lines indicate nonsignificant paths. ** $p < .01$.

Post Hoc Analyses in Sample 1

As a follow-up test, we explored whether familism support, obligation, referent familism, and respect predicted Latinx students' outcomes when familism pride was not included in the model in the first sample (using the same previously defined latent constructs to ensure comparability across analyses; Figure 3). We found that familism support predicted all of the outcomes above and beyond obligation, referent familism, and respect. That is, familism support predicted lower levels of depressive symptoms ($b = -0.25$, $SE = 0.09$, $p = .003$), and higher levels of ethnic pride ($b = 0.21$, $SE = 0.07$, $p = .005$), positive self-esteem ($b = 0.32$, $SE = 0.08$, $p < .001$), and family responsive joy ($b = 0.51$, $SE = 0.10$, $p < .001$), while other familism values (i.e., obligation,

referent familism, and respect) did not have significant effects on the outcomes. These results suggested that while familism support and familism pride were both important predictors of Latinx students' positive adjustment (i.e., ethnic pride, positive self-esteem, and family responsive joy), perhaps familism pride produces a unique affective component that buffers against depressive symptoms. However, it could also be that familism pride serves as a mediator of this relation.

Figure 3. Post hoc analysis: The structural model without familism pride: $\chi^2(435) = 671.67$, p = .00; comparative fit index (CFI) = .95; root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) = .05; RMSEA 90% = .04–.05; standardized root mean residual (SRMR) = .04. Pfsup = parcels, family support; Famobl = family obligation; Famref = familism referent; Famresp = family respect. Unstandardized coefficients are displayed in parentheses. Dashed lines indicate nonsignificant paths. ** *p* < .01. *** *p* < .001.

Discussion

A developmental scientists aim to describe culturally grounded protective factors for Latinx families and youth, familism behaviors and values have emerged as central to understanding the developmental context of this large, diverse population in the United States. Familism values serve to provide cultural scripts guiding how family members interact with one another by delineating parental and child roles and responsibilities, as well as dictating the subjugation of individual needs in the service of familial ones (Knight et al., 2010; Lugo Steidel & Contreras, 2003; Stein et al., 2014). Not surprisingly, these values predict behavioral enactments as evidenced by the completion of familial obligations, provision of support, positive parent–child relationship, and prosocial behaviors (Stein et al., 2014), and this value–behavior link has been hypothesized to explain the protective effects of the endorsement of familism values to positive psychological adjustment (e.g., fewer depressive symptoms; Hernández & Bámaca-Colbert, 2016). Yet, this literature has paid less attention to the affective components associated with

familism that may be a key contributor to the protective effects of familism. This study significantly contributes to the familism literature by identifying a new, independent facet of familism that is associated to positive psychological adjustment.

As hypothesized, our study demonstrated that familism pride was a separate, but related construct to well-studied familism values, and that it predicted positive psychological adjustment independent of these familism values. The EFA demonstrated that our nine-item familism pride measure loaded on a separate factor and was meaningfully distinct from the familism support, obligation, and respect subscales of the MACVS. Our measure focused on the experience of pride when making one's family proud through achievements, and its motivational role in guiding achievement. This is an important first step in understanding the role of positive affect within familism values, and it extends both the pride and familism literatures.

The authentic pride (i.e., prosocial, achievement-oriented pride) literature supports the notion that pride can serve as a social facilitator and motivational factor leading to positive adjustment in the context of achievement (Tracy & Robins, 2007), and we contribute to this literature by demonstrating that pride for Latinx youth is experienced through familial experiences, is related to endorsement of familism values, and predicts psychological adjustment. It is interesting that in this conceptualization, familism pride is pivotal in two ways: by bringing pride to one's family one also feels pride in one's self. We argue that for Latinx youth who have greater endorsement of familism values, individual accomplishments are emotionally experienced in part through the family and feelings of pride that emanate from the achievement, but also because of what the achievement means at the familial level. In this way, we believe that pride is magnified at multiple levels and promotes positive self-esteem and fewer depressive symptoms through the feelings of role accomplishment (Telzer & Fuligni, 2009; Tracy & Robins, 2007).

Second, our contributions to the familism literature center around the addition of a measure that captures a specific emotional experience associated with achievement as understood within the family context. In terms of familism values, familism pride was significantly associated with familism support, as expected. Familism support values focus on the provision of emotional and social support to family in addition to dictating harmony, unity, and cohesion. As such, these values are closely aligned with other affective experiences such as warmth and closeness, and not surprisingly, familism support predicted psychological functioning in our sample as found in past studies (Stein et al., 2014). Yet, familism pride also predicted better psychological functioning including greater family responsive joy, greater self-esteem, and fewer depressive symptoms in both samples. When including familism pride in the model, familism support was no longer significantly associated with depressive symptoms (although it still predicted self-esteem and family responsive joy) in Sample 1. This suggests that familism pride likely plays an important role in the protective effects associated with the endorsement of familism values and should be considered in addition to other aspects of familism values.

Notably, familism obligation was related to greater depressive symptom and responsive joy in Sample 2, while some other facets of familism (i.e., *respeto*, referent) did not predict psychological functioning in either sample. While the results from Sample 2 differ from Sample 1 in terms of obligations, this may be because Sample 2 had slightly greater percentage of youth living with single mothers (20% vs. 15%). Latinx youth in single parent household with high

obligations values may be more likely to be performing more duties and hence feeling both more distressed but also joy in helping their family. Indeed, complex emotions regarding obligations has been found in qualitative research with college attending Latinx youth (Sanchez, Esparza, Colón, & Davis, 2010). These findings highlight the need for researchers to study these subcomponents independently to best understand the developmental consequences of familism (Hernández & Bámaca-Colbert, 2016; Stein et al., 2014). This is particularly important as different aspects of familism values may function as risk or protective factors depending on the context (Calzada, Tamis-LeMonda, & Yoshikawa, 2013). Moreover, the fact that familism pride was not associated with ethnic pride also suggests that our measure captures a unique aspect of pride that is culturally relevant for Latinx populations.

Although our article takes an important step in the familism literature, it is only the first step in understanding the emotional underpinnings of the experience of familism in Latinx populations and their families. We attempted to establish convergent and discriminant validity through our analyses with other familism constructs and ethnic pride, but future work should continue to establish convergent and discriminant validity of familism pride. Our participants were all college students, so future work should examine how familism pride operates in other populations, especially those whose achievements may not be educationally related. In that same vein, we did not examine what types of behavioral accomplishments elicit familism pride and what "achievements" participants felt would be important to accomplish to make their family proud. Thus, future works should explore what behaviors elicit pride in the context of familism (e.g., having a child; getting into college; finding a job; being a good family member; fulfilling obligations). Similarly, we did not measure whether other family members' accomplishments also serve to foster pride. Future work should examine how feelings of pride in the accomplishments of family members contribute to the affective component of familism. Another limitation is that our sample had a high percentage of two-parent families, so future work should examine this construct across different family structures. Another next step is to test whether familism pride serves to promote positive adaptation above and beyond other experiences of pride based on individual accomplishments, and whether this depends on the level of endorsement of familism values. Future work should examine whether familism pride serves as a mediating mechanism to psychological adjustment in longitudinal and experimental designs because familism components might relate to each other in specific ways. That is, values could dictate the enactment of behaviors (e.g., obligations) that then lead to the affective responses (e.g., pride, happiness) subsequently leading to positive adjustment (e.g., greater self-esteem and joy, fewer depressive symptoms).

From a methodological perspective, one limitation was that we did not have multiple measures of the same constructs so that scale scores could be used as indicators in the latent variable models (potentially giving rise to models with excellent fit). Because using all the scale items as indicators would lead to highly parameterized, unstable models, we opted to engage in systematic and careful psychometric analyses that led to the use parcels instead. Nevertheless, because the use of parcels is controversial (Little et al., 2002) and because the numerous preliminary steps we followed in the EFAs raised concerns among reviewers, in the second sample, we opted to conduct a path analysis without latent variables (although a follow-up model with latent variables showed the same inferences). While results from both samples supported the existence of familism pride as a distinct and related aspect of familism, future work should

focus on continuing to improve the measurement structure of familism and key outcome variables to attain more accurate estimates of structural relations.

This study examined the intersection of the familism and pride literatures to develop a new measure of familism pride. On the whole, the measure operated as expected, as a separate, but related construct to familism values that contributed uniquely to positive psychological adjustment. We also found these effects in two separate samples. Our study underscores the importance of examining emotional processes in the study of values, and in particular suggests a new dimension of familism that has not received research attention. Our findings suggest that prevention and intervention efforts can potentially target activities that reinforce one's own sense of accomplishment through fulfillment of obligations and achievements in the eye of one's family—particularly for Latinx youth with high levels of these values.

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Table 1. Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) of Familism Values (Support, Obligation, Referent, and Respect) and Familism Pride: Comparing Fit Indices Across Six-Factor Solutions

Factor solution	χ^2	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	SRMR	AIC	BIC
EFA							
1-factor	3,555.047	.579	.551	.133	.111	27,815.425	27,883.858
2-factor	2,115.270	.773	.741	.101	.061	26,439.648	26,945.783
3-factor	1,696.590	.826	.787	.091	.050	26,082.968	26,708.876
4-factor	1,426.141	.859	.815	.085	.042	25,872.519	26,614.336
5-factor	1,225.983	.883	.834	.081	.037	25,730.360	26,584.223
6-factor	1,020.189	.907	.858	.075	.033	25,580.567	26,542.611

Note. CFI = comparative fit index; TLI = Tucker-Lewis Index; RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation; SRMR = standardized root mean square residual; AIC = Akaike information criterion; BIC = Bayesian information criterion. Although the six-factor model had the best fit indices displayed in this table, the best-fitting model that we retained for further analysis was the five-factor solution indicated by well-defined factors (higher standardized factor loadings), acceptable model fit, and the scree plot. Standardized factor loadings for the five-factor solution are displayed in Table 2.

Table 2. Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) Results of Five-Factor Solution With Original Items; Standardized Factor Loadings of Family Support, Family Obligation, Family Respect, Familism Referent, and Familism Pride (n = 352)

Items	Labels	Standardized factor loadings				
		1	2	3	4	5
Parents should teach their children that the family always comes first	Famsup1	**.576***	.045	.150*	-.031	.215*
Family provides a sense of security because they will always be there for you	Famsup2	**.693***	.030	.155	-.040	.037
It is always important to be united as a family	Famsup3	**.625***	.093	.222*	-.040	-.024
It is important to have close relationships with aunts/uncles, grandparents, and cousins	Famsup4	**.496***	.245*	-.033	.062	.013
Holidays and celebrations are important because the whole family comes together	Famsup5	**.519***	.143	.117	.058	.025
It is important for family members to show their love and affection to one another	Famsup6	**.515***	.083	.189*	-.033	.023
Children should be taught that it is their duty to care for their parents when their parents get old	Famobl1	.055	.260*	.022	.346*	.097
If a relative is having a hard time financially, one should help them out if possible	Famobl2	.025	**.768***	.003	.087	-.106
A person should share their home with relatives if they need a place to stay	Famobl3	.098	**.737***	-.007	.027	.012
Older kids should take care of and be role models for their younger brothers and sisters	Famobl4	.215*	.301*	.118*	.105	.175*
Parents should be willing to make great sacrifices to make sure their children have a better life	Famobl5	.139	.204*	-.093	.140	.216*
Children should always do things to make their parents happy	Famref1	.030	-.022	.135*	**.472***	.255*
When it comes to important decisions, the family should ask for advice from close relatives	Famref2	.064	.218*	-.032	**.478***	.009
Children should be taught to always be good because they represent the family	Famref3	.094	.040	-.025	**.728***	.034
A person should always think about their family when making important decisions	Famref4	-.038	.172*	.088	**.623***	.050
It is important to work hard and do one's best because this work reflects on the family	Famref5	-.030	.102	.043	**.794***	.014
No matter what, children should always treat their parents with respect	Famresp1	.382*	.022	-.046	.047	**.450***
Children should respect adult relatives as if they were parents	Famresp2	**.417***	.016	-.161*	.143*	.352*
Children should never question their parents' decisions	Famresp3	.040	-.038	.065	.052	**.654***
Children should be on their best behavior when visiting the homes of friends or relatives	Famresp4	.302*	-.030	.031	.047	.321*

Items	Labels	Standardized factor loadings 1	2	3	4	5
Children should always honor their parents and never say bad things about them	Famresp5	.297*	-.025	-.025	.032	**.583***
Children should follow their parents' rules, even if they think the rules are unfair	Famresp6	-.057	.048	.044	-.080	**.829***
It is important for children to understand that their parents should have the final say when decisions are made in the family	Famresp7	-.029	.107	.045	.016	**.649***
Children should always be polite when speaking to any adult	Famresp8	**.405***	.000	-.023	.013	.335*
When I have a big achievement, the first thing I want to do is share the good news with my family	Fampride1	-.044	.180*	**.768***	-.153*	.064
One of the reasons I want to do well in life is to make my family proud	Fampride2	-.018	.029	**.815***	.114	.021
I feel fulfilled when I achieve something that will make my family proud	Fampride3	-.036	.048	**.893***	.054	.025
I share my successes with my family because I know it will make them happy	Fampride4	.063	.129*	**.825***	-.119*	.036
My motivation for achieving things is to make my family proud	Fampride5	.004	-.130*	**.777***	.214*	.050
My family celebrates my achievements as much as I do	Fampride6	.186*	.032	**.577***	.034	.013
My family believes in me	Fampride7	.310*	-.013	**.628***	-.120	-.036
Making my family proud brings me happiness	Fampride8	.271*	-.127*	**.738***	.093	-.050
My family's happiness is as important as my own happiness	Fampride9	.329*	-.150*	**.538***	.188*	-.056

Note. Famsup = family support; Famobl = family obligation; Famref = familism referent; Famresp = family respect; Fampride = familism pride. Items with bold font loadings are those whose factor explains at least 15% of the indicator's variance. *$p < .05$.

Table 3. Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) Results of Five-Factor Solution After Trimming the Model; Standardized Factor Loadings of Family Support, Family Obligation, Family Respect, Familism Referent, and Familism Pride (n = 352)

Labels	Standardized factor loadings 1	2	3	4	5
Famsup1	**.669***	.040	.004	−.008	.187*
Famsup2	**.774***	.036	−.019	.006	.021
Famsup3	**.735***	.096	−.036	.042	−.021
Famsup4	**.597***	−.143*	.058	.189*	.053
Famsup5	**.616***	.006	.061	.084	.044
Famsup6	**.604***	.081	−.033	.021	.050
Famobl2	.027*	.022	.070	**.767***	−.058
Famobl3	.090	.015	.044	**.738***	.015
Famref1	.044	.122*	**.510***	−.031	.205*
Famref2	.106	−.070	**.487***	.202*	.024
Famref3	.073	−.022	**.730***	.051	.014
Famref4	−.019	−.070	**.633***	.170*	.066
Famref5	−.040	.041	**.804***	.115	.012
Famresp3	.067	.039	.118	−.046	**.609***
Famresp5	.274*	−.032	.136*	.001	**.455***
Famresp6	−.025	.003	−.048	.009	**.908***
Famresp7	.017	.012	.063	.066	**.658***

Labels	Standardized factor loadings				
	1	2	3	4	5
Fampride1	−.036	**.778***	−.177*	.162*	.092
Fampride2	−.004	**.811***	.089	.006	.025
Fampride3	−.031	**.902***	.031	.043	.027
Fampride4	.036	**.848***	−.130*	.145*	.032
Fampride5	−.005	**.779***	.199*	−.119*	.041
Fampride6	.181*	**.563***	.028	.056	.013
Fampride7	.287*	**.613***	−.127*	.016	−.044
Fampride8	.243*	**.726***	.078	−.092	−.065
Fampride9	.304*	**.513***	.182*	−.113*	−.074
Standardized factor correlations					
Family support	—				
Family obligation	.55*	—			
Familism referent	.58*	.52*	—		
Family respect	.55*	.42*	.66*	—	
Familism pride	.66*	.27*	.47*	.44*	—

Note. Famsup = family support; Famobl = family obligation; Famref = familism referent; Famresp = family respect; Fampride = familism pride. Items with bold font loadings are those whose factor explains at least 15% of the indicator's variance. The structural model fit for the trimmed model: χ^2 (205) = 744.901, p = .00; comparative fit index (CFI) = .91; Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI) = .857; root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) = .09; RMSEA 90% = .08 –.09; standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) = .031; Akaike information criterion (AIC) = 20,740. 384; Bayesian information criterion (BIC) = 21,404.928. Items were dropped (which included obligation1, obligation4, obligation5, respect2, respect4, respect8, respect1) because their respective factor did not explain at least 15% of their variance. *p < .05.