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Previous theory suggests that Latino adolescents and their mothers acculturate to the United States culture at different rates, leading to gaps in acculturation that may result in family conflict and youth maladjustment (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). Because acculturation is a multi-faceted construct that includes identity, cultural value endorsement, and engagement in culturally-influenced behaviors (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga & Szapocznik, 2010), it is critical to identify the gaps in specific aspects of acculturation that are most detrimental for youth and family outcomes, such as cultural value gaps. The current study identified profiles of adolescent/mother dyads based on mean reports of cultural value endorsement across seven cultural values to determine patterns of cultural value endorsement across dyads and cultural value gaps within dyads. The sample included 174 Latino youth (51.4% female) and their mothers recruited from two middle schools in rural North Carolina. Results indicate that there are four profiles of adolescent-mother cultural value endorsement that result in patterns of cultural value gaps within dyads. Adolescent reports of acculturation-based family conflict differed across profiles such that the profile with adolescents who reported above average endorsement of the traditional gender role value and the U.S. mainstream values as compared to their mothers reported significantly more acculturation-based family conflict than adolescents in other profiles. The implication of this finding is discussed.

DIFFERENCES IN ACCULTURATION-BASED FAMILY CONFLICT:  
A LATENT PROFILE ANALYSIS OF LATINO ADOLESCENT  
AND MOTHER CULTURAL VALUE ENDORSEMENT

by

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES .....	iv
LIST OF FIGURES .....	v
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION .....	1
II. METHODS .....	19
III. RESULTS .....	25
IV. DISCUSSION .....	34
REFERENCES .....	53
APPENDIX A. TABLES AND FIGURES .....	62
APPENDIX B. MEASURES .....	69

## LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations, and Cronbach Alphas of Overall Sample Variables.....	62
Table 2. Latent Profile Analysis Model Fit Indices.....	63
Table 3. Overall Sample Means for each Value and Conditional Mean for each Value across Profiles.....	64
Table 4. Differences between Conditional Value Means and Overall Value Means .....	65
Table 5. Cultural Value Gaps across Profiles .....	66
Table 6. Latent Profile Size, Means, and Standard Deviations for Acculturation-Based and Non-Acculturation-Based Family Conflict (Distal Outcome Analysis).....	67

## LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1. Latent Profile Conditional Value Means with Respect to Sample Overall Value Means.....	68

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Adolescence is a critical developmental stage focused on autonomy seeking and identity formation, processes that often spur conflict within the family (Erikson, 1959; Smetana, 1989). Research indicates that during adolescence a moderate amount of conflict with parents is normative and adaptive (Cicognani & Zani, 2009); however, Szapocznik and Kurtines (1993) propose that Latino youth living in the United States experience a unique type of family conflict termed acculturation-based family conflict. This unique family conflict is an additional source of conflict that can harmfully affect an adolescent's relatedness with his or her parents, which in turn leads to youth maladjustment in Latino families (Juang, Syed, Cookston, Wang, & Kim, 2012; Huq, Stein, Gonzalez, 2015; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). Given this potentially distinct conflict, it is necessary to understand the factors that contribute to this specific type of conflict between Latino adolescents and their parents.

Drawing from Bronfenbrenner's (1979) framework for understanding adolescent development, Szapocznik and Kurtines (1993) and Juang et al. (2012) theorize that the unique nature of conflict between Latino adolescents and their parents is best understood within a contextually embedded framework including both the contexts of family and culture. Building off this theory, Szapocznik and Kurtines (1993) and Portes and Rumbaut (2001) argue that the distinctive conflict present between Latino youth and their

parents is in fact due to intercultural differences. These intercultural differences are a result of Latino youth adapting (acculturating) to the mainstream United States culture at a faster pace than do their parents. The differences, more commonly termed acculturation gaps, are precisely a consequence of the adolescent's developmentally normal desire for autonomy and independence, as portrayed in the mainstream American culture, and the Latino parents' culturally-based desire for the child to remain interconnected with the family (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). More generally, this theory, known as the acculturation-gap distress model, posits that intergenerational conflict and the *additional* intercultural differences (acculturation gaps) between Latino adolescents and their parents contribute to normative family conflict, leading to significant youth maladjustment (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). However, few existing studies have examined the predictors of this acculturation-based family conflict, and no studies have tested whether differential cultural value endorsement influences this type of conflict.

The present study focused on identifying how differential adolescent and mother cultural value endorsement contributes to acculturation-based conflict to better understand this unique conflict present in Latino families. This study is specifically interested in an adolescent's perception of culturally based disagreements or problems (conflict) between an adolescent and his or her parents, as adolescent perception of conflict is predictive of youth maladjustment (Auerbach & Ringo Ho, 2012). It is therefore relevant to unpack the cultural contributors to adolescent-perceived acculturation-based conflict as it may serve as a focus of prevention and intervention efforts aimed at reducing youth maladjustment.



## **Acculturation**

Szapocznik and Kurtines (1993) emphasize the importance of examining acculturation differences (i.e. the ‘gap’) between an adolescent and parent to understand acculturation-based conflict. However, to reach this goal, it is critical to identify the precise aspect of acculturation in question, as past studies examining the acculturation gap have failed to consider acculturation as a multi-faceted construct. Therefore, before expanding on the gap, acculturation conceptualization and measurement will be reviewed as it pertains to acculturation-based family conflict.

### **Conceptualization of Acculturation**

**Acculturation domains.** Acculturation is “the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members” (Berry, 2006, p. 13). The cultural and psychological change (acculturation) that individuals experience may occur across multiple domains (Schwartz et al., 2010). The central domains of acculturation include language preference and competency, nativity status (either foreign born or U.S born or the amount of time spent in the U.S.), ethnic identity, and cultural values (Telzer, 2010).

Within the cultural values domain specifically, researchers generally assess several distinct and common Latino values. The most prominent Latino value is familism (*familismo*), referring to strong identification and attachment with both the nuclear and extended family (Sabogal, Marín, Otero-Sabogal, Marín, & Perez-Stable, 1987). Three specific components of familism include familial obligation, referring to obligation to help the family, familial as referent, referring to defining oneself as reflective of the

family, and familial support, referring to emotional support within the family (Knight et al., 2010). Knight et al. (2010) suggests that these three familism values more generally represent a higher-order familism construct with strong internal consistency. Other commonly identified Latino cultural values include respect (*respeto*) referring to the importance of deferring to parents in behaviors and decisions, traditional gender roles, referring to family expectations of males for providing and females for child rearing, and religiosity, referring to reliance and belief in a higher power (Knight et al., 2010).

In addition to the Latino cultural values (i.e. familism, religion, respect, traditional gender roles), Knight et al., (2010) has identified three prominent mainstream U.S. cultural values critical to the understanding of acculturation processes in Mexican families in the United States. Material success refers to placing great value in having money and items that money can buy. Independence refers to the desire to have autonomy and be able to care for oneself. The value of personal achievement/competition refers to one's belief in the worth in accomplishing goals by oneself with a desire to perform better than others. Focus groups comprised of both immigrant and non-immigrant Mexican mothers, fathers, and adolescents from rural to metropolitan settings qualitatively identified all of these values as culturally-linked (Knight et al., 2010). Thus, the cultural value endorsement relevant to acculturation processes include both traditional Latino cultural values (familism, respect, gender roles, religiosity) as well as U.S. mainstream values (independence, material success, personal achievement/competition).

Other acculturation domains in addition to the above mentioned cultural values domain include ethnic identity, behavioral enactments of cultural values, language use

and preference, consumption of media, food preferences, and participation in holiday festivities. Because of the multifaceted nature of acculturation, some assessment tools focus on capturing only one domain of acculturation to understand that domain more fully, such as the Mexican American Cultural Values scale for cultural value endorsement (Knight et al., 2010) and a Filial Obligation- Behavior Scale for behavioral enactment of values (Hardway & Fuligni, 2006). However, other assessment tools assume that individuals adapt and change across these acculturation domains simultaneously and therefore assess many domains at once to identify an overall acculturation score (Gim Chung, Kim, & Abreu, 2004; as cited in Lau, McCabe, Yeh, Garland, Wood, and Hough, 2005). The current study focused on one domain of acculturation to more precisely understand how that specific domain of acculturation is related to acculturative family conflict.

With respect to acculturation-based family conflict, it is most relevant to assess the cultural value acculturation domain. Theory suggests that values influence behaviors and/or thoughts (Broesch & Hadley, 2012), both of which play a role in family conflict, especially the behavioral opposition component of conflict (Laursen & Collins, 1994). For example, if an adolescent has a low belief in obligation to the family (value), then he or she may be less likely to help out his or her sibling with homework (behavior) when requested. Additionally, Juang et al. (2012) and Szapocznik and Kurtines (1993) note that acculturation-based family conflict results from differences in values or beliefs between an adolescent and his or her parent. Given these findings and theory, the present study

more closely examined the relationship between differential endorsement of cultural values between adolescents and their mothers and acculturation-based family conflict.

**Measurement of acculturation.** When measuring acculturation, researchers commonly assess one or more of the primary acculturation domains (i.e. language preference, nativity status, ethnic identity, cultural values) (Broesch & Hadley, 2012; Telzer, 2010). Schwartz et al. (2010) suggests that acculturation is best understood as a whole, by assessing and considering all acculturation domains; however, they recommend that researchers focus on specific domains of acculturation depending on their outcome of interest. For example, researchers interested in studying behavioral aspects of acculturation, such as language use or length of time spent in the U.S., should assess language use and nativity status acculturation domains. Because these domains are only part of the larger construct of acculturation, researchers should label the specific domain of acculturation assessed (i.e. behavioral acculturation) rather than describing these specific measures as ‘acculturation’ more broadly (Schwartz et al., 2010).

However, most research examining the acculturation gap has not specified the precise domain of acculturation under study or has instead focused on acculturation more broadly, as will be discussed below. These broad measures include items reflective of many acculturation domains and often calculate one mean score across all of the acculturation domains to determine an individual’s ‘acculturation’. For example, the Pan-Acculturation Scale (as cited in Lau et al., 2005, p. 369) includes items across language use, values and beliefs, ethnic identity, and cultural practices domains, and although it assesses acculturation bidimensionally by calculating a subscale for both acculturation to

American culture and acculturation to an individual's native or traditional culture, there is no distinction of acculturation by specific domain; the scale calculates acculturation across all of the domains leading to a broad and unspecific understanding of an individual's acculturation. Therefore, as previously noted, in order to more accurately understand and assess acculturation, the present study followed the suggestion put forth by Schwartz et al. (2010), and focused on a specific domain of acculturation (cultural values) as relevant to an acculturation-based family conflict outcome and measured it accordingly.

**Acculturation theoretical model.** Along with the distinct acculturation domains, there have been two central models that have been used to characterize the changes that an individual experiences across acculturation domains (Cabassa, 2003). The unidimensional model proposes that an individual replaces his or her native cultural orientation and practices with the new language, values, and customs associated with the new culture (e.g. learns to speak English, endorses U.S. mainstream cultural values). However, the more widely accepted bidimensional model posits that an individual adapts and changes to accommodate a new culture *while also* retaining aspects of his or her native culture (e.g. speaks Spanish *and* English, endorses *both* U.S. mainstream and Mexican cultural values) (Cabassa, 2003).

As applied to cultural value endorsement, the bidimensional model suggests that individuals can vary across the endorsement of both native culture values (Latino cultural values) *and* a new culture's values (U.S. mainstream values). Although collectivist and individualist societies were previously thought to espouse opposing values, it is clear that

the endorsement of these values are best conceptualized bidimensionally (Schwartz, 1990). Additionally, although prior research has investigated adolescent outcomes based on endorsement of Latino cultural values (Berkel et al., 2010; Li, 2014; Kuhlberg, Peña, & Zayas, 2010; Germán, Gonzales, & Dumka, 2009), the relationship between mainstream value endorsement and youth functioning has been less studied (Santiago, Gudiño, Baweja, & Nadeem, 2014; Armenta, Knight, Carlo, & Jacobson, 2011). Furthermore, no studies have examined endorsement of these values with respect to a family conflict outcome. For this reason, the present study sought to capture a holistic understanding of acculturation in terms of cultural value endorsement and assessed endorsement of both Latino and U.S. mainstream cultural values, a bidimensional approach.

In sum, the current study assessed the cultural value domain of acculturation by measuring specific cultural value endorsement. It also used the bidimensional perspective of acculturation by conceptualizing acculturation as an individual's relationship with two cultures (a Latin American based culture and the United States culture), thus assessing both endorsement of Latino cultural values as well as endorsement of U.S. mainstream cultural values. Assessing both Latino and U.S. mainstream cultural values permitted a more holistic understanding of how cultural value differences are related to acculturation-based family conflict.

### **Acculturation Gap**

Acculturation gaps between an adolescent and parent have been theoretically identified as detrimental for parent-child outcomes (Birman, 2006), and family conflict,

specifically (Szapocznik and Kurtines, 1993). Birman (2006) defines acculturation gaps as either the perceived or actual differences between an adolescent's acculturation level and a parent's acculturation level. Perceived gaps are either only the adolescent or only the parent's report of the differences between their levels of acculturation (Birman, 2006). Actual gaps are the objective difference between an adolescent's report of his or her own acculturation and the parent's report of his or her own acculturation (Birman, 2006). Merali (2002) notes that both parents and adolescents often either over- or underestimate their perception of the acculturation gap, and therefore, an actual measure of the gap is more accurate than a perceived measure.

### **Acculturation Gap Literature**

The premise of Szapocznik and Kurtines' (1993) acculturation gap distress model is that gaps in acculturation influence family conflict which influences youth maladjustment; however, the acculturation gap literature on the whole is inconclusive in its support for the acculturation gap distress model for Latino youth. For example, Lau et al. (2005) assessed acculturation of both Latino adolescents and parents and found that an acculturation gap did not predict more adolescent depression nor adolescent perceived intergenerational family conflict. Pasch, Deardorff, Tschann, Flores, Penilla, and Pantoja (2006) assessed the acculturation gap between both Latino adolescent-mother dyads and adolescent-father dyads and found no significant predictions of family conflict from each of the adolescent, mother, and father reports. Recently, Telzer, Yuen, Gonzales and Fuligni (2016) found that acculturation gaps were not related to youth maladjustment or general family conflict; they determined that an adolescent's strong endorsement of

Mexican culture is the most protective factor against youth maladjustment regardless of any acculturation gap. On the other hand, Schofield, Parke, Kim, and Coltrane (2008) assessed both Latino mother-child acculturation gaps and Latino father-child acculturation gaps and found that Latino father-child gaps were related to more laboratory-observed family conflict. Finally, Smokowski, Rose, and Bacallao (2008) found that Latino parent-adolescent acculturation gaps were related to less adolescent and parent reported family cohesion, adaptability, and familism.

Importantly, Dennis, Basanez, and Farahmand (2010) and Telzer (2010) highlight that acculturation gap researchers use a variety of conceptualizations and assessments of both acculturation and the acculturation gap. Therefore, the inconsistency in the literature may be a product of differences in conceptualization, measurement, and labeling of acculturation and acculturation gaps. Taking together Dennis et al. (2010) and Schwartz et al. (2010) to best understand the impact of acculturation gaps on family and adolescent functioning, research needs to identify theoretically meaningful hypotheses for the ramifications of domain-specific acculturation gaps and move past the use of broad measures of acculturation. The majority of the above mentioned studies measured only certain acculturation domains, but do not have a theory-based reason for the choice of the assessed acculturation domain(s), nor do they label their acculturation gap construct using this level of specificity.

For example, Lau et al. (2005) used an acculturation scale that assessed the acculturation domains of language use, ethnic identity, cultural values, and social environments, whereas Pasch et al. (2006) assessed only the language use acculturation



domain. However, both articles used the term ‘acculturation gap’ to refer to the difference between the adolescent and mother on the different acculturation domains. In the same way that acculturation should be conceptualized and labeled in a domain specific way, so too should the acculturation gap be conceptualized and labeled specifically (e.g. ‘language gap’ if only assessing the difference in language use between an adolescent and parent rather than labeled more generally ‘acculturation gap’). A specific label of the gap will help to clarify the literature by determining which types of gaps are predictive to which outcomes. Using acculturation gap theory (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001), cultural value gaps were selected as the most relevant gap to assess with respect to family conflict.

**Presence of cultural value gaps.** The literature acknowledges that, irrespective of whether cultural value gaps are problematic, they do exist. One study found that Mexican parents tended to endorse more familial obligation than did their adolescents, regardless of whether the adolescent was born in Mexico or born in the United States (Phinney, Ong, and Madden, 2000). This adds to Szapocznik and Kurtines’ (1993) hypothesis that cultural value gaps exist because youth are acculturating faster than their parents and suggests that time in the U.S. does not influence cultural value endorsement for adolescents.

A recent review of the familism literature also concluded that parent-adolescent familism values are typically not correlated (Stein et al., 2014), arguing that acculturation gaps on these values are likely. Conversely, Perez-Brena, Updegraff, & Umaña-Taylor (2014) found that across generations, mothers tend to socialize their children to have

similar endorsement of familism and respect values as their own, which would minimize acculturation gaps in these values. Yet, this study did not assess socialization of U.S. mainstream values. Nonetheless, this study's findings suggest that cultural value gaps may depend on maternal socialization which may not be uniform across all cultural values. Taken together, Latino adolescents and their parents have cultural value gaps, but there is no clarification in the literature of whether these gaps differ across distinct cultural values.

**Cultural value gaps literature.** There are few studies that assess cultural value gaps between adolescents and their parents. One study found that both Latino male and female adolescent-reported discrepancy between their own traditional gender role belief and that of their primary caregiver predicted higher adolescent-reported depression, and that this relationship was mediated by adolescent-reported family dysfunction (Céspedes & Huey, 2008). Another study found that adolescents reported greater depressive symptoms when parents reported greater affiliative obedience, similar to *respeto*, than did the adolescents (Stein & Polo, 2014). Toro (2010) identified that gaps in familism-support, familism-referent, and familism-obligations were associated with greater adolescent depression and less positive parenting. These studies suggest that both perceived and actual gaps are detrimental for youth; however, no studies have examined the relationship between these cultural value gaps and their influence on family conflict.

Furthermore, despite the identification of at least six Latino cultural values in the literature (Knight et al., 2010) only a recent dissertation by Toro (2010) has found support for specific cultural value gap *differential* prediction of youth and family

outcomes. While her overall measure of a cultural values gap was not predictive of adolescent functioning, she found gaps in familism- obligation, familism-referent, familism-support, and respect to be individually associated with greater adolescent depression and aggression, and decreased levels of prosocial connectedness. This lends support to the notion that it is necessary to specifically examine unique cultural values when measuring the acculturation gaps to understand its impact on adolescent outcomes, but again, this study did not measure acculturation conflict. Other studies have focused on only one or two specific cultural value gaps and identified that the values of traditional gender roles and affiliative obedience (similar to respect) are predictive of negative outcomes (Céspedes & Huey, 2008; Stein & Polo, 2014), but not as related to acculturation-based family conflict. Szapocznik and Kurtines (1993) also originally proposed that a difference in endorsement of the U.S. mainstream independence value was most indicative of family conflict, but this theory has not been scientifically tested.

Because of the dearth of research on specific cultural value gaps, it is important to investigate the presence of gaps across Latino cultural values and U.S. mainstream cultural values, as well as whether all value gaps are problematic or if only specific value gaps are problematic. In a similar vein, it is important to investigate whether there are patterns in value gaps, e.g. an adolescent-mother dyad who has a gap on the traditional gender roles value is also more likely to also have a gap on the religious value, a pattern that is common across dyads. Understanding patterns of value gaps will increase knowledge as to which value gaps are problematic and which are not.

## **Assessment of the Acculturation Gap**

Bámaca-Colbert and Gayles (2010) have compared two approaches for assessing the acculturation gap: variable-centered or person-centered. Variable-centered approaches calculate gaps as difference scores or interactions between adolescent and parent reported acculturation. One person-centered approach classifies adolescent-parent dyads as either matched or mismatched by acculturation types. These acculturation types include integration, which is a strong identification with both U.S. and native culture, assimilation, which is a strong identification with U.S. culture and low identification with native culture, separation, which is low identification with U.S. culture and high identification with native culture, and marginalization, which is low identification with both U.S. and native culture (Berry, 2006). Another person-centered approach is to create latent profiles based on adolescent-parent match or mismatch on acculturation domains. Both variable- and person-centered approaches suggest that researchers need to have a solid conceptualization and assessment of acculturation of the adolescent and parent as the first component in order to then calculate the gap, yet the importance of having this nuanced understanding of acculturation has thus far not reached the acculturation gap literature, as previously mentioned.

The current study used a person-centered approach to best capture patterns of cultural value gaps in a holistic manner. Specifically, this study used a latent profile analysis to identify profiles of adolescents and mothers based on the means of their reported cultural value endorsement. Thus, the profiles were created by considering the bidimensional nature of cultural value endorsement (both their endorsement of Mexican

values and their endorsement of U.S. mainstream values), as well as considering how the means of cultural value endorsement differ between adolescents and their mothers. The profiles thus represent patterns of cultural value endorsement, highlighting which cultural value endorsements result in a gap that becomes a pattern across dyads. These profiles were then used to assess adolescent-reported acculturation conflict to determine if patterns of cultural value gaps lead to differential adolescent perception of acculturation-based family conflict.

Previous theory argues that the acculturation gap is problematic if the adolescent is more acculturated than the parent (Szapocznik and Kurtines, 2003), yet the empirical evidence does not uniformly support this proposition (Lau et al., 2005; Telzer, 2010). In fact, Tezler's (2010) review of the acculturation gap literature suggests that the gap is more problematic when the adolescent is *less* acculturated to the new culture than the parent. Past studies indeed have not found a difference in the direction of acculturation in predicting family conflict and youth maladjustment (Lau et al., 2005, Telzer, 2010). Furthermore, none of these studies tested how acculturation gaps predicted acculturation-based family conflict specifically.

Therefore, directionality of the cultural value gaps was retained as it allowed for a more nuanced description of latent profiles interpreted by which dyad member has a higher mean with respect to the overall value mean on which values, e.g. one profile may identify dyads in which a mother typically endorses two specific values more strongly than the average endorsement of this value, as well as more strongly than the adolescent, while another profile may identify dyads with the reverse situation, with the adolescent

endorsing above average endorsement of those same two values as compared to the mother's respective endorsement; these profiles may have significantly different reports of perceived acculturation-based family conflict. Without clear guidance from the literature as to whether or not directionality of the gap is relevant, the present study was open to understanding the role of directionality in identifying cultural value gaps.

### **Acculturation-based Family Conflict**

The literature on family conflict in Latino families primarily identifies two types of conflict: non-acculturation based conflict and acculturation-based conflict (Li, 2014; Dennis, Basañez, & Farahmand, 2010; Szapocznik, & Kurtines, 1993). Non-acculturation based conflict concerns everyday disagreements between adolescents and their parents (normative conflict) due to arguments surrounding topics such as chores and schoolwork (Smetana, 1989). Acculturation-based conflict primarily concerns arguments between an adolescent and parent due to differences in values and beliefs (Basañez, Dennis, Crano, Stacy, & Unger, 2014; Juang et al., 2012; Huq, et al., 2015).

As noted above, no past studies assessing cultural value gaps have investigated their influence on acculturation-based family conflict specifically. This is a critical missing piece of literature because in the originally proposed acculturation gap distress model, Szapocznik and Kurtines (1993) suggest that acculturation-based family conflict, related to adolescent and mother disagreement in cultural values and beliefs, is the critical and problematic source of conflict in Latino families. Therefore, this study sought to fill the gap in the literature by understanding specific predictors (cultural values) of this unique family conflict. Furthermore, the present study also investigated if specific

patterns of cultural value endorsement and cultural value gaps are related to adolescents' report of the frequency of non-acculturation-based family conflict to identify if acculturation-based family conflict is unique for dyads with particular cultural value endorsement and cultural value gaps.

### **Goals and Hypotheses**

The overarching goal of the present study was to understand the relationship between cultural value gaps and acculturation-based family conflict between Latino adolescents and their mothers, as well as to identify potential patterns in cultural value endorsement, indicative of cultural value gaps. Four Mexican cultural values and three mainstream American cultural values were considered using the Mexican American Cultural Values Scale (Knight et al., 2010). The Mexican cultural values include familism (familism-obligation, familism-support and familism-referent), respect, religion, and traditional gender roles. The mainstream American cultural values include material success, independence, and personal achievement/competition. Patterns of cultural value endorsement and subsequently cultural value gaps were determined by using the means of adolescent and mother reports of cultural value endorsement across the seven cultural values and examining patterns of reported cultural value means. Adolescent reported perception of the presence of acculturation-based conflict and adolescent reported frequency of non-acculturation-based family conflict were considered as outcomes in a distal outcome model.

The first aim of the study was to identify potential latent profiles of cultural value endorsement classified by means of cultural value endorsement reported by adolescents

and their mothers on each of the seven cultural values assessed in the MACVS. These profiles were then interpreted with respect to cultural value gaps. The second aim was to identify significant mean differences across the latent profiles in adolescent-reported acculturation-based family conflict and non-acculturation-based conflict.

The aims of the study were primarily exploratory in nature, and there were no specific hypotheses as to the composition of the cultural value gap profiles, but it was hypothesized that the LPA would identify profiles within the sample. Secondly, it was hypothesized that profiles comprised of dyads with large value gaps would have significantly higher means of acculturation-based family conflict than profiles comprised of dyads with small value gaps, and that there would be no difference across profiles on adolescent report of non-acculturation-based family conflict.



## CHAPTER II

### METHODS

#### **Participants**

The current study used a portion of data collected from 174 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> grade Latino adolescent –mother dyads. Both first and second generation Latino adolescents (51.4% female) and mothers were included in the study. In the present sample, 98.28% of mothers were born in a Latin American country or territory outside of mainland United States, having lived in the U.S. for an average of 15.67 years. Specifically, 88% of mothers were born in Mexico, 1.7% of mothers were born in mainland United States, and the remaining mothers were born in a Latin American country or territory of the United States (2.3 % born in El Salvador, 1.7% born in Guatemala, 1.1% born in Nicaragua, 1.1% born in the Dominican Republic, 1.1% born in Honduras .6% born in Colombia, .6% born in Ecuador, and .6% born in Puerto Rico). Of adolescents, 88% were born in mainland U.S., with 2.29% of the total adolescent sample having moved to the U.S. within the prior 3 years. The majority of the sample (80.8%) reported that their total family income averages less than \$30,000 annually. In order for the adolescent to be eligible for the present study, the adolescent’s mother and father were required to be from Latino background, the mother was required to live in the home with the adolescent, and only one adolescent from each family was permitted to participate. In order for the maternal figure to participate, she was required to be the adolescent’s primary maternal

guardian. Of the maternal figures who participated, all were the adolescents' biological mothers with two exceptions (one was a grandmother and one was a sister who was a legal guardian of the adolescent).

## **Procedure**

**Recruitment.** Adolescent participants were recruited from a list of contact information, including name, phone number, and address, for all 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> grade Latino students obtained from two middle schools in rural North Carolina, between May 2013 and September 2015. A total of 597 families were targeted for recruitment. Of this total, 16 families had moved (3%), and 217 were not located (i.e. disconnected phone numbers, families not home; 36%). From the school-provided contact list, the study team contacted the families principally by phone (five contact attempts) or through door-to-door recruitment (employed for families not reached on five phone contact attempts or for families with disconnected phone numbers). During phone recruitment, the study team asked to speak to the adolescent's mother in Spanish, and, after a brief explanation of the study, the mother was asked if she was interested in having herself and her adolescent participate in the study. If she expressed interest, the team spoke to the adolescent to obtain his or her verbal interest. If the family also met the eligibility criteria (listed in the Participants section) then the family was scheduled for an in home interview. Of those contacted, ( $n = 364$ ), 47 were not eligible (13%), 125 declined (34%), 16 consented but did not complete interviews (4%), and 176 families consented and completed interviews (48%). Of the completed interviews, one interview was later determined to be ineligible because the adolescent participant had a twin brother who had already participated in the

study. Thus, one of the twin adolescents was randomly excluded. Additionally, one family had missing data on all of the study variables, and this family was excluded in analyses. The final sample size for the current study was thus 174 (47.8%).

**In home interview.** The actual in home interview consisted of a verbal 1.5-2 hours interview with the mother and a computer survey interview of 1.5-2 hours for the adolescent completed concurrently. Two trained research team members, a graduate student and an undergraduate student, went to the participants' home to conduct the interviews. At least one of the team members was fluent in Spanish. Both the mother and the adolescent had the option of completing the interview in either Spanish or English. All but one of the mothers chose to complete the interview in Spanish, and only two of the adolescents chose to complete the interview in Spanish. The research team member fluent in Spanish completed the consent procedure with the mother as well as administered the interview to the mother. The other research team member obtained adolescent assent to participate and administered the computer-based interview to the adolescent.

The interview for both the mother and adolescent contained measures of demographics, cultural values, family conflict, ethnic identity, discrimination, acculturation, finances, and depression. The mother interview additionally included measures of child behavior. The adolescent interview additionally included measures related to school and peer involvement. For the purposes of the present study, only the mother and adolescent cultural values reports and adolescent measures of acculturation-based family conflict and non-acculturation-based family conflict were used. There were

two versions of the questionnaires, and versions were counterbalanced to eliminate potential order effects. The mother received a \$20 gift card for participating in the study and the adolescent received a \$10 gift card for participating in the study. The family was also provided with brochures of information about preparing to apply for college as well as an informational sheet on mental health services in the area that offer bilingual services.

All procedures for this study were approved by the Institutional Review Board at the University of North Carolina-Greensboro.

## **Measures**

**Adolescent and mother cultural values.** This study used the Mexican American Cultural Values Scale (MACVS) for adolescents and adults (Knight et al., 2010) to assess four Mexican American Values (familism [familism-support, familism-obligations, familism-referent], respect, religion, and traditional gender roles) and three U.S. mainstream values (material success, independence & self-reliance, and competition & personal achievement). The three aspects of familism (familism-support, familism-obligations, and familism-referent) were combined as suggested by Knight et al. (2010) to create a higher order familism construct with high internal consistency. Adolescents and mothers rated the degree to which they believe in each of 50 items (e.g. “One’s belief in God gives inner strength and meaning to life”- *religion*; “If a relative is having a hard time financially, one should help them out if possible”- *familism-obligation*) on a Likert scale of (1) Not at all/Nada to (5) Completely/Completamente. Each subscale contains between four and eight relevant questions. The MACVS demonstrated satisfactory

psychometric properties in a confirmatory factor analysis across adolescents, mothers, and fathers in both English and Spanish, as well as adequate construct validity using correlation and structural equation modeling analyses (Knight et al., 2010). In the present study, each subscale demonstrated adequate psychometric properties, each of which was comparable to the psychometric properties demonstrated in the Knight et al. (2010) MACVS validation study (range for Cronbach's alpha across values for adolescents:  $\alpha = 0.66-0.91$ ; range for Cronbach's alpha across values for mothers:  $\alpha = 0.53-0.84$ ). See Table 1 for Cronbach alphas for each value endorsement for adolescents and mothers.

**Acculturation-based family conflict.** This study used a 7-item subscale of the Acculturation Gap Conflict Inventory that only assesses culturally-based statements (AGCI; Basáñez et al., 2014) Adolescents rated their degree of agreement with each of 7 acculturation-based conflict items (e.g. "Sometimes I get mad at my parents because they do not know the American way to do things", "I feel uncomfortable in having to choose between the Latino and non-Latino way of doing things") on a Likert scale of (1) Completely disagree to (5) Completely agree. The measure and the chosen subscale demonstrated adequate psychometric properties (Basáñez et al., 2014). In the current study, the subscale demonstrated high internal consistency ( $\alpha = .90$ ).

**Non-acculturation-based family conflict.** This study used a 3-item subscale of the Network Relationship Inventory- Relationships Quality Version (NRI-RQV) that assesses reports of the frequency of general conflict and disagreement in the family between an adolescent and parents (Furman & Buhrmester, 2009). Adolescents rate the frequency of each of three items with respect to both their mother and father (e.g. "How

often do you and this person disagree and quarrel with each other?”, “How often do you and this person argue with each other?”) on a Likert scale of (1) Never to (5) Always. A total report of conflict with parents can be calculated by combining means for the adolescent individual reports for mothers and fathers. This subscale demonstrated adequate reliability (Furman & Buhrmester, 2009), and has demonstrated adequate reliability when used with a Latino sample in the past (Way & Chen, 2000). In the current sample, the conflict subscale for the combined adolescent report of mother and father demonstrated good internal consistency ( $\alpha = .83$ ).

## CHAPTER III

### RESULTS

Preliminary analyses suggested that both adolescents and their mothers reported high endorsement across the majority of the Mexican American cultural values, and lower endorsement across the U.S. mainstream cultural values. Specifically, adolescents reported high levels of familism ( $M = 4.13$  out of 5), respect ( $M = 4.15$ ), and religion ( $M = 4.01$ ). They reported lower endorsement of traditional gender roles ( $M = 2.74$ ), and similarly lower endorsement across the U.S. mainstream values of material success ( $M = 1.94$ ), independence/self-reliance ( $M = 3.18$ ), and competition/personal achievement ( $M = 3.07$ ). Mothers reported a similar pattern of value endorsement: familism ( $M = 4.35$ ), respect ( $M = 4.34$ ), religion ( $M = 4.59$ ), traditional gender roles ( $M = 3.04$ ), material success ( $M = 2.17$ ), independence/self-reliance ( $M = 3.62$ ), and competition/personal achievement ( $M = 3.76$ ). Adolescents in this sample somewhat agree that there is acculturation-based family conflict ( $M = 2.30$ ) as well as reported that they sometimes experience non-acculturation-based family conflict ( $M = 2.46$ ). Means and standard deviations of values and family conflict are presented in Table 1.

#### **Latent Profile Analysis**

**Identification of profiles.** In order to accomplish the first aim of my study, a latent profile analysis (LPA) in Mplus was used to identify profiles of dyads using the cultural value mean scores as continuous indicators of the latent variable and profile

membership (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2012). Specifically, the LPA model included fourteen indicator items (the means for each of the seven cultural values for both the adolescent and mother). Five consecutive models were run, beginning with a two profile solution, up through a six profile solution, with each model estimating a solution with one more profile than the previous solution.

All five profile solutions terminated normally, however, the 5-profile solution and the 6-profile solution produced an error message indicating that estimated parameters in those solutions were untrustworthy due to an error in the starting values or model nonidentification, suggesting that in this particular sample and sample size, a 5-profile and 6-profile solutions were unable to be reliably and validly estimated. Thus, at the suggestion of Supple (2015), Fox Merz, Solorzano, and Roesch (2013) and Bámaca-Colbert and Gayles (2010), in order to determine the best profile solution, the sample size Adjusted-Bayesian Information Criteria (A-BIC), entropy, and Bootstrap Likelihood Ratio Test (BLRT) of the 2, 3, and 4- profile solutions were compared.

Results indicated that in the present sample, the 4-profile solution was the best solution based on the lowest A-BIC ( $A-BIC = 4734.92$ ), the highest entropy of at least .8 (entropy = .88), and a significant BLRT ( $p < .001$ ). See Table 2 for a comparison of model fit indices. Therefore, with regard to the first aim of the study, the results of the initial profile identification in the current sample supported the hypothesis that profiles of cultural value endorsement can be reliably estimated across dyads.



## Profile Descriptions

The latent profile analysis process is data-driven, meaning that model estimation was based on mean reports of value endorsement in this specific sample that resulted in the best model fit, rather than pre-determining profile specifications and classifying dyads into them. Specifically, for the continuous indicators in this sample, latent profile analysis created a conditional mean for each indicator that represented the estimated mean level of cultural value endorsement that each member of a dyad reported based upon profile assignment (Supple, 2015).

Each of the four identified profiles are described in detail below as to the extent to which the conditional means across values for that profile are below, at, or above the overall sample mean (average) for that value. This indicates that adolescent and mother dyads are classified into profiles by comparing their reports across values with respect to other adolescent/mother dyads in the sample. Profiles are also described as to how the adolescent and mother compare to each other, with respect to the pattern of conditional means compared to overall value means (representing the cultural value gap). See Table 3 for the overall sample value means and the conditional means of the fourteen values for each of the four profiles and Figure 1 for the graphical depiction of the profiles. See Table 4 for depiction of the difference between conditional mean for each profile and the overall value mean. See Table 5 for depiction of cultural value gaps across profiles.

The first profile was labeled '*Lower Value Endorsement Across Dyads- Adolescent Higher Small Gap*' (referred to as '*Adolescent Higher Small Gap*' in the remaining document). It consists of 32.18% of the sample ( $n = 56$ ). Both adolescents and

mothers in this profile generally reported slightly below average endorsement across all seven cultural values relative to the overall sample (familism, respect, religion, traditional gender roles, material success, independence/self-reliance, and competition/personal success) and the conditional means suggest small gaps (range of conditional mean gaps: 0.23- 0.60) with the adolescent reporting similar value endorsement as their peers, and mothers reporting slightly below average endorsement than their peers. This profile is thus classified as small gaps in adolescent and mother endorsement across all of cultural values with relatively lower value endorsement.

The second profile was labeled '*Higher Mother Traditional Gender Role Value and U.S. Mainstream Value Endorsement-Small Gap*' (referred to as '*Mother Higher Small Gap*' in the remaining document). It consists of 41.95% of the sample ( $n = 73$ ). In the present sample, this is the profile that represents the largest number of dyads. Dyads in this profile are characterized by small gaps on the core Mexican American values (familism, respect, and religion), with both adolescents and mothers reporting slightly above average endorsement of these values (range of conditional mean gap: 0.04 – 0.21). Similarly, dyads in this profile had small gaps on the traditional gender role value and the three U.S. mainstream values (material success, independence/self-reliance, and competition/personal achievement); however, adolescents reported slightly below average endorsement across these values, and mothers reported slightly above average endorsement across these values (range of conditional mean gap: 0.59 – 0.67). Hence, this profile generally contains dyads with small gaps on the core Mexican American Values, and small gaps on the traditional gender role value and the U.S. mainstream

values (mothers reporting slightly more endorsement than their peers across these values and adolescents reporting slightly less endorsement of these values compared to their peers).

The third profile was labeled *'Lower Adolescent Mexican American Value Endorsement-Mexican American Value Gap'* (referred to as *'Mexican American Value Gap'* in the remaining document). It consists of 8.62% of the sample ( $n = 15$ ). In the present sample, this is the profile that represents the least number of dyads. Dyads in this profile are characterized by adolescents who reported below average endorsement across the three core Mexican American values (familism, respect, and religion), and mothers who reported average endorsement across these values, resulting in a relatively large gap between adolescent and mothers on the three core Mexican American values (range of conditional mean gap: 1.25 – 1.36). With respect to traditional gender roles and the U.S. mainstream values, both adolescents and mothers reported average endorsement, resulting in a small to no gap on these values (range of conditional mean gap: 0.01 – 0.58). This profile is therefore typical of dyads with large gaps on the core Mexican American values (adolescents reporting less endorsement of familism, respect, and religion than their mothers).

The fourth profile was labeled *'Higher Adolescent Traditional Gender Role Value and U.S. Mainstream Value Endorsement- TGR & U.S. Mainstream Value Gap'* (referred to as *'TGR & U.S. Mainstream Value Gap'* in the remaining document). It consists of 17.24% of the sample ( $n = 30$ ). Dyads in this profile are characterized by adolescents and mothers who reported average endorsement of the 3 core Mexican American values

(familism, respect, and religion) resulting in a small to no gap on these values (range of conditional mean gap: 0.18 – 0.41). However, adolescents in these dyads are characterized by above average endorsement of the traditional gender role value and the three U.S. mainstream values (material success, independence/self-reliance, and competition/personal achievement), while mothers reported average endorsement of these values, resulting in a relatively large gap across these values (range of conditional mean gaps: 0.80 – 1.07). Thus, dyads in this profile are characterized by large gaps on the traditional gender role value and U.S. mainstream values (adolescents reporting more endorsement of these values compared to their peers and mothers reporting only slightly more endorsement of these values than their peers). See Figure 1 for graph of profile conditional value means with respect to the overall sample value means.

### **Family Conflict**

In reference to the second aim, the 4-profile solution model was run and the distal outcomes of adolescent perceived acculturation-based family conflict and adolescent perceived non-acculturation-based family conflict were introduced to determine if there were significant differences in adolescent report of these two types of conflict across profiles using the BCH method (Asparouhov & Muthen, 2015). This analysis of differences across profiles was conducted in MPlus to retain classification uncertainty in the analysis.

Results from the distal outcome model using the BCH method with the chi-square statistic indicated a significant difference amongst profiles for acculturation-based family conflict ( $p < .05$ , Table 6). Specifically, within dyads in the '*TGR & U.S. Mainstream*

*Value Gap*’ profile, characterized by adolescents who reported above average endorsement of traditional gender role values and U.S. mainstream values as compared to their mothers (large gap on these values), adolescents reported significantly more acculturation-based family conflict than did adolescents within dyads in the *‘Adolescent Higher Small Gap’* and *‘Mother Higher Small Gap’* profiles.

Results using the BCH method with the 4-profile solution model to investigate differences amongst the four profiles of dyads on non-acculturation-based family conflict (adolescent-reported frequency of general conflict) indicated that there were no significant differences amongst profiles on adolescent report of non-acculturation-based family conflict ( $p = ns$ , Table 6).

### **Post-Hoc Analysis**

The pattern of cultural value endorsement and gaps in the *‘TGR & U.S. Mainstream Value Gap’* profile were counter to theory. The *‘TGR & U.S. Mainstream Value Gap’* profile is comprised of adolescents who reported above average endorsement of the traditional gender role value and the U.S. mainstream values, resulting in large value gaps with their mothers across these values. The adolescents in this profile also reported significantly more acculturation-based family conflict than the *‘Adolescent Higher Small Gap’* profile and the *‘Mother Higher Small Gap’* profile. The *‘TGR & U.S. Mainstream Value Gap’* profile is interesting in that adolescents are reporting above average endorsement of the traditional gender role value, and this gap is part of the pattern for adolescents with more perception of acculturation-based family conflict. Theory supports that adolescents with a larger gap on U.S. mainstream values with their

mothers may be problematic (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993), and that having a gap on the traditional gender role value is problematic (Céspedes & Huey, 2008); however, it is the direction of the gap that is counter to theory. In this case, adolescents are reporting more endorsement of traditional gender role values than their parents. One possibility is that these differences in traditional gender role values is only a problem for girls (Céspedes & Huey, 2008).

Therefore, in order to better understand the composition of this profile and investigate whether adolescent gender may be an important factor in determining profile membership, a post-hoc analysis was conducted which included gender as a covariate or predictor of the latent profile analysis using the 1-step approach in Mplus (Supple, 2015; Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2012). Results indicated that girls were not significantly more likely to be a member of any of the profiles compared to the '*TGR & U.S. Mainstream Value Gap*' profile, thus gender was not a significant predictor, and adolescent gender did not contribute to the interpretation of this interesting finding.

### **Post-Hoc Power Analysis**

Bamaca-Colbert and Gayles (2010) suggest that there is adequate power to support the estimation of a  $k$  profile solution in a latent profile analysis if there is at least 5% of the sample classified into each profile. The current study meets this requirement, with at least 5% of the overall sample size ( $N = 174$ ) classified into each of the profiles one through four - 32.18%, 41.95%, 8.62%, 17.24%, respectively. However, the small sample size in the third profile (comprising only 8.62% of the sample) may have limited the power for the distal outcome analysis. Effect sizes were computed for the pairwise

comparisons for the significant chi-square result for acculturation-based family conflict (see Table 6).

## CHAPTER IV

### DISCUSSION

Adolescents develop in an environment comprised of multiple contextual systems, each system influencing that adolescent's cognition, behavior, and socioemotional development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). For Latino adolescents, researchers must devote additional attention to the influence of culture on the micro- and macrosystems within the adolescent's developing context (Coll et al., 1996). Specifically, studying cultural factors, such as the process of acculturation and its relation to family conflict, can shed light on Latino youth adjustment processes for youth living within Latino families in the United States.

The present study focused on the acculturation process in Latino families to demonstrate its influence on conflict in the home, acknowledging that adolescent perceived conflict in the home may lead to youth maladjustment (Auerbach & Ho, 2012). Specifically, acculturation gaps between Latino adolescents and their mothers were identified as an important component relating to conflict in the family (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). Furthermore, the present study highlighted the importance of using clear and precise assessment of acculturation constructs to generate an accurate and nuanced understanding of the aspects of acculturation that may be most problematic for youth adjustment; thus gaps on cultural value endorsement were specifically identified to be indicative of acculturation-based family conflict. Additionally, the need for a holistic



representation of adolescent-mother dyads to capture the family dynamic was emphasized, and thus a person-centered approach (latent profile analysis) was used to determine patterns of cultural value endorsement for dyads. These patterns, or profiles, in turn highlighted specific gaps in cultural value endorsement between adolescents and their mothers that represent a small but meaningful aspect of a Latino youth's perception of acculturation-based family conflict. Specifically, results of this study suggest that there are four profiles (patterns) of cultural value endorsement amongst Latino adolescents and their mothers in the present sample indicative of differential adolescent report of acculturation-based family conflict.

Overall, adolescents who have above average endorsement of the traditional gender role value and U.S. mainstream values (material success, independence/self-reliance, and competition/personal achievement), with mothers who have an average endorsement of these values, reported significantly more acculturation-based family conflict than adolescents with smaller gaps across value endorsement. This study therefore supports both originally proposed hypotheses 1) that there are patterns of cultural value endorsement and patterns of cultural value gaps, and 2) that adolescents in dyads who have larger value gaps report the most acculturation-based family conflict. Hence, with regard to acculturation-based family conflict, gaps in values matter and *patterns* of value gaps matter.

### **Contextual Factors and Value Socialization**

Each of the latent profiles identified in this study indicate a pattern of cultural value endorsement across adolescents and their mothers, as well as gaps between them,

that in turn identify potentially unique contextual experiences for dyads in each profile. To this end, it is relevant to highlight that the latent profile analysis identified cultural value patterns and gaps by comparing adolescents and mothers to their peers in this sample. Therefore, when interpreting the identified profiles, it is important to consider the role of the community context and probable cultural value socialization practices for each dyad to better understand how and why these four patterns of cultural value endorsement exists in the current sample.

Adolescents traditionally endorse values to the degree with which their mothers socialize them (Knight et al., 2011; Perez-Brena et al., 2014), and this is likely influenced by the community context (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). For example, if the adolescents' mothers are more involved in the U.S. mainstream community, through mere exposure and interest in the U.S. mainstream culture, these mothers may be more likely to acquire and then socialize these U.S. mainstream values to their adolescents. On the other hand, those mothers who are more removed from involvement in the community may have less endorsement of the U.S. mainstream values, and thus less of a tendency to socialize the U.S. mainstream values to their adolescents. Importantly, however, an adolescent's own experiences in the school and the community may also have an impact on his or her value endorsement. In industrialized countries such as the U.S., peers play a larger role in value and behavioral socialization (Arnett, 1995), which may also apply for immigrant children living in the U.S. This is also true regarding adolescent socialization through the media (Arnett, 1995), a relevant factor in the U.S. society. Therefore, patterns of cultural value endorsement and the gaps are likely dependent on the adolescent's experiences both in

the home, the community, and the society in which the adolescent lives, as are the mother's value endorsement and socialization practices.

Thus, dyads in the '*Adolescent Higher Small Gap*' profile, with below average endorsement across all values, may be dyads who are involved in the U.S. mainstream community to a degree that they acquired values prevalent in the U.S. mainstream culture, while retaining Mexican American values, but are generally less strongly wedded to these values. Dyads in the '*Mother Higher Small Gap*' profile represent an interesting trend. Adolescents and their mothers report average endorsement of Mexican American cultural values, but it appears that mothers are endorsing slightly above average traditional gender role value and U.S. mainstream values, while adolescents are endorsing slightly below average across these values. Thus, it is a profile in which gaps are rising, but mothers are trending towards more U.S. mainstream values than their adolescents. Telzer (2010) acknowledges that such a group of dyads exists, and that this pattern may be problematic for youth, although the data in this sample did not bear out with particularly high acculturative conflict for this group of dyads.

Dyads in the '*Mexican American Value Gap*' can be seen as the traditional value gap group, with adolescents endorsing below average Mexican American values. This profile appears to represent mothers who are strong in their heritage values, but who may not have strongly socialized their adolescents to have these same values. In this vein, because adolescents have average endorsement of the U.S mainstream values compared to their peers, these may be adolescents who are more influenced by peer socialization practices than their mother's socialization practices (Arnett, 1995). On the other hand, the

disconnect between the mother's Mexican American value endorsement and the adolescent's endorsement of these values may be due to the cross-sectional nature of this study. These mothers may be in the process of socializing their adolescents to have more Mexican American values like themselves, but as this is a longitudinal process that can change (Knight et al., 2011), one assessment point of value endorsement may be missing the complexity of the socialization process.

Dyads in the *'TGR & U.S. Mainstream Value Gap'* profile represent adolescents who have become largely engaged in the U.S. mainstream community as compared to their Latino peers, but still retain strong endorsement of their Mexican American heritage. Mothers in this profile appear to have had engagement in the U.S. mainstream community, but have not completely transitioned to socializing their children to the U.S. mainstream culture, as perhaps they prefer to focus on socializing their children to the Mexican American values. However, mothers in the *'TGR & U.S. Mainstream Value Gap'* profile endorsed above average U.S. mainstream values, they just did not endorse the value as highly as the adolescents, leading to the gap on these values; adolescents in this profile may therefore have additional personal involvement in the U.S. mainstream community, in the form of non-Latino peer involvement or media influence (Arnett, 1995), contributing to their stronger endorsement of U.S. mainstream values.

### **Acculturation-based Family Conflict Differences**

The *'TGR & U.S. Mainstream Value Gap'* profile highlights the differences in acculturation-based family conflict across profiles. In general, adolescents 'somewhat agreed' to statements of perceived acculturation-based family conflict and reported

‘seldom’ occurrence of non-acculturation based family conflict (M = 2.27; M = 2.46, respectively). This suggests that adolescents in this sample perceive a relatively low amount of conflict within the family. Regardless, it is the gaps or disagreements on value endorsement that appear to influence acculturation- based family conflict. This is evident by the higher mean reports of perception of acculturation-based family conflict by adolescents in the profiles characterized by larger gaps (i.e. ‘*Mexican American Value Gap*’ profile, M = 2.55; ‘*TGR & U.S. Mainstream Value Gap*’ profile, M = 2.77) as compared to profiles characterized by smaller gaps (i.e. ‘*Adolescent Higher Small Gap*’ profile, M = 2.09; ‘*Mother Higher Small Gap*’ profile, M = 2.23). Specifically, adolescents who reported above average endorsement of traditional gender roles and U.S. mainstream values with mothers who reported average endorsement of these values also reported a significantly higher perception of acculturation-based family conflict than the ‘*Adolescent Higher Small Gap*’ and ‘*Mother Higher Small Gap*’ profiles.

The result demonstrating that adolescents who reported higher than average endorsement across U.S. mainstream values than their mothers and also reported higher perception of acculturation-based family conflict ( ‘*TGR & U.S. Mainstream Value Gap*’ ) is in keeping with Szapocznik and Kurtines’ (1993) theory that it is potentially problematic for adolescents to be more acculturated to the U.S. mainstream culture than their mothers, at least with respect to values. Perhaps the conflict is more relevant in this case due to different world views. The U.S. mainstream values of material success, independence, and competition, together suggest a world view of individualism. If adolescents begin to lean towards a world view such as this, they may perceive more

pressure from mothers who do not share the same type of world view. Bengtson (1975) highlights that there are more general generational differences in world-views, suggesting that this may also apply to Latino families. Particularly, mothers who strongly endorse the Mexican values such as familism, suggestive of a more collectivistic world view, may strongly value support and obligation to the family as a unit, while adolescent may not.

### **The Traditional Gender Role Value**

The '*TGR & U.S. Mainstream Value Gap*' profile also highlights the need to uniquely consider why higher endorsement of the traditional gender role value is characteristic of adolescents and mothers with higher U.S. mainstream values. This pattern of value endorsement is interesting and counter to past research because Céspedes and Huey (2008) found that differences on the traditional gender role value between adolescents and their mothers may predict depression in those youth and be more problematic when the adolescent endorses *less* endorsement of the value than the mother. The finding in the present study does not support this conclusion, as adolescents in the '*TGR & U.S. Mainstream Value Gap*' profile reported *more* endorsement of the traditional gender role value than their mothers. Therefore, the current study cannot make the argument that there is conflict between an adolescent and mother due to the mother's desire for the adolescent to practice a more traditional gender role since the directionality of the gap in this profile does not support this claim.

However, Céspedes and Huey (2008) examined differences by gender (it was a problem only when *girls* reported less than their mother), while the present study did not. Therefore, to test whether gender varied across profile membership, a post-hoc analysis

was conducted which included gender as a covariate or predictor of the latent profile analysis. The results of this analysis indicated that girls were not significantly more likely to be a member of any of the profiles compared to the '*TGR & U.S. Mainstream Value Gap*' profile. It is therefore important to consider the nature of the traditional gender role value to better understand why above average endorsement of it may be related to above average endorsement of the U.S. Mainstream values.

First, it is important to understand the nature of the traditional gender role value items on the MACVS, with respect to the developmental stage of the adolescents. Items referring to the traditional gender role value highlight the role of the woman to always support her husband's decisions, and the role of the woman as the caregiver and the man as the breadwinner. Because of the adolescent's social developmental stage, and objectively less experience with relationships, marriage, and bearing children, which are the focus of the MACVS items for this subscale, some adolescents, such as the adolescents in the '*TGR & U.S. Mainstream Value Gap*' profile, may be reporting endorsement of the value based on their own experiences in the home and what they view as common in their own families. They may also be orienting toward more U.S. mainstream values, but at the same time be reporting what they may consider the ideal relationship or gender roles of their parents in the home specifically, which may be different than the mother's realistic perception of the gender roles in their home.

Of additional importance may be exposure to more generally conflictual messages about the traditional gender role value. Mexican society is slowly changing with respect to views on gender roles. In 2002, the federal congress in Mexico passed a gender quota

law, stating that women must comprise at least 30% of congress (Baldez, 2004). This suggests that cultural values around gender in Mexico are changing and women are being given a prominent role outside of the home. Given these changes, Latina mothers and their adolescents may be caught in the middle of changing values for two different cultures, not just acculturating to the U.S. mainstream cultural values.

For example, the mothers in the '*TGR & U.S. Mainstream Value Gap*' profile may be reporting less of this value because they *desire* to be more independent and have less defined gender roles, in line with the changing Mexican society, but are continuing to practice the traditional gender role customs in the home, hence their lower endorsement of the value. Adolescents may therefore be endorsing the value to the degree with which they experience its practice in the home, while mothers have a lower report of the value to support their changing mentality that has not yet reached behavior fruition. Furthermore, Toomey, Updegraff, Umaña-Taylor, and Jahromi (2015) and Updegraff, Umaña-Taylor, McHale, Wheeler, and Perez-Brena (2012) suggest that gender role endorsement can change across time for both adolescents and mothers. Perhaps dyads in this profile were assessed in the during changing value endorsement.

Importantly, the conditional means of the traditional gender role value for both the adolescent and mother in the '*TGR & U.S. Mainstream Value Gap*' profile were comparable ( $M = 3.90$ ;  $M = 3.45$ , respectively). In this vein, Raffaelli and Ontai (2004) highlight that parents tend to socialize their adolescents with respect to gender roles, and that adolescents thus have similar attitudes about gender roles as their parents. However, adolescents and mothers in this profile reported the strongest endorsement of the



traditional gender role value as compared to other adolescents and mothers in the sample. Therefore, the gap was driven by a comparison with other peers. In the case of mothers, although mothers in the '*TGR & U.S. Mainstream Value Gap*' profile reported the highest endorsement of the traditional gender role value, it was still similar to endorsement of the traditional gender role value of mothers in other profiles. The stark difference between adolescent report of this value and other adolescents in the sample is what created the gap between adolescents and their mothers on the traditional gender role value in this profile.

### **The Acculturation Gap Conflict Inventory**

The '*TGR & U.S. Mainstream Value Gap*' profile acknowledges that the relationship between above average endorsement of the traditional gender role value and U.S. mainstream values and the specific items of the acculturation-gap conflict outcome measure may be indicative of higher report of this conflict by adolescents in this profile. The acculturation-based family conflict subscale used for this study asked the adolescents to agree or disagree with statements that asked specifically about conflict or disagreement between themselves and their mothers surrounding their mothers' concern that the adolescent acts too American or does not practice Latino traditions as much as the mother would like. Therefore, due to the nature of the specific items, it follows that the '*TGR & U.S. Mainstream Value Gap*' profile would be the profile in which adolescents would report the highest perception of acculturation-based family conflict. Had the items referred more to the mothers' desire for the adolescents to practice more Latino traditions, the '*Mexican American Value Gap*' profile may have evidenced a higher

report of acculturation-based family conflict. Additionally, the '*Mexican American Value Gap*' profile was the profile that comprised the least number of dyads; had the study used a larger sample size, adolescents in this profile may have reported significantly more acculturation-based family conflict than other profiles, or at least comparably to the '*TGR & U.S. Mainstream Value Gap*' profile. Thus, it is important for researchers to be mindful of the specific items on outcome measures when interpreting results, and to do so with caution.

### **A Bidimensional Framework**

The patterns of endorsement of cultural values across profiles supports the proposition that cultural value endorsement must be understood within a bidimensional framework. For example, mothers in the '*Adolescent Higher Small Gap*' profile reported comparable endorsement of the respect value and the competition/personal achievement value. This indicates that individuals may endorse values from both cultures similarly; increasing endorsement of a set values from one culture does not necessarily indicate that an individual loses endorsement of values from the other culture.

Furthermore, it is important to note that adolescents who most strongly endorsed the U.S. mainstream values ('*TGR & U.S. Mainstream Value Gap*') also reported average endorsement of the Mexican values. The bidimensional understanding of acculturation in this study- as a process of adapting to a new culture and retaining aspects of another culture- allowed the profiles in this study to highlight that it is not that adolescents endorse either U.S. mainstream values *or* Mexican values, but that they can endorse both, but may endorse certain values more than others. In the case of the '*TGR & U.S.*

*Mainstream Value Gap*’ profile, these adolescents still endorsed the Mexican American values more strongly than the U.S. mainstream values. The potential problem arises when mothers do not also strongly endorse the U.S. mainstream values- when there is a gap in these values and adolescents perceive that their mothers are not content with the adolescents’ world view. This may also suggest that adolescents in this profile need to reconcile two world views – the individualistic and the collectivistic, as previously mentioned.

However, contrary to the hypothesis that there would be patterns of high or low endorsement for specific values across the Mexican American and U.S. mainstream values, the results of this study indicate a pattern of adolescent and mother endorsement of all of the Mexican American values to a similar degree, and endorsement of all of the U.S. mainstream values to a similar degree. This pattern suggests that Mexican American values and U.S. mainstream values can be viewed as two higher order constructs- if an adolescent or mother strongly endorses one Mexican American value, they are likely to strongly endorse the other six Mexican American values. The exception to this is the above average endorsement of the traditional gender role value (a Mexican American value) combined with above average endorsement of the U.S. mainstream values, by adolescents in the *TGR & U.S. Mainstream Value Gap*’ profile. Nonetheless, given this study’s support for the bidimensional understanding of cultural value endorsement, it is important for researchers to develop assessment tools that will adequately capture an adolescent and mother’s endorsement of values. It is necessary to consider both Mexican

American value endorsement and U.S. mainstream value endorsement to tap into how patterns in the endorsement across both influence acculturation-based family conflict.

### **Non-acculturation-based Family Conflict**

An analysis of differences of non-acculturation-based family conflict across cultural value gap profiles indicated that adolescents across profiles perceived similar frequency of general conflict. This finding further supports the hypothesis that there is something unique to cultural value gaps between adolescents and their mothers that are indicative of culture-specific conflict. Acculturation-based family conflict is indicative of an adolescent's cognitive frame. What he or she attributes as the source or reason for conflict will determine whether the conflict is acculturation-based or not, whether it is associated with relatedness between an adolescent and his or her parent or not (Juang et al., 2012). Unfortunately, the assessment tool used to assess non-acculturation-based family conflict in this study is an ambiguous assessment tool. The items on the assessment ask adolescents about experiences with general conflict, and do not specify the adolescent's attribution of the conflict.

For example, an item that asks "How often do you and your mother disagree and quarrel with each other" does not specify the topic of the conflict. An adolescent may respond to this item thinking of a time when the conflict involved the mother's expressed desire for the adolescent to practice more Latino customs, while another adolescent may attribute the conflict to not wanting to do his or her homework when told to do so. In both cases, the adolescent is validly responding to the item, but there is room for uncertainty and question of what type of conflict the assessment tool is tapping into. Therefore, a

better determination of how patterns of cultural value endorsement and cultural value gaps are related to conflict in Latino families would be to have more clearly defined family conflict assessment tools.

### **Limitations**

The present study has several limitations. First, both the acculturation-based family conflict, and the non-acculturation based family conflict measures ask the adolescent to refer to conflict statements concerning the adolescent and his or her parents. However, it was the means of both adolescent and mother report of cultural value endorsement that were the indicators that created the profiles for the latent profile analysis in this study. Therefore, the value gaps are indicative of the actual gap between an adolescent and mother's cultural value endorsement, but the outcome measure is assessing the adolescent's perception of conflict with *both* parents. It would be more pertinent to ask about the adolescent's conflict with his or her mother specifically to reduce assumptions that the conflict that the adolescent reports about is conflict with his or her mother, rather than potential conflict with both his or her parents. This would most accurately capture how gaps in cultural values between adolescents and their mothers may identify profiles of dyads with adolescents who reported significantly different means of acculturation-based family conflict. Similarly, a cultural value gap between adolescent and his or her father could be calculated to identify similar profiles in which adolescents may report different degrees of conflict between the adolescent and his or her father.

Secondly, Knight et al. (2014) noted that value endorsement may not be stable across development, highlighting varying trajectories of value endorsement. This may result in different profiles within the same sample, if assessed at different time points; however, Knight et al.'s (2014) study did not assess mother cultural values, nor cultural value gaps. It is thus unclear whether the identified patterns of cultural values and cultural value gaps in this sample fit with the trajectories of Knight et al. (2014), which would suggest that cultural value endorsement patterns for both adolescents and mothers may vary across time. It would therefore be interesting to track the present profiles longitudinally to identify if the dyads within a profile change together, or if the patterns of value endorsement change across time.

Additionally, the present sample consists of Latino adolescents in an emerging immigrant community. Living in the context of an emerging immigrant community may offer significant contextual factors that influence an adolescent's value endorsement. For example, in an emerging immigrant community, Latino adolescents may live in an environment with less of an infrastructure to support new immigrants (Stamps & Bohon, 2006), and may have less ability to integrate into the existing community. Whereas in a more established immigrant community, such as Los Angeles, with an already established infrastructure for accepting new immigrants, adolescents may be able to better integrate into the community. Both cases may have differential impacts on value endorsement. These considerations suggest that the location of the sample may determine different identification of profiles, and that identification of these profiles may not

replicate to other samples of Latino adolescents, a limitation of the study. However, similar profiles may be expected in other emerging immigrant communities.

This also applies to the youth's generation status. In this sample, adolescents were primarily second generation, while parents were first generation immigrants. This dynamic may influence cultural value endorsement as well as reports of acculturation-based family conflict. For example, in a sample of adolescents and mothers who are both second generation immigrants, there may be smaller gaps across all values and less acculturation-based conflict. For these dyads, both adolescents and mothers may have therefore developed stronger endorsement of U.S. mainstream values, closing the gap on U.S. mainstream values, which this study identified as the most problematic gap. It would therefore be important to use a sample with individuals with more diverse immigration backgrounds to identify potential differences based on generation status. Specifically, it would be relevant to include a sample of more recent immigrant families, as the current study likely did not include these families due to the possibility that more recent immigrants are less aware of and perhaps less open to participating in research studies.

Third, one of the indicator variables for the latent profile analysis (mother report of the independence/self-reliance U.S. mainstream value) has low objective internal reliability in this sample ( $\alpha = .53$ ). To this end, the MACVS assessment tool, although identifying nine distinct cultural values in its original validation study (Knight et al., 2010), reports low internal consistency across each of the values ( $\alpha = .35$  for mother report of independence/self-reliance value specifically) and is best used as a method for identifying higher-factor values such as Mexican American values or U.S. mainstream

values; however, it is the only cultural values assessment tool that allows for a more nuanced understanding of cultural value endorsement. This nuanced understanding of cultural value endorsement was particularly important for the current study, as it allowed for identification of the unique contribution of the traditional gender role value to the *'TGR & U.S. Mainstream Gap'* profile. Therefore, it is a limitation to the study that the independence/self-reliance value indicator for the present sample has objectively low internal consistency; however, the internal consistency was comparable, and actually higher, than was the internal consistency for that value in the MACVS's original validation study.

Finally, due to the nature of the analyses in this study, a large sample is always more beneficial (Bamaca-Colbert & Gayles, 2010). Even though at least 5% of the sample was classified into each profile, the small profile sizes limited the distal outcome model. Larger profile sizes would allow for more accurate interpretations of in which profiles adolescents report more acculturation-based family conflict, a limitation to the present study.

Future research should focus on replicating these profiles in larger samples in various Latino communities throughout the United States, as well as track these profiles longitudinally to determine the stability of these profiles. It will also be important to unpack the potentially unique role of the traditional gender role value as it pertains to family conflict.



## **Clinical Implications**

Knowledge of adolescent-mother cultural value gap patterns can inform clinicians' cultural competencies and direct future treatment. For Latino adolescent clients who present with depression, anxiety, other internalizing issues, or conflict in the home, clinicians should assess for cultural value endorsement of the adolescent and mother. If the dyad pattern of cultural value endorsement fits that of one of the profiles identified in this study, and it is a profile in which adolescents typically report more acculturation-based family conflict, the clinician can focus treatment on psychoeducation and awareness-building between the adolescent and his or her mother to hopefully increase understanding and awareness and decrease the conflict.

Specifically, since conflict in the home can lead to internalizing problems (Auerbach & Ho, 2012), clinicians of Latino adolescents should routinely check the cultural value endorsement of adolescents and their mothers, and if dyads fit the '*TGR & U.S. Mainstream Value Gap*' profile, clinicians can target psychoeducation about traditional gender roles and the mainstream values, helping to open the communication between the adolescent and his or her mother surrounding these issues of potential contention that may be classified as acculturation-based family conflict. Without this knowledge, clinicians may incorrectly focus their intervention work on targeting disagreements between adolescents and their mothers that are related to generational issues, but that may actually be influenced by issues relating directly to differential cultural value endorsement. Furthermore, it is important to highlight the bidimensional nature of value endorsement. Adolescents may strongly endorse Mexican American

cultural values, yet at the same time have large gaps on U.S. mainstream values. This indicates that just having high endorsement of Mexican American values does not prevent a youth from experiencing acculturation-based family conflict. Thus, having a clearer understanding of the patterns of value endorsement that may indicate more conflict can help clinicians to target their psychoeducation treatment.

### **Conclusions**

Latino adolescents experience acculturation conflict in their families, and it is important to focus on cultural value gaps between adolescents and their mothers as relevant factors with regard to this conflict. One pertinent aspect of this conflict regards cultural value gaps between adolescents and their mothers. First, there are patterns of cultural value endorsement and gaps between adolescents and their mothers. Particularly, Latino adolescents with above average endorsement of traditional gender role values and U.S. mainstream values who have mothers with average endorsement of these values report more acculturation-based family conflict than other Latino adolescents. It is important for clinicians to be aware that gaps on certain values (traditional gender roles, material success, independence, and competition) between an adolescent and his or her mother may suggest more adolescent perception of acculturation-based family conflict, a target for treatment. With a better understanding of the dynamic between an adolescent and his or her mother with respect to cultural values, clinicians can begin to mitigate the gap through proper psychoeducation and increasing awareness. It is the hope that Latino adolescents who begin to experience less acculturation-based family conflict may in turn begin to reduce their risk for maladjustment.

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APPENDIX A

TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations, and Cronbach Alphas of Overall Sample Variables.

<b><u>Variable</u></b>	<b><u>M</u></b>	<b><u>SD</u></b>	<b><u><math>\alpha</math></u></b>
<b>Youth familism</b>	4.13	0.60	0.90
<b>Mother familism</b>	4.35	0.43	0.81
<b>Youth respect</b>	4.15	0.63	0.82
<b>Mother respect</b>	4.34	0.50	0.69
<b>Youth religion</b>	4.01	0.88	0.91
<b>Moher religion</b>	4.59	0.54	0.84
<b>Youth traditional gender roles</b>	2.74	0.94	0.77
<b>Mother traditional gender roles</b>	3.04	0.91	0.67
<b>Youth material success</b>	1.94	0.89	0.86
<b>Mother material success</b>	2.17	0.82	0.78
<b>Youth independence/ self-reliance</b>	3.18	0.76	0.66
<b>Mother independence/ self-reliance</b>	3.62	0.73	0.53
<b>Youth competition/ personal achievement</b>	3.07	0.91	0.74
<b>Mother competition/ personal achievement</b>	3.76	0.84	0.64
<b>Acculturation-based family conflict (AGCI)</b>	2.27	1.01	0.90
<b>Non-acculturation-based family conflict (NRI)</b>	2.46	0.85	0.83

Table 2. Latent Profile Analysis Model Fit Indices.

	<b>A-BIC</b>	<b>Entropy</b>	<b>Bootstrapped LRT <i>p</i> value</b>	<b>N</b>
<b>2 profile</b>	4988.730	0.859	0.000	65, 109
<b>3 profile</b>	4840.651	0.861	0.000	81, 57, 36
<b>4 profile*</b>	4734.368	0.876	0.000	56, 73, 15, 30
<b>5 profile</b>	model nonidentification			
<b>6 profile</b>	model nonidentification			

\* profile estimation with the lowest A-BIC value, highest entropy, significant BLRT *p* value ( $p < .001$ ), and at last 5% of sample in each profile

Table 3. Overall Sample Means for each Value and Conditional Mean for each Value across Profiles.

<i>Profile Name</i>		<i>'Adolescent Higher Small Gap'</i>	<i>'Mother Higher Small Gap'</i>	<i>'Mexican American Value Gap'</i>	<i>'TGR &amp; U.S. Mainstream Value Gap'</i>
<b>Indicators</b>	<b>Overall Mean</b>	<b>Conditional Means</b>	<b>Conditional Means</b>	<b>Conditional Means</b>	<b>Conditional Means</b>
<b>y familism</b>	4.13	4.18	4.18	3.01	4.52
<b>m familism</b>	4.35	3.95	4.61	4.48	4.43
<b>y respect</b>	4.15	4.15	4.29	2.94	4.52
<b>m respect</b>	4.34	3.81	4.64	4.49	4.53
<b>y religion</b>	4.01	3.91	4.19	2.66	4.55
<b>m religion</b>	4.59	4.23	4.81	4.58	4.72
<b>y gender role</b>	2.74	2.73	2.39	2.16	3.90
<b>m gender role</b>	3.04	2.43	3.35	2.92	3.45
<b>y material</b>	1.94	1.77	1.59	1.95	3.10
<b>m material</b>	2.17	1.77	2.41	2.36	2.26
<b>y indep.</b>	3.18	3.21	2.95	2.72	3.93
<b>m indep.</b>	3.62	3.26	3.99	3.32	3.57
<b>y competition</b>	3.07	2.88	2.87	2.54	4.18
<b>m competition</b>	3.76	3.09	4.23	3.61	4.02
<b>N</b>		56.00	73.00	15.00	30.00

*Note: Abbreviations*

- y = youth/adolescent report
- m = mother report
- gender role = traditional gender role
- material = material success
- indep. = independence/self-reliance
- competition = competition/personal success

Table 4. Differences between Conditional Value Means and Overall Value Means.

<i>Profile Names</i>	<i>'Adolescent Higher Small Gap'</i>	<i>'Mother Higher Small Gap'</i>	<i>'Mexican American Value Gap'</i>	<i>'TGR &amp; U.S. Mainstream Value Gap'</i>
<b>Indicators</b>				
<b>y familism</b>	0.05	0.05	-1.12	0.39
<b>m familism</b>	-0.40	0.26	0.13	0.08
<b>y respect</b>	0.00	0.14	-1.21	0.37
<b>m respect</b>	-0.53	0.30	0.15	0.19
<b>y religion</b>	-0.10	0.18	-1.35	0.54
<b>m religion</b>	-0.36	0.22	-0.01	0.13
<b>y gender role</b>	-0.01	-0.35	-0.58	1.16
<b>m gender role</b>	-0.61	0.31	-0.12	0.41
<b>y material</b>	-0.17	-0.35	0.01	1.16
<b>m material</b>	-0.40	0.24	0.19	0.09
<b>y indep.</b>	0.03	-0.23	-0.46	0.75
<b>m indep.</b>	-0.36	0.37	-0.30	-0.05
<b>y competition</b>	-0.19	-0.20	-0.53	1.11
<b>m competition</b>	-0.67	0.47	-0.15	0.26

*Note:* Columns contain the difference between the labeled value conditional mean and the overall value mean. These numbers highlight differences in conditional mean reports of value endorsement with respect to peers in the sample.

Table 5. Cultural Value Gaps across Profiles.

<i>Profile Names</i>	<i>'Adolescent Higher Small Gap'</i>	<i>'Mother Higher Small Gap'</i>	<i>'Mexican American Value Gap'</i>	<i>'TGR &amp; U.S. Mainstream Value Gap'</i>
<b>Indicators</b>				
<b>familism</b>	-0.45	0.21	1.25	-0.31
<b>respect</b>	-0.53	0.16	1.36	-0.18
<b>religion</b>	-0.26	0.04	1.34	-0.41
<b>gender role</b>	-0.60	0.66	0.46	-0.75
<b>material success</b>	-0.23	0.59	0.18	-1.07
<b>independence</b>	-0.39	0.60	0.16	-0.80
<b>competition</b>	-0.48	0.67	0.38	-0.85

*Note:* This table highlights the ranges of the cultural value gaps between adolescents and their mothers across profiles. A (-) symbol indicates that the adolescent reported higher endorsement of the value- indicative of the directionality of the gap.



Table 6. Latent Profile Size, Means, and Standard Deviations for Acculturation-Based and Non-Acculturation-Based Family Conflict (Distal Outcome Analysis)

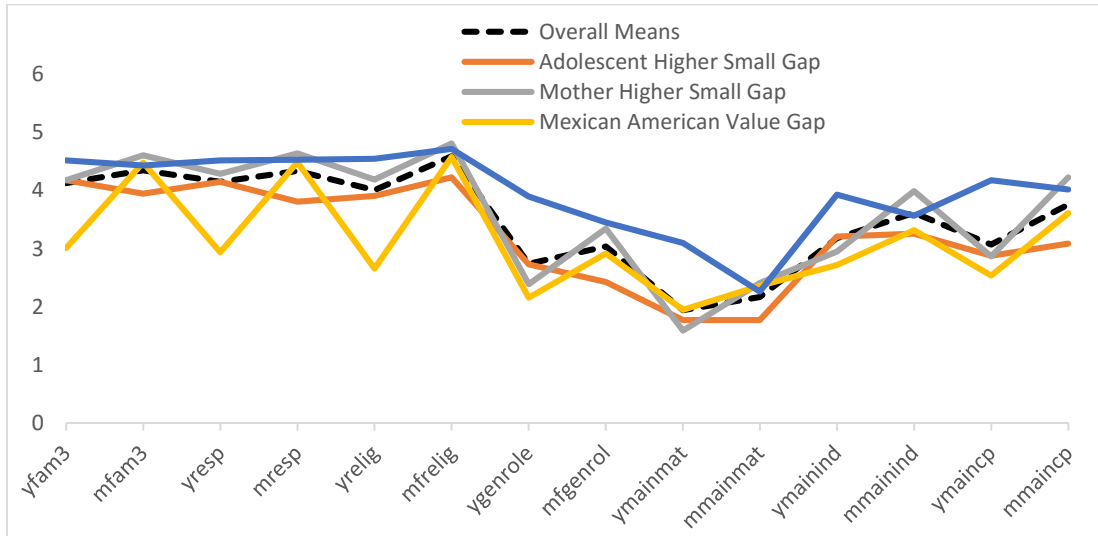
Profile	n	Acculturation-based Family Conflict			Non-Acculturation- based Family Conflict	
		M (95% CI)	S.E.	Cohen's d	M (95% CI)	S.E.
1. 'Adolescent Higher Small Gap' (A)	56	2.09 <sup>D</sup> (1.82, 2.36)	0.14	0.65	2.50 (2.25, 2.75)	0.13
2. 'Mother Higher Small Gap' (B)	73	2.23 <sup>D</sup> (1.96, 2.50)	0.14	0.49	2.45 (2.23, 2.67)	0.11
3. 'Mexican American Value Gap' (C)	15	2.55 (1.98, 3.12)	0.29	0.20	2.61 (2.30, 2.92)	0.16
4. 'TGR & U.S. Mainstream Value Gap' (D)	30	2.77 <sup>A, B</sup> (2.38, 3.16)	0.20		2.31 (1.96, 2.66)	0.18
Chi- square		8.56**			1.59	

Note: All analyses were run using the BCH method in Mplus. The values for acculturation-based family conflict, and non-acculturation-based family conflict are mean values for each profile. Data were available for N = 161.

n = latent profile size. Subscripts indicate profiles that are significantly different.

d is the pairwise comparison effect size of each profile to profile 4 ('TGR & U.S. Mainstream Value Gap') for Acculturation-based family conflict.

Figure 1. Latent Profile Conditional Value Means with Respect to Sample Overall Value Means.



*Note:* Abbreviations

- yfam = youth familism
- mfam3 = mother familism
- yresp = youth respect
- mresp = mother respect
- yrelig = youth religion
- mfrelig = mother religion
- ygenrole = youth traditional gender role
- mfgenrol = mother traditional gender role
- ymainmat = youth material success
- mmainmat = mother material success
- ymainind = youth independence/self-reliance
- mmainind = mother independence/self-reliance
- ymaincp = youth competition/personal achievement
- mmaincp = mother competition/personal achievement

## APPENDIX B

### MEASURES

#### **Mexican American Cultural Values Scale (MACVS)** (Knight et al., 2010)

##### English Version

The next statements are about what people may think or believe. Remember, there are no right or wrong answers. Tell me how much you believe that . . .

1 = Not at all 2 = A little 3 = Somewhat 4 = Very much 5 = Completely

- 
1. One's belief in God gives inner strength and meaning to life. (Religion)
  2. Parents should teach their children that the family always comes first. (Familism support)
  3. Children should be taught that it is their duty to care for their parents when their parents get old. (Familism obligation)
  4. Children should always do things to make their parents happy. (Familism referent)
  5. No matter what, children should always treat their parents with respect. (Respect)
  6. Children should be taught that it is important to have a lot of money. (Material success)
  7. People should learn how to take care of themselves and not depend on others.  
(Independence and self-reliance)
  8. God is first; family is second. (Religion)
  9. Family provides a sense of security because they will always be there for you.  
(Familism support)
  10. Children should respect adult relatives as if they were parents. (Respect)

11. If a relative is having a hard time financially, one should help them out if possible.  
(Familism obligation)
12. When it comes to important decisions, the family should ask for advice from close relatives. (Familism referent)
13. Men should earn most of the money for the family so women can stay home and take care of the children and the home. (Traditional gender roles)
14. One must be ready to compete with others to get ahead. (Competition and personal achievement)
15. Children should never question their parents' decisions. (Respect)
16. Money is the key to happiness. (Material success)
17. The most important thing parents can teach their children is to be independent from others. (Independence and self-reliance)
18. Parents should teach their children to pray. (Religion)
19. Families need to watch over and protect teenage girls more than teenage boys.  
(Traditional gender roles)
20. It is always important to be united as a family. (Familism support)
21. A person should share their home with relatives if they need a place to stay.  
(Familism obligation)
22. Children should be on their best behavior when visiting the homes of friends or relatives. (Respect)
23. Parents should encourage children to do everything better than others. (Competition and personal achievement)

24. Owning a lot of nice things makes one very happy. (Material success)
25. Children should always honor their parents and never say bad things about them.  
(Respect)
26. As children get older their parents should allow them to make their own decisions.  
(Independence and selfreliance)
27. If everything is taken away, one still has their faith in God. (Religion)
28. It is important to have close relationships with aunts/uncles, grandparents, and  
cousins. (Familism support)
29. Older kids should take care of and be role models for their younger brothers and  
sisters. (Familism obligations)
30. Children should be taught to always be good because they represent the family.  
(Familism reference)
31. Children should follow their parents' rules, even if they think the rules are unfair.  
(Respect)
32. It is important for the man to have more power in the family than the woman.  
(Traditional gender roles)
33. Personal achievements are the most important things in life. (Competition and  
personal achievement)
34. The more money one has, the more respect they should get from others. (Material  
success)
35. When there are problems in life, a person can only count on him or herself.  
(Independence and self-reliance)

36. It is important to thank God every day for all one has. (Religion)
37. Holidays and celebrations are important because the whole family comes together.  
(Familism support)
38. Parents should be willing to make great sacrifices to make sure their children have a better life. (Familism obligation)
39. A person should always think about their family when making important decisions.  
(Familism referent)
40. It is important for children to understand that their parents should have the final say when decisions are made in the family. (Respect)
41. Parents should teach their children to compete to win. (Competition and personal achievement)
42. Mothers are the main people responsible for raising children. (Traditional gender roles)
43. The best way for a person to feel good about him or herself is to have a lot of money.  
(Material success)
44. Parents should encourage children to solve their own problems. (Independence and self-reliance)
45. It is important to follow the Word of God. (Religion)
46. It is important for family members to show their love and affection to one another.  
(Familism support)
47. It is important to work hard and do one's best because this work reflects on the family. (Familism referent)

48. Religion should be an important part of one's life. (Religion)
49. Children should always be polite when speaking to any adult. (Respect)
50. A wife should always support her husband's decisions, even if she does not agree with him. (Traditional gender roles)

**Mexican American Cultural Values Scale (MACVS) Knight et al. (2010)**

Spanish Version

Las siguientes frases son acerca de lo que la gente puede pensar o creer. Recuerda, no hay respuestas correctas o incorrectas. Dime que tanto crees que.

1 = Nada 2 = Poquito 3 = Algo 4 = Bastante 5 = Completamente

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1. La creencia en Dios da fuerza interna y significado a la vida.
2. Los padres deberían enseñarle a sus hijos que la familia siempre es primero.
3. Se les debería enseñar a los niños que es su obligación cuidar a sus padres cuando ellos envejecan.
4. Los niños siempre deberían hacer las cosas que hagan a sus padres felices.
5. Sea lo que sea, los niños siempre deberían tratar a sus padres con respeto.
6. Se les debería enseñar a los niños que es importante tener mucho dinero.
7. La gente debería aprender cómo cuidarse sola y no depender de otros.
8. Dios está primero, la familia está segundo.
9. La familia provee un sentido de seguridad, porque ellos siempre estarán allí para usted.
10. Los niños deberían respetar a familiares adultos como si fueran sus padres.
11. Si un pariente está teniendo dificultades económicas, uno debería ayudarlo si puede.
12. La familia debería pedir consejos a sus parientes más cercanos cuando se trata de decisiones importantes.
13. Los hombres deberían ganar la mayoría del dinero para la familia para que las mujeres puedan quedarse en casa y cuidar a los hijos y el hogar.



14. Uno tiene que estar listo para competir con otros si uno quiere salir adelante.
15. Los hijos nunca deberían cuestionar las decisiones de los padres.
16. El dinero es la clave para la felicidad.
17. Lo más importante que los padres pueden enseñarle a sus hijos es que sean independientes de otros.
18. Los padres deberían enseñarle a sus hijos a rezar.
19. Las familias necesitan vigilar y proteger más a las niñas adolescentes que a los niños adolescentes.
20. Siempre es importante estar unidos como familia.
21. Uno debería compartir su casa con parientes si ellos necesitan donde quedarse.
22. Los niños deberían portarse de la mejor manera cuando visitan las casas de amigos o familiares.
23. Los padres deberían animar a los hijos para que hagan todo mejor que los demás.
24. Tener muchas cosas buenas lo hace a uno muy feliz.
25. Los niños siempre deberían honrar a sus padres y nunca decir cosas malas de ellos.
26. Según los niños van creciendo, los padres deberían dejar que ellos tomen sus propias decisiones.
27. Si a uno le quitan todo, todavía le queda la fe en Dios.
28. Es importante mantener relaciones cercanas con tíos, abuelos y primos.
29. Los hermanos grandes deberían cuidar y darles el buen ejemplo a los hermanos y hermanas menores.

30. Se le debería enseñar a los niños a que siempre sean buenos porque ellos representan a la familia.
31. Los niños deberían seguir las reglas de sus padres, aún cuando piensen que no son justas.
32. En la familia es importante que el hombre tenga más poder que la mujer.
33. Los logros personales son las cosas más importantes en la vida.
34. Entre más dinero uno tenga, más el respeto que uno debería recibir.
35. Cuando hay problemas en la vida, uno sólo puede contar con sí mismo.
36. Es importante darle gracias a Dios todos los días por todo lo que tenemos.
37. Los días festivos y las celebraciones son importantes porque se reúne toda la familia.
38. Los padres deberían estar dispuestos a hacer grandes sacrificios para asegurarse que sus hijos tengan una vida mejor.
39. Uno siempre debería considerar a su familia cuando toma decisiones importantes.
40. Es importante que los niños entiendan que sus padres deberían tener la última palabra cuando se toman decisiones en la familia.
41. Los padres deberían enseñarle a sus hijos a competir para ganar.
42. Las madres son la persona principal responsable por la crianza de los hijos.
43. La mejor manera de sentirse bien acerca de uno mismo es tener mucho dinero.
44. Los padres deberían animar a sus hijos a que resuelvan sus propios problemas.
45. Es importante seguir la palabra de Dios.
46. Es importante que los miembros de la familia muestren su amor y afecto unos a los otros.

47. Es importante trabajar duro y hacer lo mejor que uno pueda porque el trabajo de uno se refleja en la familia.
48. La religión debería ser una parte importante de la vida.
49. Los niños siempre deberían ser amables cuando hablan con cualquier adulto.
50. Una esposa debería siempre apoyar las decisiones de su esposo, aunque no esté de acuerdo con él.

**Acculturation Gap Conflict Inventory (Basáñez et al., 2014)**

**(Cultural Preference Subscale)**

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

Choose between 1-5 or 7-9

1 strongly disagree

2

3 neutral

4

5 strongly agree

7 Don't Know

8 Refuse to Answer

9 Not Applicable

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10. My parents wish that I would practice the customs of my culture more than I do.

11. My parents complain that I act too American

12. I've had some problems within my family because I prefer American customs more than they do.

13. I get upset at my parents because they do not know American ways of doing things.

14. I feel uncomfortable because I have to choose between Latino and non-Latino ways of doing things.

15. I've been embarrassed of my parents because they do not know American ways of doing things.

16. I feel uncomfortable having to choose between my parents' ways of doing things and American ways of doing things.

**Network Relationship Inventory (Furman & Buhrmester, 2009)**

**Adolescent Report**

**(Conflict subscale)**

These following questions ask you to think about your relationship with your parents/caregivers.

Choose between 1-5 or 7-9

1 Never

2 seldom

3 sometimes or somewhat

4 Often

5 Always

7 Don't Know

8 Refuse to Answer

9 Not Applicable

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1. How often do you and this person disagree and quarrel with each other?
2. How often do you and this person get mad at or get in fights with each other?
3. How often do you and this person argue with each other?