

Familial Cultural Values, Depressive Symptoms, School Belonging and Grades in Latino Adolescents: Does Gender Matter?

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Cupito, A., Stein, G. L., & Gonzalez, L. M. (2014). Familial cultural values, gender, and psychological and academic risk and resilience. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*. DOI: 10.1007/s10826-014-9967-7

The final publication is available at Springer via <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10826-014-9967-7>

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Abstract:

Past studies document that Latino familial cultural values (i.e. familism, affiliative obedience and filial obligation) protect against depressive symptoms and promote academic resilience in adolescence. However, some studies suggest that familial cultural values differ across gender, with females reporting greater obligations and fewer freedoms compared to their male counterparts. We examined the relationship between familial cultural values, gender, depressive symptoms and school outcomes in a sample of 179 Latino adolescents (52.9 % female; mean age = 14). Females reported greater levels of familism and greater filial obligations. We also found greater familism to be associated with fewer depressive symptoms and greater sense of school belonging for both genders. Similarly, moderate levels of filial obligations were associated with better grades across genders. In contrast, filial obligation and affiliative obedience were associated with fewer depressive symptoms only for females. While these values serve an equally protective function in the academic adjustment of both females and males, familial cultural values may be uniquely protective for females against depressive symptoms. Effective interventions for Latino youth should capitalize on the protective and resilient effects of familial cultural values and be cognizant of the role gender plays in the relationship between these values and outcomes.

Keywords: Familial cultural values | Latinos/Latinas | Academic achievement | Depressive symptoms | Adolescence

Article:

Introduction

Gender socialization and family cultural values have been extensively researched in the lives of Latino youth, but surprisingly few studies have examined the intersection of these two constructs (Esparza and Sánchez 2008; Fuligni et al. 1999; Raffaelli and Ontai 2004). The limited research on gender and familial cultural values has found that females tend to report fewer freedoms and

more obligations (Comas-Diaz 1987; Raffaelli and Ontai 2004). While familial cultural values have been associated with resilient outcomes in Latino adolescents (e.g., higher grades, fewer depressive symptoms, and greater school belonging) (Ayón et al. 2010; Esparza and Sánchez 2008; Gamble and Modry-Mandell 2008; Germán et al. 2009; Smokowski et al. 2009; Stein et al. 2013), none of these past studies specifically tested whether gender moderated their results, and it is still unclear whether familial cultural values differentially predict psychosocial outcomes relative to gender. Therefore, the goal of the present study is to bridge the gap between these two bodies of research by exploring how the relationship between familial cultural values and psychological and school outcomes operates in female versus male Latino adolescents. Several familial cultural values have been documented as central to Latinos. Three separate lines of research have examined the effects of familism, affiliative obedience, and filial obligations, all of which are familial cultural values salient to Latinos. Familism is defined as a strong attachment to family, reciprocated loyalty and obligation, and a subjugation of self to one's family (Lugo Steidel and Contreras 2003). A narrower construct is affiliative obedience defined as youth demonstrating unquestioning respect and deference to parents and adults (Polo and López 2009). Finally, filial obligations are conceptualized as the need to assist and support families (Fuligni et al. 1999). Family members with high filial obligations are expected to support each other, assist in the maintenance in the household, and place the needs of the family before their own needs.

Although these three cultural values share some conceptual overlap in that they all provide cultural scripts for Latino adolescent behavior in the familial context, each of these values captures a unique aspect of these cultural scripts and hence are worthy of further study independently. Of these values, familism is the broadest construct and has received the largest research attention (Lugo Steidel and Contreras 2003). In addition to values relating to obedience and obligation, familism also includes scripts regarding family warmth and honor that are not characteristic in the narrower constructs of affiliative obedience and filial obligation. Adhering to values surrounding warmth and support may be particularly protective in the context of adolescence (Updegraff et al. 2005). On the other hand, affiliative obedience and filial obligations focus on very specific aspects of a larger construct of familial cultural values, and these may differentially predict outcomes. For example, obligations to the family may interfere with one adolescent's ability to do homework and thus serve as risk. For another adolescent, valuing obedience may promote better school performance by increasing compliance to parental instructions around homework. Finally, the endorsement of one aspect of these values does not guarantee the endorsement of another (Lorenzo-Blanco et al. 2012). Given that socialization is more gendered in Latino households (Lac et al. 2011; Raffaelli and Ontai 2004; Solmeyer et al. 2011), it is possible that males and females differentially experience these values.

Adolescence is a developmental period that is associated with an intensification of gender-related socialization (Hill and Lynch 1983). For Latinos, the idealized traditional feminine gender role suggests females are supposed to be, "submissive, chaste, and dependent," while the traditional male role is to be "dominant, virile and independent" (Comas-Diaz 1987). Indeed, past studies have found this intensification to be more prominent when parents have more traditional views regarding gender (Arnett 2001; Hill and Lynch 1983; Ruble and Martin 1998). Latino families also typically have stronger gender role divisions and more traditional views regarding gender (Lac et al. 2011). Latina females are expected to help around the house more and participate in

caretaking duties (Comas-Diaz 1987; Raffaelli and Ontai 2004). Although male adolescents also experience familial obligations, these expectations are tied more to upholding family honor and providing for the family (Comas-Diaz 1987; Raffaelli and Ontai 2004). Raffaelli and Ontai (2004) showed in two retrospective studies that Latino females and males reported differences in gender role socialization, differential treatment, and freedom to pursue social activities or gain access to privileges. Females reported being granted less freedom outside of the house than males and being expected to help around the house more. Parents also enforced stereotypically feminine behaviors among daughters (e.g., women needed to have traditional roles such as being able to cook, clean and look nice) (Raffaelli and Ontai 2004).

Although research has looked at differential expectations and treatment in Latina adolescent females compared to Latino adolescent males, gender differences in family cultural values have not been directly assessed. No previous study has examined whether there are gender differences in the adolescent reports of familial cultural values. Also, how these gender differences in familial cultural values translate to psychosocial and school outcomes has not been fully examined. The effect of familial cultural values may be especially pronounced for females as families may put more pressure on females to maintain these cultural values and it may be then more closely linked to positive outcomes. Lorenzo-Blanco et al. (2012) found that although familism and respeto were associated with higher family cohesion and lower family conflict for both genders, these relationships were stronger for females. In addition, gender roles were linked with higher family cohesion in female Latina adolescents, but not males. The authors suggest a reduced amount of family cohesion may be a risk factor for depressive symptoms for females (Lorenzo-Blanco et al. 2012). Thus, gender may influence the relationship between familial cultural values and outcomes in adolescence.

Although there are no prepubescent gender differences in depressive symptoms, in adolescence, females are about twice as likely to become depressed as their male counterparts (Nolen-Hoeksema and Girgus 1994). Nolen-Hoeksema and Girgus (1994) suggest that preexisting gender differences interact with environmental and biological changes and challenges for females in adolescence to lead to greater depressive symptoms for females. In particular, consistent with research across ethnicities, Latina females report higher rates of depressive symptoms than male adolescents (Siegel et al. 1998). Saluja et al. (2004) found that 11.5 % of male adolescents reported significant depressive symptoms compared to 32.2 % of female adolescents. In addition to the risk present for Latina females, Latino adolescents more generally experience higher rates of depressive symptoms compared to other ethnic groups (Twenge and Nolen-Hoeksema 2002), making it imperative to understand what cultural factors can serve to promote resiliency, particularly for females.

Theoretically, familial cultural values may be specifically protective against depressive symptoms for a variety of reasons. Adolescents who report high levels of familial cultural values also tend to report greater feelings of connectedness and cohesion with the family, and these adolescents report better communication with parents as they had discussions with their parents more frequently (Fuligni et al. 1999). Past research on depressive symptoms and family functioning suggests that family cohesion and good parent-child communication are related to fewer depressive symptoms across different ethnic groups (Chiariello and Orvaschel 1995; Cumsille and Epstein 1994). Furthermore, adolescents with high familial cultural values may

have lower parent-adolescent conflict because their values are more consistent with their parents (Smokowski and Bacallao 2006). Adolescents with higher familial cultural values also are more likely to have a greater respect for parental authority (Ghazarian et al. 2008). This respect is also likely to lead to less conflict and more positive relationships between adolescents and their parents. A respect for parental authority may allow adolescents to view the choices their parents make for them in a more positive light, knowing their parents want the best for them. Consistent with these mechanisms, past research has documented that all three aspects of familial cultural values (i.e. familism, affiliative obedience, and filial obligations) are associated with fewer depressive symptoms (e.g., Ayón et al. 2010; Smokowski and Bacallao 2006; Smokowski et al. 2009, 2010).

Although there is limited research examining the relationship between familial cultural values and outcomes by gender, given that research has found Latina females are more connected to family, endorse higher familial cultural values, and have more pressure to embody these values, these values may be more protective for females against a number of negative psychological outcomes (Comas-Diaz 1987; Lorenzo-Blanco et al. 2012; Raffaelli and Ontai 2004). For example, females may face harsher consequences for failing to embody familial cultural values. Therefore, females endorsing these values the least would be at the highest risk for depressive symptoms. Simultaneously, females embodying these values the most may be rewarded for such behavior, find greater fulfillment and meaning in their lives given their integral part of the family, and be the least likely to develop depressive symptoms. Familial cultural values may not play as critical of a role in the development of depressive symptoms for adolescent males.

Latino adolescents experience elevated high school drop-out rates and lower school belonging than other ethnic groups (LeCroy and Krysik 2008; McWhirter et al. 2007; Ojeda and Flores 2008). However, while Latino males experience less risk in terms of depressive symptoms, they are at greater risk for negative school outcomes compared to females (Suárez-Orozco et al. 2010). Thus, understanding how familial cultural values intersect with gender to predict school outcomes may be particularly important to untangle.

Theoretically, similar pathways may exist between familial cultural values and academic outcomes as with depressive symptoms (e.g., more family cohesion, less family conflict). Unique to academic outcomes, however, is that academic achievement may be a way to honor one's family. In fact, for many Latino adolescents, academic achievement is specifically tied to family obligations and parental sacrifice, and familial values serve to buttress the academic motivation of these youth (Esparza and Sánchez 2008; Fuligni et al. 2002; Gonzalez et al. 2012). Consistent with this notion, familial cultural values have been shown to lead to greater academic engagement and effort, and, in specific contexts (i.e. low mother education), higher academic grades (Esparza and Sánchez 2008). However, no past studies have tested whether this effect holds more strongly for females. Given the resilience that Latina females demonstrate in academics, it may be that this resilience is fostered by strong endorsement of familial cultural values, as has been found for Asian American youth (Kiang et al. 2012a, b).

Nevertheless, extremely high levels of obligations may create competing demands between academic and family duties. For example, some studies have demonstrated a curvilinear

relationship between family obligations and grades in high school. Adolescents with a moderate amount of family obligation tended to receive the highest grades, while the students with the highest sense of obligation, despite having strong academic motivations, received grades similar to or lower than those who reported the lowest level of family obligation (Fuligni et al. 1999). However, it is unknown whether there is a similar curvilinear relationship with family obligations and broader psychological adjustment (Fuligni et al. 1999).

Although most studies examining familial cultural values and academic outcomes have focused on academic motivation and grades, another pertinent school variable that has not been previously examined is the adolescent's sense of school belonging. Previous research has shown that sense of belonging is positively related to grades, academic motivation, intrinsic value, students' expectation for success, and academic effort (Goodenow and Grady 1993; Hagborg 1998; Roeser et al. 1996). In fact, Goodenow and Grady (1993) found with a sample of Black, White and Latino 7th–9th graders that sense of belonging was more strongly associated with academic outcomes for Latino students. This may be due to the fact that Latino students are socialized to value communal achievement over individual, consistent with Latino's high levels of familial cultural values. Familial cultural values may provide students with a more collective orientation that facilitates the ability for students to feel connected to their school. Moreover, if students value adults and show deference to the adults in their schools as they do with parents, they may be more likely to have positive sense of school belonging. Given that females tend to be more interpersonally focused, familial cultural values may be most protective for females in terms of promoting school belonging.

To fill the gaps in the current literature, the present study examined the relationship between family cultural values, psychosocial and school outcomes, and gender. Based on previous research that Latina females are socialized to have more traditional gender roles and values, we hypothesized that female adolescents would report higher levels of family cultural values compared to males. Next, it was hypothesized that familial cultural values would be negatively related to depressive symptoms and positively related school belonging and grades with the exception of filial obligations, which would have a curvilinear relationship with grades. Finally, it hypothesized that gender would moderate the protective effects of familial cultural values and the three outcomes of interest, such that these protective effects were hypothesized to be stronger for females compared to males.

Method

Participants

One hundred and ninety-one Latino adolescents (52.9 % females) in 7th–10th grades participated in this school-based study. The mean age of the participants was 14.0 years. The sample consisted of adolescents from Mexican (78 %), Latino mixed (parents from different countries of origin; 8 %), Nicaraguan (2 %), Dominican (2 %) and Salvadorian (2 %) backgrounds. Other individuals identified being from Guatemalan, Colombian, Costa Rican and Cuban backgrounds. The community from which the sample was drawn is an emerging Latino community (Gonzalez et al. 2012). Seventy-five of the participants were not born in the United States (39.7 %) and of

those foreign born, 66.7 % immigrated before age five. About 95 % of the participant's parents were born in countries other than the United States.

Fourteen adolescents were missing data on some of the predictor variables due to incomplete surveys, therefore these adolescents were dropped from the analyses. In addition, one adolescent's survey was determined to be invalid due to inconsistent responses throughout the survey. Thus, the final sample included 176 adolescents. The adolescents with missing data were not significantly different on any of the variables of interest for which they had complete data.

Procedure

After receiving parental consent for participation, Latino youth were recruited in all 7th–10th grade classrooms from three schools in North Carolina (two middle schools and one high school in the same district). All survey administration was completed in the participating school's cafeteria in the fall of 2010, during periods determined by the principal and the teachers. The participants had the option to have an English or Spanish version of the survey. Only one student chose to take the survey in Spanish. Measures not available in Spanish were translated and back translated, and then the research team resolved discrepancies jointly. The team also encouraged participants to ask for assistance at any point during the survey and checked each questionnaire to ensure the quality of the data.

Measures

Familism

The 18-item Attitudinal Familism Scale (Lugo Steidel and Contreras 2003) was used to assess the adolescents' beliefs and attitudes toward the family. The responses are on a 10-point Likert-type scale, ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (10). The measure taps into four aspects of familism: familial support, family interconnectedness, family honor, and subjugation of self. Sample items include: "A person should feel ashamed if something he or she does dishonors the family name; Aging parents should live with their relatives; A person should be a good person for the sake of his or her family." The Cronbach's alpha for the scale was .91. The items were averaged to compute a mean score to represent total familism.

Filial Obligation

The three filial obligations scales developed by Fuligni et al. (1999) were used to assess the adolescents' values regarding three aspects of family obligations. These scales were created to be used with adolescents from various ethnic backgrounds. The adolescents' attitudes towards assisting and respecting their families were assessed on a five point Likert-type scale. The current assistance scale consisting of 12 items examined the adolescents' views of how much they should help out with the family ranging from almost never (1) to almost always (5). An example item is, "How often do you think you should help take care of your brothers and sisters?" Cronbach's alpha was .83. The next 7 items assessed adolescents' respect for the family. Adolescents' beliefs about the importance of respecting and following the wishes of other family members were measured by a five point Likert scale ranging from not important at

all (1) to very important (5). Cronbach's alpha was .77. A third scale, future support, consisted of 6 items and assessed adolescents' beliefs about their obligations to support and be near to their families in the future. A five point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (not important at all) to 5 (very important) was used. Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .89. Cronbach's alpha for the full scale was .90. The items were averaged to compute a mean score to represent total filial obligations.

Affiliative Obedience

Seventeen items from the Affiliative obedience versus self-affirmation scale assessed adolescents' inclination towards obedience (Diaz-Guerrero 1994). This scale was originally developed with youth in Mexico and Puerto Rico (Fernandez-Marina et al. 1958). Shortened versions of this scale have since been used with Mexican-American and European American youth, and Mexican-American youth reported higher scores (Holtzman et al. 1975). The original psychometric evaluation of this scale was done with adolescents in Mexico City (Diaz-Guerrero 1972), but it has since been used with Mexican-American and European American adolescents (Polo and López 2009). Adolescents reported on a five point scale ranging from 0 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree). A sample item is "A person must always respect his or her parents." Certain items were reverse coded so that higher scores reflect a tendency toward affiliative obedience. The Cronbach's alpha was .82 in this sample. The items were averaged to compute a mean score to represent affiliative obedience.

Depressive Symptoms

The Mood and Feelings Questionnaire (Angold and Costello 1987) was used to assess students' depressive symptoms. The 33-item Likert-type scale measured the extent to which students experienced depressive symptoms in the past 2 weeks. The measure included items such as "I didn't enjoy anything at all" and "I felt I was no good anymore," and students reported whether the statement was not true (0), sometimes true (1) or mostly true (2). The mood and feelings questionnaire (MFQ) has shown adequate criterion validity and reliability (Cronbach's alpha = .95) in a sample of 470 clinic and non-clinic children and adolescents (Daviss et al. 2006). Also, the MFQ has been used in the past with Latino samples (Lange et al. 2011; Chartier et al. 2008). This measure has demonstrated adequate psychometric properties (Daviss et al. 2006) and reliability in this sample ($\alpha = .94$). The items were averaged to compute a mean score to represent average depressive symptoms.

Self-reported Grades

School recorded grades were unable to be obtained; therefore, self-reported grades were used in this study. Participants were asked, "Which of the following best describes the grades you are getting in school?" They were given nine responses ranging from "1" (mostly F's) to "9" (mostly A's). Previous research has shown high school self-reported grades to be highly correlated with school-recorded grades ($r = .82$) (Kuncel et al. 2005).

School Belonging

The 18-item Psychological Sense of School Membership (PSSM) scale was used to measure both adolescents' perception of school climate and relationship with teachers. Adolescents report on a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (not at all true) to 5 (completely true). Sample items include "I can really be myself in this school," and "I feel proud of belonging to this school." Cronbach's alphas were .80 for urban students responding to the English version of the PSSM scale and .77 for the Spanish version in a study of middle school students with diverse ethnic backgrounds including African American, Latinos, and White. The PSSM was significantly correlated with self-reported motivation measures, expectancies for school success, subjective value of school work, and school achievement, indicating good construct validity of the PSSM scale (Goodenow 1993). In the present study, Cronbach's alpha was .83. The items were averaged to compute a mean score to represent total school belonging.

Analytic Plan

T-tests were used to examine whether males and females differed in their endorsement of each of the familial cultural values (familism, filial obligation, and affiliative obedience). Correlations by gender examined the relationship of the cultural values with each of the outcomes. Next, hierarchical regression analyses were used to examine the relationship between each of these family cultural values and the three outcomes (depressive symptoms, school belonging, and grades) and whether gender moderated each of these relationships. Per Aiken and West (1991), all predictor variables were centered and then product terms were created for each family cultural value. Multicollinearity diagnostics indicated no significant problems within the models. The leverage statistics suggested there were no points with undue influence in the model. All models controlled for age.

The curvilinear effect was tested for filial obligations and grades. In order to test the curvilinear effects, a new predictor variable was created by squaring filial obligations and it was entered into the hierarchical regression model with filial obligations. The curvilinear interaction between filial obligations, grades, and gender was tested by creating two additional interaction terms; one between squared filial obligations and gender and the other between gender and filial obligations.

Results

As hypothesized, females reported significantly higher levels of familism ($t = 2.40, p = .016$) and filial obligation ($t = 2.56, p = .011$) than their male counterparts, but contrary to our hypotheses, males and females did not differ on affiliative obedience (see Table 1). In addition, all three familial cultural values were correlated with one another, but the correlations do not suggest they are redundant constructs (r 's .20–.52).

Table 1
Means (SDs) of study variables among Latino adolescents

Variables	Female	Male	t test
1. Depressive sx	0.32 (0.28)	0.25 (0.34)	0.57
2. Affiliative obedience	2.60 (0.55)	2.60 (0.62)	-0.03
3. Filial obligation	3.93 (0.51)	3.71 (0.65)	2.56*
4. Familism	7.49 (1.31)	6.95 (1.69)	2.40*
5. Grades	7.76 (0.91)	7.09 (1.24)	4.21*
6. School belonging	3.87 (0.62)	3.70 (0.64)	1.86
7. Age	13.82 (1.20)	14.24 (1.46)	-2.15*

Females ($n = 101$), males ($n = 90$)

* $p < 0.05$

For females, higher levels of affiliative obedience, familism and filial obligations were correlated with fewer depressive symptoms. For males, only familism was significantly negatively related to depressive symptoms (see Table 2). As hypothesized, the inclusion of the interaction term was significant for filial obligations (change in $F = 7.57$, $p = .007$), adding the interaction term accounted for an additional 3.7 % of the variance (see Table 3). To further probe this interaction effect we used the online calculation utility created by Preacher et al. (2006). Simple slope values were calculated by treating gender as the moderator variable. Only the simple slope for females was significant ($\beta = -0.15$, $p < .001$) (see Fig. 1). The inclusion of the interaction term was significant for affiliative obedience as well (change in $F = 3.98$, $p = .048$). Adding the interaction term accounted for an additional 2.1 % of the variance. When the interaction was probed using Preacher et al. (2006), only the slope for females was significant ($\beta = -0.12$, $p = .004$) (see Fig. 2). Familism was negatively associated with depressive symptoms ($\beta = -.23$, $p = .002$), and the model accounted for 5.4 % of the variance. However, the inclusion of the gender interaction term was not significant for familism and depressive symptoms (see Table 4).

Table 2

Correlations between family cultural variables, depressive symptoms, and school outcomes by gender

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Depressive symptoms	–	–.29**	–.36**	–.26**	.09	–.22*	–.02
2. Affiliative obedience	–.01	–	.22*	.20*	–.11	.31**	.12
3. Filial obligation	–.09	.28**	–	.42***	.15	.32**	–.10
4. Familism	–.23*	.31**	.52***	–	.05	.24*	–.09
5. Grades	–.22	.06	.19	.24*	–	.30**	.01
6. School belonging	–.44**	.23	.38**	.38**	.39**	–	–.19
7. Age	.18	.01	–.21*	–.22*	–.05	–.20	–

Females ($n = 101$) are reflected along the top half of diagonal, males ($n = 90$) reflected along bottom half*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

Table 3

Correlations between family cultural variables, depressive symptoms, and school outcomes

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Depressive symptoms	–	–0.18*	–.21**	–.13	–.01	–.25**	.02
2. Affiliative obedience		–	.25**	.25**	–.02	.15*	.08
3. Filial obligation			–	.55**	.22**	.36**	–.19**
4. Familism				–	.21**	.32**	–.19**
5. Grades					–	.36**	–.07
6. School belonging						–	–.22**
7. Age							–

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

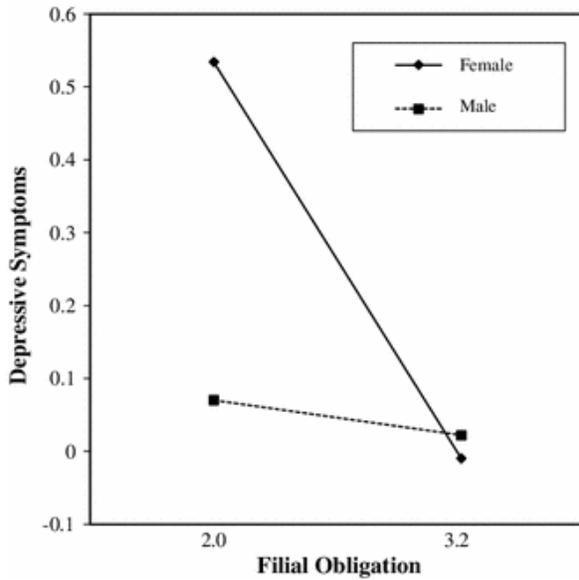


Fig. 1

Simple slopes plot for the moderation of gender of the relationship between filial obligations and depressive symptoms

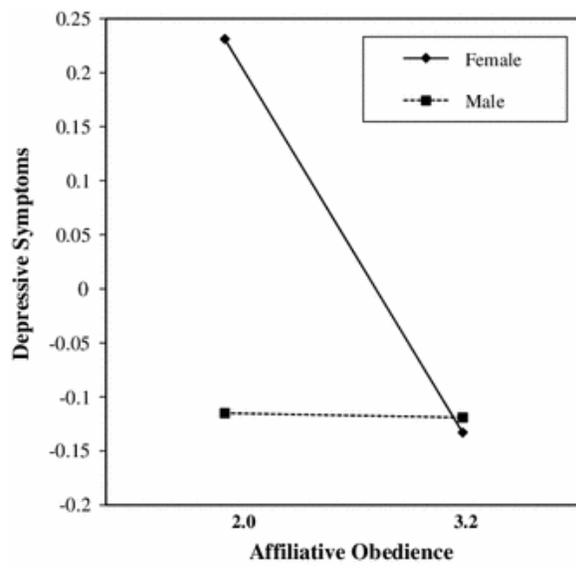


Fig. 2

Simple slopes plot for the moderation of gender of the relationship between affiliative obedience depressive symptoms

Table 4

Regression results of familial cultural values and gender predicting depressive symptoms, school belonging, and grades

	Familism (A)	Filial obligation (A)	Affiliative obedience (A)
	β	β	β
Dependent variable: depressive symptoms			
Cultural value (A)	-.23*	-.48***	-.30**
Age	.05	.06	.11
Gender (B)	-.16*	-.17*	-.13
A x B	.05	.30**	.21*
Total R ²	.05	.06*	.04*
Dependent variable: school belonging			
Cultural value (A)	.27*	.40**	.16
Age	-.14*	-.14	-.21
Gender (B)	-.06	-.05	-.10
A x B	.02	-.06	.02
Total R ²	.11	.14	.08
Dependent variable: grades			
Cultural value (A)	.05	.13	-.09
Age	.01	.01	.01
Gender (B)	-.27***	-.32***	-.30***
A x A	-	-.21	-
A x B	.15	.04	.11
A x A x B	-	.18	-
Total R ²	.10	.13	.10

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

For both genders, higher levels of filial obligations, familism, and grades were related to higher reported levels of school belonging, and there were no gender differences in school belonging (see Table 2). Hierarchical linear regression models controlling for age tested whether familial

cultural values predicted school belonging, and whether these effects were moderated by gender (see Table 4). In terms of main effects, as expected, filial obligation had a significant, positive relationship with school belonging ($\beta = .40, p = .001$). Familism was also positively associated with school belonging ($\beta = .27, p = .02$). Affiliative obedience was not significantly related to school belonging (see Table 4). Gender did not moderate the relationship between any of the familial cultural values and school belonging.

Females reported higher grades (15.5 % = mostly A's, 58.8 % = A's and B's, 14.4 % = mostly B's, 10.3 % B's and C's, 1 % = C's and D's, $t = 4.18, p < .001$) compared to males (10.5 % = mostly A's, 35.3 % = A's and B's, 16.5 % = mostly B's, 32.9 % = B's and C's, 4.7 % = C's and D's). While no familial cultural value was significantly correlated to grades for females, familism was related to higher reported grades for males. Hierarchical regressions controlling for age tested whether affiliative obedience and familism predicted grades, and whether this effect was moderated by gender. Neither affiliative obedience nor familism significantly predicted grades, and these relationships were not moderated by gender (see Table 4).

Because previous research has found a curvilinear association between grades and filial obligation (Fuligni et al. 1999), we tested both main and curvilinear effects in predicting grades. Filial obligations did not have a significant linear or curvilinear relationship to grades. In addition, gender did not moderate the curvilinear relationship of grades and filial obligation.

Discussion

The aim of this study was to examine the role of gender in the relationship between familial cultural values and psychosocial and school outcomes of Latino adolescents. This study extends past research finding that Latino parents socialize their daughters and sons based on traditional gender roles by documenting that Latina females, in fact, more strongly internalize familial cultural values compared to males. More importantly, the internalization of these values provides additional protection for Latina females when it comes to depressive symptomology. However, regardless of gender, familial cultural values served to protect Latino youth in our study in terms of school outcomes. Moderate levels of filial obligation were associated with higher self-reported grades for both females and males, and filial obligations and familism were also predictive of greater school belonging regardless of gender. These results also indicate that different aspects of familial cultural values need to be further investigated to determine how they specifically link to psychosocial outcomes.

Traditionally, females have been given greater responsibility for carrying on the culture of the family compared to males (McHale et al. 2003). Consistently, females did endorse greater levels of familism and filial obligations compared to males. Our findings are in line with previous research indicating that females report higher expectations to help around the house and with the family, to spend more time with the family, and have less freedom to do activities outside the home (Raffaelli and Ontai 2004). This differential endorsement may be due to the fact that parents emphasize their familial cultural values in more overt ways with their daughters; also, females may spend more time with their family leading to more opportunities for females to be socialized to internalize these values (Crouter et al. 1995). This may be especially true regarding obligations including helping siblings with homework, caring for family members, and helping

with household chores. As females are more likely to be performing these duties, they are solidifying the cultural scripts and values to which they have been exposed to since early childhood (Knight et al. 2011). Regarding familism, the differential endorsement on this broader construct may be driven by some of the underlying aspects of familism, particularly support and cohesion. As with obligations, these aspects of familism may be carried out primarily by female members of the household (Raffaelli and Ontai 2004). However, contrary to hypotheses, females had similar levels of affiliative obedience as males. It may be that female and male adolescents value obeying their parents to a similar degree, but females are given less freedom and more is expected of females in terms of caretaking and household responsibilities. In other words, consistent with previous research on gender role differences in Latino families (Comas-Diaz 1987; Raffaelli and Ontai 2004), parents' expectations of how obedience is manifested may vary across males and females. However, another reason that there were mean level differences across gender on two of the scales may have to do with the fact that the measurement of the constructs in these scales may favor female manifestations of familism versus males. Overall, these findings underscore the importance of future research examining the specific aspects of familial cultural values that apply across males and females, and those that may be more gendered. This examination will help further our theoretical understanding of how these values serve to confer protective effects in Latino adolescents.

As hypothesized, all three aspects of familial cultural values were negatively associated with depressive symptoms. This is consistent with the majority of previous research and theory that familial cultural values serve as a positive cultural resource for Latino adolescents (e.g., Ayón et al. 2010; Smokowski and Bacallao 2006; Smokowski et al. 2009, 2010). Although familism was equally protective against depressive symptoms for males and females, filial obligations and affiliative obedience were only related to fewer depressive symptoms for females compared to males. This effect may be due to the fact that Latina females find a sense of purpose and fulfillment in their obligations and sense of duty that buffers against depressive symptoms (Kiang et al. 2012a, b), but it could be that these obligations are not as central to Latino male identity and purpose and thus would not confer these specific effects against depressive symptoms. In addition, Latino parents may reward daughters more than sons for obeying and assisting their families, and consequently, Latina females may benefit more from embodying these values as there would be less family conflict and greater cohesion. Likewise, female adolescents who report lower levels of filial obligation may experience greater discrepancies between their parents' values, which could possibly lead to great parent-child conflict exacerbating their risk for depressive symptoms. Finally, spending time in the home versus with peers may be protective for Latina female adolescents (Updegraff et al. 2005).

Likewise, male adolescents had similar, low levels of depressive symptoms across levels of affiliative obedience. However, for females, low affiliative obedience is associated with greater depressive symptoms. For this reason, it is possible a low value of affiliative obedience may lead to more conflict for females if it is conflicting with parental expectations and beliefs, leading to greater depressive symptoms in females. This rationale is consistent with past research documenting the cultural value gaps in affiliative obedience are associated with greater depressive symptoms in Mexican-American youth (Stein and Polo 2014). Similar to the reasons filial obligations were more protective for female adolescents, parents may also reward daughters more for obeying and acting respectful. Likewise, a female adolescent failing to embody these

values may be punished more than a male adolescent in a similar situation. Thus, Latino females endorsing low levels of affiliative obedience may face greater familial conflict and stress. Given that interpersonal stressors are particularly problematic in predicting depressive symptoms in females (Nolen-Hoeksema and Girgus 1994), high levels of endorsement of this value may serve to protect Latina females specifically as they face fewer interpersonal stressors in their home environment. Finally, the costs of not having internalized obedience may be more problematic for females compared to males in the context of adolescent sexuality (Zayas et al. 2005). If a Latina daughter is not obedient surrounding these issues, greater familial conflict would ensue and lead to greater internalizing symptoms (Zayas et al. 2005).

It is not clear why there was a gendered protective effect for filial obligations and affiliative obedience in predicting depressive symptoms, but we failed to find such an effect for familism. It may be because the familism scale includes items surrounding familial support and loyalty that would confer protection to both male and female adolescents. Future research should continue to examine the aspects of familial cultural values that underline familism scales to make more nuanced predictions in terms of protective effects.

It should be noted that since this research is only correlational, it could be that depressive symptoms cause females to report lower familial obligations or affiliative obedience. A female that is experiencing depressive symptoms may be more likely to feel unimportant and useless and therefore less likely to see herself as a critical part of her family. However, past longitudinal studies suggest that familial cultural values impact depressive symptoms at later time points, supporting the notion that the values more likely to impact the symptoms instead of vice versa (Smokowski et al. 2010).

In terms of school outcomes, familism and filial obligations were associated with greater school belonging. Individuals with higher familism and filial obligations may want to do better in school in order to make their families proud (Esparza and Sánchez 2008). Many Latinos immigrate in order to allow their children to have a better education leading to a better life (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Latino adolescents may be especially motivated to do well in school for their parents who have sacrificed for their education (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). However, our findings extend past motivation and academic performance and suggest that these values may help adolescents feel more interpersonally connected in other social contexts outside of their families. This finding is especially interesting given that some have suggested that these values may interfere with school as Latino adolescents are pulled away from school to help their families (Fuligni et al. 1999). Instead our findings suggest that these values serve to facilitate school belonging. This finding is in line with current theory that suggests that these values foster a pro-social orientation that is then linked with adaptive functioning (Calderón-Tena et al. 2011). As these youth may also be more respectful and motivated in school context, this allows for the development of positive school belonging as teachers are responding well to their pro-social behavior. Similarly, our findings are also in line with models of acculturation that argue that the maintenance of cultural values may actually enhance adaptation to settings as these youth have developed bicultural skills that allow for the most positive outcomes (Schwartz and Unger 2010). Our findings on the curvilinear effects of filial obligations were also consistent with past work examining this question (Fuligni et al. 1999).

Unlike our findings with depressive symptoms, there were no significant interactions with gender in predicting either school outcome. This suggests that these values similarly protect males and females when it comes to academic outcomes and differential endorsement of these values are not responsible for the significant gender differences in academic motivation and achievement documented in Latino youth (Suárez-Orozco et al. 2010). Given that these values were protective in terms of school belonging for both males and females, this suggests the links to prosocial development may be similar as these values may help guide how youth behave in the school context and how others respond to them.

A limitation of this study is that it is not longitudinal; therefore, all findings must be interpreted as correlational not causal. However, past longitudinal research suggests familism leads to better school and psychological outcomes (Smokowski et al. 2010; Valenzuela and Dornbusch 1994). Also, we only looked at the adolescents' reports and failed to look at the parent reports. We also were only able to obtain self-reported grades rather than school recorded grades, which may not be a completely accurate representation of the adolescents' grades. The majority of adolescents in this sample were born in the United States (60 %) and of the foreign born adolescents 61.5 % immigrated before age five. The vast majority of adolescents chose to take the survey in English. Thus, the results of this study may not generalize to recent immigrants in which these familial cultural values may be even higher or to families that have been in the US much longer. Future replication of this study with a more heterogeneous sample in terms of generation status is necessary to better understand how acculturation may be relevant to the implicated familial processes.

Future research should compare the discrepancies and similarities between the parent and adolescent reports of these familial cultural values and these psychosocial outcomes. These familial cultural values may also be protective for males against externalizing symptoms (Marsiglia et al. 2009). In addition, future research should examine actual behavioral enactments of these values to examine whether it is the internalization of the value that is protective or the engagement in activities involving obligations, familial support, and cohesion. Since we found that females have higher familism and filial obligation than males, future research should investigate specific ways in which females are socialized to promote these values (e.g., Knight et al. 2011). Future research should also examine gender and familial cultural values across developmental stages. Perhaps, intensification of gender roles in adolescence influenced our results in this age range. Thus, considering familial cultural values developmentally will help to elucidate which developmental processes and outcomes are most impacted by familial cultural values and the impact of gender.

Likewise, future research should examine the mechanisms by which high familial obligations and affiliative obedience are associated with lower depressive symptoms in females. A female adolescent with higher filial obligations may be given more responsibility in her family, and this may lead her to feel more efficacious and important. Perhaps, it is the feelings of purpose in one's family associated with higher filial obligations that lead to fewer depressive symptoms. It is also possible that the time spent doing things for one's family may be correlated with higher behavioral activation overall for Latino female adolescents, leading to fewer depressive symptoms. In addition, spending time in the home versus with peers may be protective for these female adolescents.

Although the amount of variance explained by the familial culture values in predicting the academic outcomes and depressive symptoms was small, this research has a number of important clinical implications. Values influence how individuals make sense of the world around them (e.g., deciding what is good or bad) (Calderón-Tena et al. 2011). Values guide individual behavior whether they are alone or with others, allowing individuals to have consistency in their behavior across contexts (Dilworth-Anderson et al. 1993). Values are the core of individual's attitudes, motivations, and expectations. Particularly salient for adolescence, values help individuals shape their identity (Knight et al. 2011). For these reasons, familial cultural values are critical in better understanding the etiology of depressive symptoms and school outcomes in Latino adolescents.

This is the first study to examine the relationship between gender, familial cultural values and depressive symptoms. In terms of school outcomes, familial cultural values appear to be equally protective for Latino male and female adolescents. In contrast, filial obligations and affiliative obedience are more protective for females than males against depressive symptoms. It may be more effective for interventions to focus on promoting these values in females. Familism in particular appears to be protective for both genders against depressive symptoms. Thus, incorporating family members into therapy may be particularly important for Latino adolescents. Effective interventions for Latino youth struggling with depressive symptoms should capitalize on the protective and resilient effects of familism.

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