

Examining Patterns of Mexican Immigrant Spouses' Contextual Pressures and Links with Marital Satisfaction and Negativity

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Abstract:

Previous research examined links from economic and cultural adaptation pressures to marital satisfaction and marital behavior. Results generally suggested a negative association between these sources of pressure and marital outcomes. However, the extant research is lacking given its inattention to the extent to which husbands and wives experience varying patterns of interrelated pressures and the differential links between patterns of economic and cultural adaptation pressures and marital outcomes. Using latent profile analysis, we identified four distinct patterns of economic and cultural adaptation pressures, underscoring the diversity in experiences among a seemingly homogeneous population of low-income Mexican immigrant couples. Furthermore, differences in marital satisfaction and marital negativity were identified, highlighting how varying patterns of pressures are differentially linked to marital quality.

Keywords: contextual pressure | dyadic | marital satisfaction | Mexican immigrant | person-centered

Article:

There is a long history of theoretical and empirical work that examines the impact of stress on marital outcomes (see Falconier et al., 2016 for a review). Previous research has highlighted the importance of examining the influence of contextual stress, subjectively experienced as pressure,

on marital satisfaction and behavior (Karney & Bradbury, 2005). A variety of contextual stressors related to economic pressure have been linked to marital instability, marital dissatisfaction, negative marital behaviors, and a diminished capacity for productive marital problem-solving for a variety of ethnic groups (Bryant & Conger, 2002; Karney & Bradbury, 2005; Masarik et al., 2016). This body of work has largely relied on variable-centered approaches to document independent associations between pressures and relationship outcomes (e.g., Conger et al., 1990; Cutrona et al., 2003; Rauer et al., 2008), with the most recent research examining these associations among low-income and minoritized populations including Mexican immigrants (e.g., Helms et al., 2014; Williamson et al., 2013). Missing from the bulk of this literature is the inclusion of additional contextual pressures resulting from stressors related to the process of cultural adaptation and potential links with marital quality among immigrant couples (Glick, 2010). This gap in the literature is problematic because contextual pressures rarely occur in isolation and, for partnered individuals, the transmission of stress from each spouse to marital functioning and satisfaction is an inherently dyadic phenomenon (Huston, 2000; Karney & Bradbury, 2005).

For many Mexican immigrant couples, pressures associated with adapting to life in the United States co-occur with economic and social marginalization that can be amplified in the context of the rapid population growth that characterizes “pre-emerging immigrant communities” (Helms et al., 2015; Lopez & Blocklin, 2015). Pre-emerging immigrant communities are distinguished by small immigrant populations prior to 1980, but rapid growth in foreign-born populations beginning in the 1990s. Latinx populations make up the largest share of the foreign-born growth in pre-emerging immigrant communities, the majority of which are from Mexico. The growth rate for the foreign-born Latinx population has been especially pronounced in the South, specifically North Carolina that grew from a population of 4,000 in 1980 to 391,000 in 2010 (i.e., a 9,000 percent increase) earning the distinction of the state with the fourth-highest percent of foreign-born residents after Maryland, the District of Columbia, and Florida. Notably, five of the seven pre-emerging immigrant communities in the United States are located in North Carolina, highlighting the state’s unique position to inform an understanding of the links between Mexican immigrant couples’ contextual pressures and marital experiences during the process of cultural adaptation in a pre-emerging community locale (Helms et al., 2015; Singer, 2004, 2008; U.S. Census Bureau, 2012).

Mexican immigrant couples living in the southern United States are disproportionately low-income—a stressor that was amplified during the Great Recession (Action for Children North Carolina, 2011; Helms et al., 2015; Taylor et al., 2012). In addition, couples are likely to encounter pressures related to the process of cultural adaptation that are further exacerbated in communities unprepared for rapid growth in their immigrant population, particularly during economic downturns (Lopez & Blocklin, 2015). More specifically, pressures arising from conflicts related to cultural differences and expectations (Berry, 2006; Falconier et al., 2013), including English competency pressures and pressures to and against acculturation (i.e., pressures to adapt to U.S. culture and pressures to retain one’s cultural heritage also referred to as

enculturation; Bush et al., 2005) are amplified in unwelcoming environments that lack resources and jobs. However, the stressful circumstances that create the context for spouses' subjective experience of economic and cultural adaptation pressures in pre-emerging immigrant communities are not experienced uniformly by all Mexican immigrant couples nor by both partners within a couple (Helms et al., 2015, Huston & Melz, 2004; O'Brien, 2005).

To address this gap in the literature, the current study applies a person-centered, dyadic approach with a sample of 120 Mexican immigrant couples residing in North Carolina during the Great Recession to address three goals: (a) to identify and describe couple profiles using spouses' reports of economic pressures (i.e., difficulty making ends meet, financial strain) and cultural adaptation pressures (i.e., acculturative pressure, English competency pressures, and enculturative pressures to maintain cultural heritage), (b) to examine the extent to which objective indicators of economic and cultural adaptation pressures (i.e., income and length of residence in the U.S.) explain differences in profile membership, and (c) to examine how couple profiles are linked with spouses' reports of marital satisfaction and negativity.

Theoretical foundation and review of the literature

Informed by socio-ecological and cultural theoretical models that attend to the multiple contexts in which marital relationships are embedded (Helms et al., 2011; Huston, 2000), contemporary scholars who study marriage among immigrant and minoritized populations advocate for a dyadic examination of both spouses' perceptions of stress from a variety of interrelated sources to corroborate theoretical assertions about the multi-dimensional patterns of pressures faced by immigrant couples and the impact on marital quality (Falconier, 2016). Despite repeated calls for research, there remains a dearth of literature specifically focused on marriage among immigrant families (Glick, 2010; Helms, 2013). Some work exists documenting that Mexican immigrant couples are likely to endorse cultural beliefs that value marriage; however, scholars have raised concerns that the unique combination of pressures Mexican immigrant couples experience adapting to life in the United States, and in pre-emerging immigrant communities specifically, may serve to undermine marital quality (Baca Zinn & Wells, 2008; Oropesa & Landale, 2004; Padilla & Borrero, 2006).

The bulk of the research that examines the impact of contextual stress on marital quality focuses on economic pressures (Karney & Bradbury, 2005; see Falconier et al., 2016 for a review). Supported by several theoretical perspectives historically used to explain the transmission of stress to marital quality (e.g., family stress model, Conger & Elder, 1994; family stress theory, McCubbin & Patterson, 1983; stress transmission; Story & Bradbury, 2004), a variety of economic pressures have been linked to negative marital outcomes (e.g., marital instability, marital dissatisfaction, negative marital behaviors, and a diminished capacity for productive marital problem-solving) across racially diverse samples (Bryant & Conger, 2002; Cutrona et al., 2003; Helms et al., 2014; Karney & Bradbury, 2005; Masarik et al., 2016). Theoretical perspectives supporting this work assert that contextual stress impacts relationship

functioning via spouses' subjective experiences of pressure that undermine the capacity for positive marital functioning resulting in downturns in marital satisfaction. For example, Conger et al. (1990, 1999) studies of rural White families found prospective links between financial strain (i.e., perceived socio-economic pressures) and increased hostility and decreased warmth in marital interactions. More recently, a cross-sectional study of low-income, Black, White, and Latino couples showed that spouses' perceptions of stress related to money management (i.e., economic pressure) was associated with marital difficulties (Jackson et al., 2016). Using a sample of Mexican American and European American families, another study found cross-sectional associations between economic pressure and marital problems indirectly through spouses' depressive symptoms (Parke et al., 2004).

Among the few studies to examine the link between subjective experiences of pressures related to cultural adaptation and relationship functioning, Negy et al. (2010) found that Latinx immigrant wives' reports of cultural adaptation pressures (i.e., pressures related to English competency and enculturation) were associated cross-sectionally with their own reports of marital distress. A recent review of the literature linking contextual stress to marital relationships (i.e., Falconier, 2016) confirmed that only one study to date has addressed links between multiple sources of interrelated pressures among Mexican immigrant couples using a dyadic framework (Helms et al., 2014). Guided by culturally-informed, ecological perspectives of marriage (Helms et al., 2011; Huston, 2000; Karney & Bradbury, 2005) and the larger stress transmission literature (Story & Bradbury, 2004), Helms et al. (2014) findings documented the independent, cross-sectional contributions of economic pressures (i.e., economic hardship) and pressures related to the process of cultural adaptation (i.e., English competency, acculturative and enculturative pressures) to both husbands' and wives' reports of marital satisfaction. Although cross-sectional, their work tested, and found no support for, the link between contextual pressures and marital satisfaction in the opposite direction further supporting family stress and stress transmission theoretical perspectives. Given the variable-centered analytic approach, the study did not address potential within- and between-couple variations in Mexican immigrant spouses' experiences with these pressures, which may be gendered in ways that disadvantage women due to wives' vulnerability to their husbands' manifestations of stress (Hirsch, 2003; Huston, 2000).

This emerging body of work represents an important first step to inform the literature on Mexican immigrant families by linking spouses' perceptions of a variety of ecologically relevant contextual pressures to marital outcomes. A limitation, as with all variable-centered approaches, is that these approaches do not allow for an examination of variation in the patterns of pressures couples experience, which may help delineate specific combinations of pressures that matter most for relationship functioning and satisfaction. Indeed, socio-ecological theoretical models of marriage underscore that it is the confluence of the pressures immigrant spouses experience in their daily lives that shape relationship functioning (Helms et al., 2011; Huston, 2000). Further, scholars have argued that person-centered approaches are especially important in research with immigrants for whom homogeneity of experience has been erroneously assumed (Helms et al.,

2011; Ortiz, 1995; Uma~na-Taylor & Updegraff, 2012; Updegraff & Uma~na-Taylor, 2015; Wood et al., 2015).

Described as an ecologically valid analytic approach that has the potential to better elucidate the experiences of those who are unequally burdened, Neblett et al. (2016) argue that person-centered analytic applications are imperative to advance understanding of relationship resilience in the context of risk for minoritized families. Accordingly, scholars have advocated for the application of person-centered and dyadic analytic approaches to better align with theoretical perspectives that emphasize within-group heterogeneity and underscore the complex interplay of interrelated pressures in husbands' and wives' experiences and across contexts (Falconier, 2016). Importantly, contemporary scholars advocate that a more nuanced representation of the variety of pressures experienced by minoritized families and their subsequent links with relationship functioning are needed to better inform the work of practitioners and policy makers (Neblett et al., 2016). To date, no studies have examined the interrelated experiences of spouses' contextual pressures and their links with marital quality among Mexican immigrant couples.

Person-centered approaches that have been applied to the study of contextual stress and child outcomes for families living in poverty offer a window into how person-centered analytic approaches have the potential to detect patterns of resilience in the face of contextual risk (see Jobe-Shields et al., 2015 for a review). This work is promising and underscores the theorized heterogeneity of family experiences for low-income and minoritized populations. Indeed, regardless of sample size, four profile solutions representing different patterns of pressures are typical in this body of work and include a low pressure profile within an otherwise objectively "high risk" environment (e.g., high poverty, Roy & Raver, 2014; for a review see JobeShields et al., 2015). Although no research to date applies a person-centered, dyadic approach to the study of contextual pressures and marital quality, the stress transmission theoretical perspective underscores that although stressors may arise from the contexts of spouses' everyday lives, "high risk" contexts broadly defined should not be assumed to be experienced as inherently stressful by spouses (Story & Bradbury, 2004). Indeed, variation in perceptions of economic pressure has been demonstrated for primarily low-income Latinos prior to and during the Great Recession of the 21st Century (Dennis et al., 2003; Taylor et al., 2012; White et al., 2009). As Mexican immigrant families residing in southern pre-emerging immigrant communities rarely experience economic pressures in isolation from cultural adaptation pressures, a person-centered approach is well-suited to model the interrelations among a variety of pressures to identify patterns that put couples at higher risk for marital problems. In addition, the approach provides an opportunity to confirm the existence of a low pressure profile and to explore associations with marital quality for couples who experience their contexts as relatively low pressure, regardless of more objective indicators of contextual stress. Finally, this approach may also improve external validity regarding the assumption of population heterogeneity as naturally occurring but not explicitly modeled for Mexican immigrant couples (Laursen & Hoff, 2006; Masyn, 2013).

The current study

In the current study, a person-centered latent profile analysis was used to identify typologies of contextual pressures among first-generation Mexican immigrant couples using husbands' and wives' perceptions of economic and cultural adaptation pressures. Second, household income and spouses' length of residence in the United States were examined as predictors of profile membership to ensure that the differential experience of economic and cultural adaptation pressures were not solely accounted for by more objective indicators of economic and cultural adaptation pressures. Third, links between profile membership and husbands' and wives' marital satisfaction and marital negativity were examined. As previous work has identified links between depressive symptoms and marital satisfaction and negativity (e.g., Davila et al., 2003), depressive symptoms were included as a control variable in the model predicting marital outcomes. In addition, because of documented differences in marital quality by legal marital status (Helms et al., 2014; Phillips & Sweeney, 2005), marital status (living as married vs. legally married) was treated as a control variable in the model predicting marital outcomes. Specifically, we used a dyadic application of the person-centered Latent Profile Analysis in *Mplus* 8.4 (Asparouhov & Muthen, 2014a, 2014b; Lanza et al., 2013) to advance theoretical and substantive knowledge linking contextual pressures and marital quality for Mexican immigrant couples residing in a Southern pre-emerging immigrant locale during the Great Recession.

Methods

Participants

Data for the current study were drawn from a larger study of marriage among Mexican immigrant parents of young children living in North Carolina and were collected during 2007 and 2008 at the start of the Great Recession. The sample consisted of 120 heterosexual Mexican immigrant couples who lived together, were parents to shared biological children, and were legally married or "living as married." To be a part of the study, at least one spouse in each couple had to be of Mexican origin, and both spouses had to be of Latin American origin. For the majority of participating couples (i.e., 90%), both spouses were of Mexican origin, with only 13 (5.42%) of 240 participants reporting non-Mexican origins (e.g., Puerto Rican, Guatemalan, Salvadorian). Given cultural norms regarding the recognition of non-marital unions as "married," both legally married and "living as married" couples were eligible for participation. Sixty-nine percent of couples were legally married, whereas 31% were living as married. Couples had been married/living as married for approximately seven years; the length of couples' relationships did not differ significantly for those who were married versus living as married. Couples had an average of 2.08 ($SD = 0.92$) children with the average firstborn age of 5.87 ($SD = 3.88$) years.

Though slightly younger than the national median age of 35, our sample was comparable with national estimates of the Mexican-origin population across income, education, and years in

the United States (see Pew Research Center, 2009). Mean ages for wives and husbands in the study were 28.13 ($SD = 5.46$; Range: 18–47) and 30.33 ($SD = 5.79$; Range: 18–48), respectively. On average, husbands and wives resided in the United States for 11.40 ($SD = 5.26$; Range: 2–27) and 8.81 ($SD = 4.41$; Range: 0–22) years, respectively, and had completed 9.01 ($SD = 3.18$; Range: 1–18) and 9.66 ($SD = 3.17$; Range: 0–16) years of education. Average annual family income was \$33,297 ($SD = \$12,725$; Range: \$8,000–\$83,400). Participating families lived in small towns (55%), cities (26%), and in rural areas (19%) in central North Carolina. Ninety-five percent of families lived in neighborhoods characterized by high poverty (i.e., neighborhood poverty rate of 19%–32% based on population data). Forty-nine percent of families resided in neighborhoods classified as 50% Hispanic by the U.S. Census Bureau, 29% lived in neighborhoods ranging from 10 to 25% Hispanic, and 21% of families resided in neighborhoods characterized by a less than 10% Hispanic composition.

Procedure

The following procedures conformed to the requirements of the institutional review board at the UNC Greensboro, were informed by best practices for conducting research with vulnerable populations (Knight & Roosa, 2009), and were supported by staff from UNCG's Center for New North Carolinians. Participants were recruited from targeted census tracts with high concentrations of Latino households with children. Cultural and community insiders with contacts within the identified census tracts assisted project staff in the recruitment of a purposive and convenience sample. More specifically, Latina project staff, social service workers, and community insiders made initial contacts with families either in families' homes or at social service agencies that served Latino families in the identified communities. During initial contacts, families were informed of the goals of the study, the nature of the interview, and eligibility criteria. Interested couples received a flyer with the project's contact information. Aside from one couple who withdrew prior to their interview, all couples who met the eligibility criteria and expressed interest in participating were interviewed. Two- to three-hour interviews were conducted in family's homes. Husbands and wives were interviewed separately by bilingual Latina project staff. All but one couple were interviewed in Spanish. To account for variations in literacy, survey questions were presented orally, and participants indicated their responses on numbered cards for each scale. Couples were compensated with a \$50 gift card for participation.

Measures

All measures were available in both Spanish and English and had been used in prior research with Mexican-origin populations for which Foster and Martinez (1995) method of forward- and back-translation was applied (e.g., Adams et al., 2007; Wheeler et al., 2010). Translators from the Center for New North Carolinians familiar with the local dialect verified that the measures

were appropriate for use with the study sample. All measures demonstrated adequate reliability (see Table 1 for Cronbach's alphas for the current study).

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics, correlations, and cronbach's alphas for study variables.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------|------------------|--------|------------------|------------------|--------|--------|--------|------|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Marital Status ^a | - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. W. Depressive Symptoms | -.18 ⁺ | - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3. H. Depressive Symptoms | .02 | .10 | - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4. W. Felt Constraint | -.14 | .16 ^b | .05 | - | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5. H. Felt Constraint | -.18* | .17 ⁺ | .22* | .47*** | - | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6. W. Financial Strain | -.13 | .25** | .00 | .49*** | .24** | - | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7. H. Financial Strain | -.16 ⁺ | .24** | .11 | .31*** | .46*** | .27** | - | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8. W. English Pressure | -.19* | .21 | .01 | .32*** | .06 | .26** | .12 | - | | | | | | | | | |
| 9. H. English Pressure | -.20** | .05 | .15 | .16 ⁺ | .21* | .14 | .17 ⁺ | .22* | - | | | | | | | | |
| 10. W. Acculturative Pressure | -.26** | .28 | .11 | .12 | .01 | .15 ⁺ | .06 | .53*** | .21* | - | | | | | | | |
| 11. H. Acculturative Pressure | -.18* | .20* | .29*** | .22* | .25** | .27** | .19* | .21* | .64*** | .29** | - | | | | | | |
| 12. W. Enculturative Pressure | -.24** | .22* | .05 | .00 | -.04 | .05 | .05 | .25** | .12 | .71*** | .23* | - | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|--------|------------------|--------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------|--------|-------------------|--------|------------------|------------------|-------|-------------------|--------|------|
| 13. H. Enculturative Pressure | -.20* | .17 ⁺ | .30*** | .12 | .25** | .06 | .19* | .01 | .43*** | .18 ⁺ | .69*** | .26** | - | | | | |
| 14. W. Marital Satisfaction | .23 | -.37** * | .00 | -.16 ⁺ | .01 | -.14 | .03 | -.21* | -.12 | -.17 ⁺ | -.11 | -.06 | -.02 | - | | | |
| 15. H. Marital Satisfaction | .06 | -.11 | -.07 | -.01 | .02 | .09 | -.08 | -.2.09 | -.03 | .02 | -.05 | -.10 | -.13 | .21* | - | | |
| 16. W. Marital Negativity | -.26** | .36*** | .13 | .06 | .16 ⁺ | .15 | .18 ⁺ | .10 | .09 | .10 | .08 | .16 ⁺ | .08 ⁺ | .21* | -.06 | - | |
| 17. H. Marital Negativity | .00 | .08 | .31*** | -.09 | .01 | -.16 ⁺ | -.03 | .00 | .04 | -.05 | .07 | -.03 | .13 | -.19* | -.18 ⁺ | .35*** | - |
| <i>M</i> | .69 | 14.25 | 14.28 | 6.25 | 5.73 | 11.92 | 11.18 | 1.97 | 1.78 | 1.51 | 1.71 | .79 | .96 | 7.20 | 7.57 | 4.65 | 3.83 |
| <i>SD</i> | .46 | 4.20 | 3.95 | 1.88 | 1.85 | 4.25 | 3.49 | 1.17 | .96 | 1.01 | .99 | .87 | .87 | 1.33 | .96 | 1.41 | 1.34 |
| Cronbach'sAlpha | - | .81 | .76 | .72 | .69 | .86 | .76 | .86 | .86 | .85 | .84 | .82 | .77 | .94 | .90 | .72 | .59 |

Note: W. indicates values for wives and H. represents values for husbands. ⁺p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001. (All Significance Levels Are Based On Two-tailed tests.). ^acoded as 0 = consensual union, 1 = legally married

Economic pressures

Felt constraint and financial strain (Conger & Elder, 1994) were used to assess economic pressures. Felt constraint was measured via a 2-item scale and assessed spouses' perceived difficulty making ends meet. The two items assessed (a) the degree of difficulty in paying bills each month with response options ranging from 1 (no difficulty at all) to 5 (a great deal of difficulty), and (b) how much money was left at the end of each month with responses ranging from 1 (more than enough money left) to 5 (very short of money). Financial strain was measured via a 4-item scale that measured the extent to which families felt they were able to afford necessities (i.e., vehicle, housing, household items, and clothing). Responses ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Items were summed to create subscale scores with higher values indicating higher levels of felt constraint and financial strain.

Cultural adaptation pressures

Pressures related to the process of cultural adaptation were assessed with three subscales (i.e., English competency pressure, acculturative pressure, and enculturative pressure) from the Multidimensional Acculturative Stress Inventory (MASI; Rodriguez et al., 2002). English competency pressure was measured with a 7-item subscale. Sample items include "I feel uncomfortable being around being people who only speak English" and "I feel pressure to learn English." The 7-item acculturative pressure subscale included items such as "I don't feel accepted by Americans" and "Because of my cultural background, I have a hard time fitting in with Americans." The 4-item enculturative pressure subscale assessed pressures to retain cultural heritage. Sample items include "I feel uncomfortable because my family members do not know Mexican/Latino ways of doing things" and "People look down upon me if I practice American customs." Scale responses ranged from 0 (never happened to me) to 5 (extremely stressful). Responses were averaged to create the subscales; higher values indicated greater cultural adaptation pressure.

Household income

Household income was computed using the sum of husbands' and wives' self-reports of their individual incomes. Length of residence in the United States Husbands and wives reported the length of time they had lived in the United States. Husbands immigrated to the United States 2.59 years before their wives on average, a difference that was significant ($t = 6.01, p < .001$).

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Marital satisfaction

An adapted 16-item version of Huston et al. (1986) Domains of Marital Satisfaction scale assessed spouses' satisfaction with their marriage across a variety of domains (e.g., marital

communication, decision-making) (Wheeler et al., 2010). Wheeler and colleague's adaptation was based on focus groups conducted with Mexican-Americans and included the addition of culturally relevant dimensions of marital satisfaction (e.g., satisfaction with spouse's support of Mexican traditions). Participants were asked to think about the past year and respond using a scale ranging from 1 (extremely dissatisfied) to 9 (extremely satisfied). Scores were averaged across the 16 items; higher scores indicated higher levels of marital satisfaction. Multi-group confirmatory factor analysis conducted in prior work with the current study's sample confirmed that the 16 items represented a single underlying construct for both husbands and wives (Helms et al., 2014).

Marital negativity

A 3-item revised subscale of Braiker and Kelley (1979) Relationship Questionnaire was used to assess marital negativity. The 3-item measure was validated using a multi-group confirmatory factor analysis in previous work with Mexican-immigrant couples (e.g., Helms et al., 2014). Participants reflected on the past year and rated their marital negativity on a 9-point scale the three items: (a) "How often do you and your spouse argue with one another?"; (b) "How often do you feel angry or resentful toward your spouse?"; and (c) "When you argue, how serious are the arguments?" Responses were averaged; higher scores indicated higher levels of negativity.

Marital status

Marital status was dichotomously coded as either legally married or "living as married" based on wives' reports.

Depressive symptoms

Spouses' depressive symptoms were assessed via a 9-item version of the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CES-D, Radloff, 1977; Helms et al., 2014). Respondents rated their feelings in the past month on indicators of depressive symptoms (e.g., "I felt depressed") using a scale of 1 (rarely or none of the time) to 4 (most of the time). Items were summed; higher scores indicated higher levels of depressive symptoms.

Analytic strategy

Descriptive statistics and correlations were conducted using SPSS version 24. Substantive analyses were conducted with Mplus version 8.4. To address our first research goal, we conducted a latent profile analysis using subjective indicators of economic and cultural adaptation pressures and identified the best model in terms of the number of possible profiles of contextual pressures. We compared 1- through 5-profile solutions, relying on both statistical and conceptual indicators. The criteria involved in deciding on the optimal number of profiles typically involves identifying the lowest values for information criteria statistics (AIC and BIC), and conducting likelihood ratio tests that compare a k class model to a $k-1$ class model. A

simulation study suggested that sample-size adjusted BIC values and bootstrapped likelihood ratio tests (BLRT) were the least biased means of selecting the number of profiles. As such, we present all indicators of relative fit across models, but relied more heavily on these latter indicators to select the number of profiles. In addition we also considered avoiding small profile sizes (<5%), report model entropy, and considered (if relevant) latent profile separation and model interpretability (Nylund et al., 2007). Descriptive statistics were used to describe profile differences in the study control variables (i.e., marital status and husbands' and wives' depressive symptoms). Non-independence was accounted both by the underlying latent variable (making couples the unit of analysis in the LPA) and by correlating item residuals across spouse (e.g., husbands and wives reports of economic hardship). In addition we specified covariances among uniquenesses for items that capture economic pressures and those that measured cultural adaptation pressures. The latter covariances account for within profile associations and avoid the identification of a spurious profile.

To address our second goal, predictors of profile membership were assessed using the `r3step` command with predictors specified as auxiliary variables. This procedure examines how different probabilities of profile membership vary as a function of predictor variables that do not influence profile formation via a multinomial logistic regression. To address our third goal of comparing marital satisfaction and marital negativity outcomes across profiles, we hard classified couples into their most probable profile and then regressed these outcomes on profile membership (with one profile as a reference group) and controlled for marital status and husbands' and wives' depressive symptoms.

Results

Preliminary Analysis

Table 1 provides the bivariate correlations, unstandardized means, and standard deviations for all the study variables. Regarding contextual pressures, husbands and wives reported moderate levels of felt constraint ($M = 5.73$, $SD = 1.86$, $M = 6.25$, $SD = 1.88$, respectively), financial strain ($M = 11.18$, $SD = 3.49$, $M = 11.92$, $SD = 4.25$, respectively), English competency pressure ($M = 1.78$, $SD = 0.96$, $M = 1.97$, $SD = 1.17$, respectively), acculturative pressure ($M = 1.71$, $SD = 0.99$, $M = 1.51$, $SD = 1.01$, respectively), and enculturative pressure ($M = 0.96$, $SD = 0.87$, $M = 0.79$, $SD = 0.87$, respectively). Bivariate associations between economic and cultural adaptation pressures were statistically significant; however, spouses' marital satisfaction and negativity were generally unrelated to these pressures. Within-couple correlations for each study variable were significant and positive. Marital status was negatively correlated with husbands' reports of financial strain, both spouses' reports of cultural adaptation pressures, and wives' reports of marital satisfaction and marital negativity. Wives' depressive symptoms were correlated with their own reports of marital satisfaction and marital negativity, where as husbands' depressive symptoms were significantly correlated with only their own marital negativity. Notably, the lack

of bivariate associations between contextual pressures and spouses' marital satisfaction and negativity does not imply a lack of association from a person-centered perspective that accounts for the interrelated impact of contextual pressures.

Couple profile identification and description

The first goal of the study was to identify profiles of couples using husbands' and wives' perceptions of a variety of economic cultural adaptation pressures (i.e., felt constraint, financial strain, English competency pressure, acculturative pressure, and enculturative pressure) using latent profile analysis. We Examined 1-typology, 2-typology, 3-typology, 4-typology, and 5-typology solution and concluded data 4-typology solution was the best model (see Table 2 for model fit). Model fit indices supported four-typology solution as the best fitting solution. Profile 1 (n = 10, 8.3%), labeled Couples High Cultural Pressure, was distinguished by husbands and wives who reported high levels of cultural adaptation pressures. Characterized by couples in which both wives and husbands were above average in their reports of cultural adaptation pressures, both husbands and wives' in this profile reported the highest enculturative pressure of any profile. In contrast to their reports of cultural adaptation pressures, husbands and wives in this profile reported levels of

Table 2. Standardized Latent Profile Model Comparisons Standardized.

| Model | A/C | BIC | ABIC | Entropy | -2LL Diff | VLRT p-value | BLRT p-value |
|---------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|--------------|--------------|
| One-Profile | 3112.72 | 3204.71 | 3100.38 | 1.000 | | | |
| Two-Profile | 3087.34 | 3209.98 | 3070.88 | 0.959 | 47.38 | .036 | <.001 |
| Three-Profile | 3057.15 | 3210.47 | 3036.57 | 0.826 | 52.18 | .298 | <.001 |
| Four-Profile | 3042.35 | 3226.33 | 3017.66 | 0.827 | 36.80 | .487 | .040 |
| Five-Profile | 3044.33 | 3258.97 | 3015.53 | 0.850 | 20.01 | .695 | 1.000 |

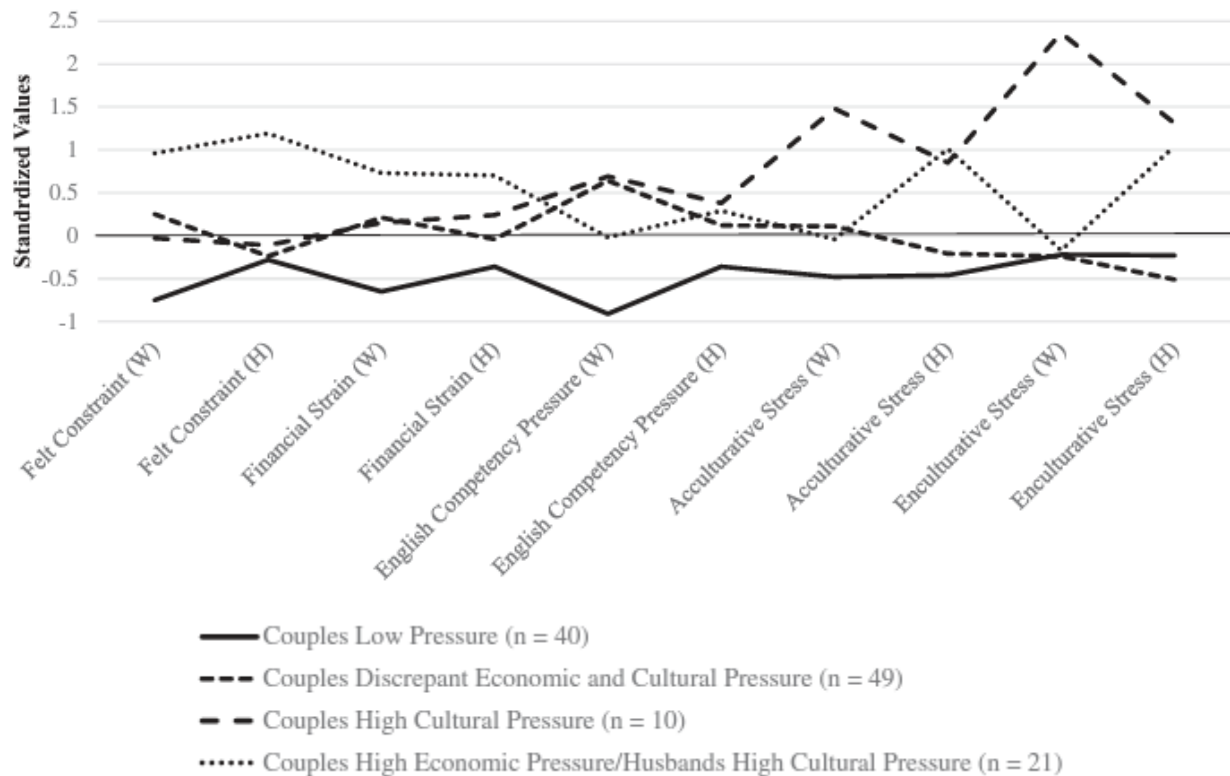


Figure 1. Economic and cultural pressure profiles. Note: W indicates values for wives and H represents values for husbands. Standard values shown indicate relative comparisons between the entire sample mean and the estimates for each variable within each profile. Standardized means can be used to compare values across profiles but cannot be used to compare values between husbands and wives.

felt constraint that were slightly below average, and feelings of financial strain that were slightly above average. Profile 2 ($n = 21$, 17.5%), labeled Couples High Economic Pressure/Husbands High Cultural Pressure, was characterized by both husbands and wives who reported high levels of economic pressures relative to the other profiles, and husbands, but not wives, reporting high levels of cultural adaptation pressures. Profile 3 ($n = 49$, 40.8%), labeled Couples Discrepant Economic and Cultural Pressure, was distinguished by wives who reported high levels of English competency pressures relative to other wives married to husbands who reported the lowest enculturative pressure of any profile. This profile was further characterized by wives who reported economic pressures that were slightly above average married to husbands whose reported economic pressures ranged from average to slightly below average. Of note, this is the only profile in which husbands' and wives' reported discrepant within-person experiences across cultural pressures. The fourth profile ($n = 40$, 33.3%), labeled Couples Low Pressure, was characterized by husbands and wives who reported relatively low levels of economic and cultural adaptation pressures across the items. See Figure 1 for a graph of the couple profiles with standardized means, and Table 3 for unstandardized and standardized mean values for each profile.

Several profile differences were found for the study control variables (i.e., marital status, depressive symptoms). Chi-square difference tests indicated that marital status (i.e., married vs. living as married) varied across profiles. Specifically, spouses in the Couples Low Pressure and Couples Discrepant Economic and Cultural Pressure profiles were more likely to be legally married (i.e., 85% and 67% legally married, respectively) than those in the Couples High Cultural Pressure profile ($\chi^2(3, N = 120) = 16.18, p = .001$; 20% legally married). Repeated measures ANOVA results found no significant differences for husbands' or wives' depressive symptoms across the four profiles.

Predicting membership into profiles of contextual pressure

The second goal of the study was to examine how more objective indicators of economic and cultural adaptation stress (i.e., household income and husbands' and wives' length of residence in the United States) were linked with the profiles of contextual pressures for Mexican-immigrant couples. Odds ratios depicting the extent to which each indicator predicted increased or decreased odds of membership in one profile relative to a reference profile are provided in Table 4. Household income and husbands' length of residence did not differentially predict profile membership; there was one significant effect and two trend-level effects for wives' length of residence in the United States. Relative to the Couples Low Pressure profile, for each additional year wives were in the U.S., couples were 27% less likely to be in the Couples High Cultural Pressure profile ($p = .007$), 21% less likely to be in the Couples High Economic Pressure/Husbands High Cultural Pressure ($p = .051$), and 16% less likely to be in the Couples Discrepant Economic and Cultural Pressure profile ($p = .076$).

Linking marital satisfaction and negativity to contextual pressures profile membership

The third goal of the study was to examine how couples' experiences of economic and cultural adaptation pressures were linked with marital satisfaction and marital negativity. To examine differences across profiles, we hard classified couples into their most likely profile and regressed marital outcomes on class membership controlling for husbands' and wives' depression and marital status. The Couples Low Pressure profile was used as the reference group in the main analyses (see Table 5). It is also possible, however, to use alternative parameterizations in Mplus output to use each class as the reference group. Each regression model included estimated correlations between the residuals for all outcome variables and was just-identified so there were no model fit statistics. Correlated residuals between spouses' marital outcomes accounted for nonindependence. Relative to the

Table 3. Latent Profile Membership Standardized and Unstandardized Values.

| | Couples High Cultural Pressure (n = 10) | | | Couples High Economic Pressure/Husband' High Cultural Pressure (n = 21) | | | Couples Discrepant Economic and Cultural Pressure (n = 49) | | | Couples Low Pressure (n = 40) | | |
|--------------------------------|---|-----------|----------|---|-----------|----------|--|-----------|----------|-------------------------------|-----------|----------|
| | Unstd. Mean | Std. Mean | <i>p</i> | Unstd. Mean | Std. Mean | <i>p</i> | Unstd. Mean | Std. Mean | <i>p</i> | Unstd. Mean | Std. Mean | <i>p</i> |
| W. Felt Constraint | 6.20 | -0.03 | .913 | 8.04 | 0.96 | .007 | 6.72 | 0.25 | .118 | 4.84 | -0.75 | .000 |
| H. Felt Constraint | 5.52 | -0.11 | .427 | 7.93 | 1.19 | .000 | 5.30 | -0.24 | .231 | 5.22 | -0.28 | .145 |
| W. Financial Strain | 12.56 | 0.15 | .490 | 15.01 | 0.73 | .008 | 12.82 | 0.21 | .299 | 9.19 | -0.65 | .000 |
| H. Financial Strain | 12.03 | 0.24 | .369 | 13.62 | 0.70 | .016 | 11.05 | -0.04 | .824 | 9.94 | -0.36 | .052 |
| W. English Competency Pressure | 2.77 | 0.69 | .000 | 1.94 | -0.02 | .933 | 2.71 | 0.64 | .000 | 0.91 | -0.91 | .000 |
| H. English Competency Pressure | 2.14 | 0.38 | .074 | 2.06 | 0.29 | .263 | 1.88 | 0.12 | .551 | 1.44 | -0.36 | .099 |
| W. Acculturative Pressure | 2.99 | 1.48 | .000 | 1.48 | -0.04 | .881 | 1.62 | 0.11 | .608 | 1.04 | -0.48 | .007 |
| H. Acculturative Pressure | 2.55 | 0.85 | .000 | 2.71 | 1.01 | .001 | 1.50 | -0.21 | .178 | 1.26 | -0.46 | .001 |
| W. Enculturative Pressure | 2.85 | 2.36 | .000 | 0.64 | -0.17 | .225 | 0.59 | -0.24 | .062 | 0.60 | -0.22 | .108 |
| H. Enculturative Pressure | 2.09 | 1.31 | .000 | 1.85 | 1.04 | .000 | 0.51 | -0.51 | .000 | 0.76 | -0.23 | .084 |

Note: Standardized *p*-values shown indicate the extent to which the standardized mean is different from the average mean of the sample. Standardized means can be used to compare values across profiles but cannot be used to compare values between husbands and wives within profiles.

Table 4. Objective predictors of profile membership.

| | Profile 1 | | | Profile 2 | | | Profile 3 | | | Profile 4 | | |
|--|-----------|----------|------|-----------|----------|------|-----------|----------|------|-----------|----------|------|
| | <i>b</i> | <i>p</i> | OR | <i>b</i> | <i>p</i> | OR | <i>b</i> | <i>p</i> | OR | <i>b</i> | <i>p</i> | OR |
| Profile 1: Couples High Cultural Pressure | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Household Income | | | | -0.02 | .557 | 0.98 | -0.01 | .840 | 0.99 | 0.04 | .186 | 1.04 |
| Wives' Length of Residence | | | | 0.08 | .461 | 1.09 | 0.14 | .158 | 1.15 | 0.32 | .007 | 1.37 |
| Husbands' Length of Residence | | | | -0.05 | .533 | 0.95 | -0.12 | .163 | 0.89 | -0.14 | .147 | 0.87 |
| Profile 2: Couples High Economic Pressure/Husbands High Cultural Pressure | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Household Income | 0.02 | .557 | 1.02 | | | | 0.02 | .668 | 1.02 | 0.06 | .102 | 1.06 |
| Wives' Length of Residence | -0.08 | .461 | 0.92 | | | | 0.06 | .574 | 1.06 | 0.23 | .051 | 1.26 |
| Husbands' Length of Residence | 0.05 | .533 | 1.05 | | | | -0.06 | .345 | 0.94 | -0.09 | .290 | 0.92 |
| Profile 3: Couples Discrepant Economic and Cultural Pressure | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Household Income | 0.01 | .840 | 1.01 | -0.02 | .668 | 0.99 | | | | 0.04 | .241 | 1.04 |
| Wives' Length of Residence | -0.14 | .158 | 0.87 | -0.06 | .574 | 0.95 | | | | 0.18 | .076 | 1.19 |
| Husbands' Length of Residence | 0.12 | .163 | 1.12 | 0.06 | .345 | 1.07 | | | | -0.02 | .755 | 0.98 |
| Profile 4: Couples Low Pressure | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Household Income | -0.04 | .186 | 0.96 | -0.06 | .102 | 0.94 | -0.04 | .241 | 0.96 | | | |
| Wives' Length of Residence | -0.32 | .007 | 0.73 | -0.23 | .051 | 0.79 | -0.18 | .076 | 0.84 | | | |
| Husbands' Length of Residence | 0.14 | .147 | 1.15 | 0.09 | .290 | 1.09 | 0.84 | .755 | 1.03 | | | |

Note: *b* signifies beta, *p* indicates p-value, OR signifies odds ratio. P-values are associated with beta estimates. Profiles in each row represent the reference group.

Table 5. Latent Profile Predictors of Husbands' and Wives' Marital Satisfaction and Marital Negativity.

| | Wives' Marital Satisfaction | | Husbands' Marital Satisfaction | | Wives' Marital Negativity | | Husbands' Marital Negativity | |
|--|-----------------------------|----------|--------------------------------|----------|---------------------------|----------|------------------------------|----------|
| | <i>b</i> | <i>p</i> | <i>b</i> | <i>p</i> | <i>b</i> | <i>p</i> | <i>b</i> | <i>p</i> |
| Wives' Depressive Symptoms | -0.11 | <.001 | -0.02 | .346 | 0.12 | <.001 | 0.03 | .247 |
| Husbands' Depressive Symptoms | -0.01 | .820 | -0.01 | .649 | 0.05 | .130 | 0.11 | <.001 |
| Marital Status | 0.40 | .109 | 0.05 | .817 | -0.69 | .012 | 0.01 | .977 |
| Couples Low Stress Profile as Referent | | | | | | | | |
| Couples High Cultural Pressures | -0.30 | .513 | -0.23 | .538 | -0.31 | .533 | -0.03 | .945 |
| Couples Discrepant Economic and Cultural Pressure | -0.82 | .001 | 0.09 | .684 | -0.14 | .606 | -0.34 | .214 |
| Couples High Economic Pressure/Husbands High Cultural Pressure | -0.07 | .828 | 0.01 | .966 | -0.51 | .163 | -0.83 | .020 |
| Couples High Cultural Pressure as Referent | | | | | | | | |
| Couples Low Stress | 0.82 | .001 | -0.09 | .684 | 0.14 | .606 | 0.34 | .214 |
| Couples Discrepant Economic and Cultural Pressure | -0.52 | .224 | 0.31 | .373 | 0.17 | .725 | -0.30 | .510 |
| Couples High Economic Pressure/Husbands High Cultural Pressure | 0.22 | .628 | 0.24 | .524 | -0.20 | -0.20 | -0.80 | .104 |
| Couples Discrepant Economic and Cultural Pressures Referent | | | | | | | | |
| Couples Low Stress | 0.82 | .001 | -0.09 | .684 | 0.14 | .606 | 0.34 | .214 |
| Couples High Cultural Pressure | 0.52 | .224 | -0.31 | .373 | -0.17 | .725 | 0.30 | .510 |
| Couples High Economic Pressure/Husbands High Cultural Pressure | 0.74 | .020 | -0.07 | .779 | -0.37 | .291 | -0.50 | .145 |

Couples High Economic Pressure/Husbands High Cultural Pressure as Referent

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------|------|-------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Couples Low Stress | 0.07 | .828 | -0.01 | .966 | 0.51 | .163 | 0.83 | .020 |
| Couples High Cultural Pressure | -0.22 | .628 | -0.24 | .524 | 0.20 | .685 | 0.80 | .104 |
| Couples Discrepant Economic and Cultural Pressure | -0.74 | .020 | 0.07 | .779 | 0.37 | .291 | 0.50 | .145 |

Note: Estimated residual correlations between marital outcomes are not reflected in the table.

Couples Low Pressure profile, membership in the Couples Discrepant Economic and Cultural Pressure profile was significantly and negatively related to wives' marital satisfaction ($b = .82, p = .001$). In addition, relative to the Couples Low Pressure profile, membership in the Couples High Economic Pressure/Husbands High Cultural Pressure profile was significantly and negatively related to husbands' marital negativity ($b = .83, p = .020$). When considering the Couples Discrepant Economic and Cultural Pressure profile as the reference group, membership in the Couples High Economic Pressures/Husbands High Cultural Pressures Profile was significantly and positively related to wives' marital satisfaction ($b = .74, p = .020$). In sum, wives reported lower levels of marital satisfaction in the Couples Discrepant Economic and Cultural Pressure profile than two of the three identified profiles (i.e., Couples Low Pressure and Couples High Economic Pressure/Husbands High Cultural Pressure), and husbands in the Couple High Economic Pressure/Husbands High Cultural Pressure Profile reported less marital negativity than husbands in the Couples Low Pressure Profile. Profile membership was not a significant predictor of husbands' marital satisfaction and wives' marital negativity.

Discussion

Scholars suggest that first-generation Mexican immigrant families are likely to simultaneously experience economic and cultural adaptation pressures under conditions of social marginalization in pre-emerging immigrant communities in the United States (e.g., Action for Children North Carolina, 2011; Helms et al., 2015; Taylor et al., 2012). Furthermore, the unique patterns of pressures couples experience in communities unprepared for rapid growth in their immigrant population may make sustaining marriages challenging, placing immigrant couples at further risk for marital dissolution or decline (Baca Zinn & Wells, 2008; Oropesa & Landale, 2004; Padilla & Borrero, 2006). This is the first study to empirically assess the extent to which Mexican immigrant spouses experience differing patterns of contextual pressures, and the manner in which these patterns of pressures for couples are linked with spouses' marital satisfaction and negativity.

Grounded in socio-ecological and family stress theoretical perspectives, the first and second goals of the study were to identify couple profiles based on Mexican immigrant spouses' economic and cultural adaptation pressures and to assess the extent to which differences in profile membership were related to more objective indicators of economic and cultural adaptation stress. Similar to Roy and Raver's study (2014) linking patterns of poverty-related stress to child outcomes, our application of a person centered analytic approach identified four profiles that included a lowstress profile and three additional profiles that varied in spouses' experiences of economic and cultural adaptation pressures. The identification of four profiles, including a third of the sample represented by the Couples Low Pressure profile, challenges depictions of Mexican immigrant couples and families as a group that is uniformly burdened by their circumstances. Notably, the Couples Low Pressure profile included spouses who reported relatively low levels of both economic and cultural adaptation pressures but who did not differ from other couples in income. This finding is consistent with previous person-centered

approaches to modeling contextual pressures related to poverty and underscores couples' resilience despite stressful economic circumstances (e.g., for a review see Jobe-Shields et al., 2015). Where the Low Pressure couples differed from the other three profiles, however, was in wives' (but not husbands') years in the United States. For couples in which both spouses' reported relatively low levels of economic and cultural adaptation pressures, wives were more likely to have lived in the U.S. longer than wives in the other groups. Because husbands often migrate before their wives (Glick, 2010), the potential for "his" and "her" experiences of cultural adaptation is likely salient for many Mexican immigrant couples with wives' length of residence in the United States likely impacting couples' subjective experience of contextual stress (Helms et al., 2011; Padilla & Borrero, 2006).

By identifying four distinct patterns of contextual pressure, this study empirically demonstrated the variability in a seemingly homogeneous sample (i.e., low-income, Mexican immigrant couples living in high poverty neighborhoods in pre-emerging immigrant communities), highlighting differences in subjective experiences of economic and cultural adaptation pressures among Mexican immigrant couples that may be differentially experienced by husbands and wives. The identification of profiles in which spouses reported different perceptions of economic or cultural adaptation pressures (i.e., Profile 2: Couples High Economic Pressure/Husbands High Cultural Pressure and Profile 3: Couples Discrepant Economic and Cultural Pressure) speaks to the theoretical notion of the "non-shared environments" that family members inhabit in their everyday lives that can lead to differential pressures for spouses in the same family. For nearly twenty percent of the couples (i.e., Profile 2), both husbands and wives reported relatively high levels of economic pressures, and husbands—but not their wives—reported above average to high levels of cultural adaptation pressures related to English competency pressures, as well as acculturative and enculturative pressures. Because husbands' years in the United States were unrelated to profile membership, other factors unaccounted for in the current study that were perhaps unique to husbands' non-shared everyday environments (e.g., workplace conditions, experiences with racism and discrimination, pressures from social network members) most likely explain husbands' above average to high levels of perceived cultural adaptation pressures. Profile 3, Couples Discrepant Economic and Cultural Pressure, represented approximately forty-one percent of the sample and included spouses who varied in their perceptions of economic pressure and acculturative pressure (i.e., wives reporting above average pressures married to husbands reporting at or below average pressures), but were similar in their perceptions of above average English competency pressures and below average pressures related to maintaining their cultural heritage (i.e. enculturation). In contrast to the non-shared experiences of contextual stress reported by spouses in Profiles 2 and 3, husbands and wives perceptions of economic and cultural adaptation pressures in the Couples Low Pressure and Couples High Cultural Pressure profiles were similarly experienced.

Taken together, these findings reinforce calls for dyadic research on the differential impact of contextual stress among Mexican immigrant husbands and wives, underscore the importance of examining both spouses' perceptions of contextual stressors, and recognize the

variation within Mexican immigrant couples' experiences in adapting to life in the United States. Additional research is needed to document factors that may contribute to resilience in the face of challenges including studies that adopt a dyadic and person-centered approach to identify potential individual (i.e., immigration experiences, expectations regarding the process of cultural adaptations, personal qualities) and contextual factors (i.e., social network and support structures) that matter for immigrant couples (Glick, 2010).

The third goal of the study was to demonstrate how the identified couple profiles of contextual pressures were linked with marital satisfaction and negativity. Aligned with the underlying assumption of person-centered theoretical approaches (Jobe-Shields et al., 2015; Lanza et al., 2013; Masyn, 2013), the results indicated that there were differential marital outcomes for couples experiencing different patterns of contextual pressures. Specifically, wives' marital satisfaction which reflected their subjective evaluations of the marriage across a range of domains (e.g., marital communication, decision-making, spousal support of Mexican traditions) and husband's perceptions of negativity reflecting the frequency and intensity of arguments and varied based on profile membership.

Wives reported lower levels of marital satisfaction in the Couples Discrepant Economic and Cultural Pressure profile (i.e., Profile 3) than two of the three identified profiles (i.e., Profile 4 Couples Low Pressure and Profile 2 Couples High Economic Pressure/Husbands High Cultural Pressure). This finding is notable given that Profile 3 was the largest couple group identified in the study and included wives who reported above average English competency pressures, whereas wives in Profile 2 and 4 reported below average English competency pressures. Compared to profiles in which both husbands and wives reported relatively low economic and cultural adaptation pressures (i.e., Couples Low Pressure) or relatively high economic pressures (i.e. Couples High Economic Pressure/Husbands High Cultural Pressure), wives in Profile 3 were less satisfied in marriages distinguished by their own pressures related to speaking English and perceptions of economic pressures that differed from their husbands below average economic pressures. Notably, however, husbands in Profile 3 did not report similarly lower levels of marital satisfaction comparatively suggesting the non-shared experiences of economic pressures was not salient for husbands' marital satisfaction. It may be that wives' marital satisfaction, measured in this study as spouses' evaluation of their marriage across domains that tap into the extent to which positive communication, decision-making and teamwork characterizes the marriage, is uniquely vulnerable in marital contexts characterized by spouses' discrepant experiences of economic pressures and wives' feelings of pressure related to her ability to speak English. Considering this finding in combination with the non-significant finding for wives' marital negativity (i.e., a measure of wives' perceived frequency and intensity of marital arguments) suggests that wives in Profile 3 did not experience their marriages as highly negative, but rather less satisfying than wives in the Couples Low Pressure and Couples High Economic Pressure/Husbands High Cultural Pressure groups. It may be that in the context of managing the stressors associated with adapting to life in a relatively new immigrant destination during a period of unexpected economic decline, that wives' marital satisfaction is vulnerable to

the acute stressors associated with learning a new language in a marital context in which wives—but not husbands—are also worried about finances. Indeed, wives were more satisfied with their marriages when they didn't experience pressure related to English competency and shared perceptions of economic pressures that were similar to husbands.

In contrast, husbands' negativity, but not marital satisfaction, varied by profile group membership. Relative to husbands in the Profile 4 Couples Low Pressure marriages, husbands in the Profile 2 Couples High Economic Pressure/Husbands High Cultural Pressure reported less marital negativity. This finding runs counter to what would be expected from theoretical perspectives that espouse a linear relationship between contextual pressures and marital quality (e.g., Story & Bradbury, 2004) as well as results from variable-oriented studies that have documented associations between economic pressure and marital conflict (Conger et al., 1990, 1999; Jackson et al., 2016). Cutrona et al. (2003) research on African American families offers one competing narrative regarding the links between economic pressure and marital negativity in that they found no support for links between financial strain and marital hostility for either partner among a sample of African American couples. Importantly, prior research focused on economic pressures and marital quality did not attend to the additional contextual pressures experienced by Mexican immigrants related to the process of cultural adaptation, nor was a person-centered analytic approach applied. What may be occurring for the couples in Profile 2 in which both husbands and wives report above average economic pressures and husbands (but not wives) report above average cultural adaptation pressures, is as an "asymmetry in the buffering effect" that has been documented in the work-family stress literature (Bolger et al., 1989, p. 182). Focused on the transmission of work stress to family life, this literature has documented how wives often respond to their husbands' stress at work by behaving in ways that relieve rather than exacerbate stress for their husbands. In addition, this body of work underscores how husbands often withdraw from family interaction in response to stressful work days characterized by interpersonal difficulties and high work demands (Repetti & Wood, 1997; Schulz et al., 2004). This type of social withdrawal has short-term benefits, in that solitary time can rejuvenate husbands and buffer couples from the transmission of negative emotions (Story & Repetti, 2006). Drawing from this literature, it may be that Profile 2 husbands who experience high economic and cultural adaptation pressures engage in a pattern of withdrawal from marital interaction, unlike husbands in Profile 4. In addition, Profile 2 wives, who have a shared understanding of high economic pressures and an awareness of their husbands' high cultural adaptation pressures, may choose to buffer their husbands from marital conflict and negativity in a manner that is different from wives in the Couples Low Pressure profile.

Limitations and future directions

There are several limitations in the current study. First, person-centered analyses, like latent profile analyses, are sample-specific and sample-size dependent. There are no "rules" regarding sample size for mixture models, with some scholars demonstrating successful class identification

with as few as 30 subjects (Muthen, 2013). However, analyses that are sample-dependent may evidence different profiles of contextual pressures if using a different sample of immigrants (i.e., an established immigrant community) or a larger sample, which would enable the potential identification of more profiles. However, large-scale studies using person-centered approaches have found similar patterns in terms of the number of identified profiles (i.e., four) and the identification of a low-stress profile (see Jobe-Shields et al., 2015 for a review). Although our findings demonstrate heterogeneity in the experience of contextual pressures, the identified profiles are not necessarily applicable to a wider range of Latinx immigrants (e.g., second-generation immigrants, immigrants from other Latin American countries, immigrants living in a different locale) for whom cultural adaptation and economic conditions may be different. Given the cross-sectional and exploratory nature of our study combined with the relatively small size of the identified profiles, replication of the results will be necessary to inform the extent to which they apply across time and to other groups of couples.

Several future research questions were raised by the findings from the current study. First, as objective indicators of economic and cultural adaptation pressures failed to consistently account for couples' profile membership, questions remain regarding factors that may explain why couples experience different patterns of pressures. In other words, what additional factors may predict membership into these profiles? First, it may be that household income would predict profile membership in a more economically diverse sample of Mexican immigrants than was found in our sample of predominantly low-income couples. Second, there are several additional stressors (e.g., pre-migration experiences, discrimination, stress associated with legal status, fears of deportation, workplace stress) and factors associated with resilience that may be relevant for immigrant families that were not considered in the current study, including cultural traditions, ethnic identity, community and extended family networks (Bermudez & Mancini, 2013; Cardoso & Thompson, 2010). Given previous research linking discrimination and marital functioning and the protective effect of ethnic identity (Trail et al., 2012), it would be worthwhile to examine whether ethnic identity is protective against other types of contextual pressures or whether profiles of contextual pressures would look different with the inclusion of perceived discrimination. Third, as couples in this study were all parents of young children, future research would benefit from examining links from profile membership and marital interactions (e.g., coparenting, Rodriguez & Helms, 2016; Rodriguez & Helms, 2014) to parenting behaviors and child outcomes. Previous research with Latinx families has demonstrated links between economic stress and hostile parenting (e.g., Parke et al., 2004) and acculturative stress and parenting behaviors (Halgunseth et al., 2006; Varela et al., 2004). However, links between patterns of contextual pressures and parenting behaviors among Latinx immigrants have yet to be examined.

Conclusion

The current study used an innovative person-centered approach to examine patterns of contextual pressures experienced by Mexican immigrant couples, the extent to which the four identified patterns were predicted by more objective indicators of economic and cultural adaptation stressors, and the links between profile group membership and spouses' marital satisfaction and marital negativity. The dyadic and person-centered approach provided a more nuanced understanding of the links between contextual pressures and marital satisfaction and marital negativity than has been explored to date via variable-centered approaches. The findings are important in that the person-centered analytic strategy better aligns with theorizing emphasizing the heterogeneity among immigrant and Latinx families (e.g. Uma~na-Taylor & Updegraff, 2012; Updegraff & Uma~na-Taylor, 2015). Without such an approach, the variation in experiences of pressures among a seemingly homogeneous sample of low-income Mexican immigrant couples would have been missed. Furthermore, by examining the patterning of pressures for couples, discrepant reports of contextual pressures and their links with marital quality were unearthed.

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