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ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS RELATED TO FILIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN
LATINO YOUTH: VARIATIONS BY BIRTH ORDER, GENDER, AND
IMMIGRATION AGE

by

ANABEL ALVAREZ

Under the Direction of Gabriel Kuperminc and Leslie Jackson

ABSTRACT

Filial responsibility and familism were examined among a sample of Latino youth through a number of diverse methods that included variable centered and person centered analyses. Effects of gender, birth order, and immigration age were examined. An exploratory principal components analysis of the *Adolescent Filial Responsibility Questionnaire-Revised* revealed that the most interpretable solution included five factors: fairness, chores, culture brokering, emotional tasks, and overburden. ANOVA analyses found significant main effects of birth order on culture brokering and chores, of gender on emotional tasks, and of immigration age on culture brokering. Cluster analysis identified five groups based on adolescents' responses: traditional overburden, traditional balanced, non-traditional culturebrokers, traditional low, and non-traditional overburden. Chi-square analyses found significant birth order and gender differences within the traditional low cluster and immigration age differences within the traditional overburden, non-traditional culturebrokers, traditional low, and traditional balanced clusters.

INDEX WORDS: Latino, Filial Responsibility, Familism, Gender, Immigration Age, Birth Order, Middle School

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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts
in the College of Arts and Sciences
Georgia State University

2005

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Anabel Alvarez
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Introduction

Immigrant families with Latin American backgrounds have often been described as possessing a collectivistic orientation, where the emphasis is on the goals and interests of the group over those of the individual members (Fuligni, 1998; Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999). Furthermore, children in immigrant families have been observed to take on substantial responsibilities within their homes (Buriel, Perez, Dement, Chavez, & Moran, 1998; Freeberg & Stein, 1996; Fuligni et al., 1999; Fuligni, Yip, & Tseng, 2002; Jurkovic, Kuperminc, Perilla, Murphy, Ibanez, & Casey, 2004; Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000; Valenzuela, 1999). However, to date there are few studies that have examined whether immigrant Latin American families share their culture's emphasis on filial duty or how this sense of obligation may vary according to factors such as gender, birth order, or age of immigration (Fuligni et al., 1999)

From a cultural perspective, researchers have tended to view filial obligations as grounded in cultural norms, and have argued that young people's family obligations contribute to positive developmental outcomes, including positive relationships with peers (Fuligni et al., 1999), better educational adjustment (Altarriba & Bauer, 1998; Fuligni, 1998, Fuligni et al., 1999, Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 1995), high levels of interpersonal skills (Jurkovic, Kuperminc, & Casey, 2003), and reduced rates of delinquency and/or substance abuse (Fuligni, 1998). Although there are a few exceptions, most of this research has focused on the attitudes of young people and their parents toward family loyalty, duty, and obligation (Fuligni 1998; Fuligni et al, 1999; Phinney et al, 2000).

From a clinical perspective, a high degree of family responsibility has often been described in pathological terms, such as *destructive parentification* (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Sparks, 1973, Minuchin, 1974) and *role reversal* (Chamorro, 2004). Additionally, substantial amounts of family obligations have been viewed as contributing significantly to risk for subsequent difficulties in development, including difficulty in school (Henderson, 1997; Fuligni, 1998; Fuligni et al., 1999), feelings of anxiety and depression (Jurkovic et al., 2000), and reduced social interactions (Fuligni et al., 1999).

The current study seeks to integrate these clinical and cultural perspectives to further the understanding of the implications of young people's contributions to their families' well-being for their psychological and social adaptation. With its focus on culturally-rooted attitudes and beliefs toward family obligation, the cultural literature offers insights into the resilience of many youth from immigrant families who appear to thrive despite a high degree of family obligation (Rumbaut 2000). With its focus on emotional and instrumental caregiving behaviors, the clinical literature offers insights into the challenges young people may confront as they navigate the often conflicting demands of home, school, and peers (Jurkovic et al., 2004). Despite existing research many questions remain unanswered. For example, what is the nature and extent of family responsibilities experienced by youth in immigrant families? To what extent do youth perceive their responsibilities as grounded in cultural norms? Do they perceive them as fair? Do the extent and nature of family responsibilities and attitudes toward those responsibilities vary as a function of gender, birth order, and immigrant status? The proposed study will examine these questions in a sample of young adolescent Latino boys and girls from immigrant families.

Literature Review

According to Vega (1990) families who immigrate to the United States are often comprised of adult couples with young children. Often the entire family does not immigrate together; instead one parent will come to the U.S., to be followed months or even years later by the other partner and their children. Additionally, there are families in the United States who are second and third generation Latinos (e.g. children or grandchildren of immigrants). These diverse family units represent cultural values and practices that differ not only from those of European Americans who have been in the United States for many generations but also represent within group difference (e.g., differences between immigrant children and children of immigrants) (Center for Reproductive Health Research and Policy, 2002).

Latinos are currently the largest ethnic minority group in the United States (United States Census Bureau, 2003) and immigrant children and children of immigrants who are born in the United States are the fastest growing segment within the child population (Hallmark, Beck, Downs Shattuck, Kattar, & Uribuen, 2003; Rumbaut, 2000). Increases in the proportion of Americans who are members of an ethnic minority group have heightened the need for social scientists to understand these populations (Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990; Kuperminc, Blatt, Shahar, Henrich, & Leadbeater, 2004). Furthermore, most studies of ethnic minority children emphasize cross-ethnic comparison (e.g. comparing different ethnicities and/or races with regards to academic achievement) (Harrison et al., 1990; Nyman, 1995). A problem with cross-ethnic comparison is that there is more within group than between group variation; for example, studying differences among Latinos may be more fruitful than comparing Latinos to

Caucasians. Another concern with comparative data is the assumption that one group's characteristics are more desirable than another's; for example, when ethnic group differences are used as evidence to the inferiority of minority groups compared to mainstream White cultural (Cauce, Coronado, & Watson, 1998). The aforementioned perspectives point to the importance of conducting studies of cultural groups that allow investigation of the variability and diversity that exists within groups. Consistent with this perspective, the present study focuses on Latino youth.

Familism Attitudes

Most research on the role of family obligations in the adaptation of Latino and other immigrant youth has focused on culturally-based attitudes of children and parents often referred to as familism. Definitions of familism have varied substantially in the literature (Freeberg et al., 1996), although most conceptualizations include an emphasis on mutual support and loyalty within the family system. Current definitions of familism range from "the importance an individual places on the family and his or her attitudes towards the family" (Cuellar & Gonzalez, 1995, p.342), to "normative commitment of family members to the family and to the family relationships, which supersedes attention to the individuals" (Lugo Steidel & Contreras, 2003, p.313), or "a set of attitudes, which reflect the importance given to family membership in terms of support, sacrifice, and involvement" (Freeberg et al, 1996, p.57). In the present study familism is defined as an individual's perception of the importance of family interdependence, loyalty, and respect.

Familism is considered a central value to Latinos/as and/or Hispanics (Cuellar et al., 1995; Harrison et al., 1990). Familism is believed to play a role in an individual's dependence and/or reliance on others, as well as an individual's sense of obligation to

others (Marin, 1993). Chandler, Cook, & Wolf (1979) found ethnic differences regarding familism among a sample of Mexican-American and Anglo-American adults.

Specifically, Chandler et al. (1979) and other researchers (Negy, 1993; Vega, 1990) have found that Mexican-Americans college students and adults are more likely than Anglo-Americans adults to stress the importance of maintaining close ties with family members after marriage.

A number of studies have described Mexican Americans as valuing family interdependence and extended family (Marin & Marin, 1991; Phinney et al., 2000; Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, VanOss Marin, & Perez, 1987), both features of familism. For example, children from immigrant families report a deep sense of obligation to their families and are more likely than children from American-born families to believe they should assist financially and have parents live with them once they are adults (Fuligni, 1998; Fuligni et al., 1999). Additionally, Sabogal et al. (1987) found that familism attitudes remain strong among Latinos of different nationalities even at increasing levels of acculturation.

In summary, past research indicates high levels of familism attitudes among Latinos. However, gaps exist with regards to adequately understanding this construct within the Latino adolescent population. Specifically, most existing research has utilized comparative data to analyze perceptions of familism.

Behaviors related to Filial Responsibility

Whereas most research on Latino youth has focused on attitudes toward family obligation, fewer studies have considered the nature and extent of behaviors youth perform to contribute to their families' well being. Filial responsibility as defined by

Jurkovic et. al. (2004) involves the provision by a child of overt instrumental and/or expressive caregiving to the family. Caregiving may be considered adaptive or destructive, depending upon the circumstances under which it is performed. Jurkovic and colleagues coined the term filial responsibility in an effort to describe this phenomenon in non-pathologizing language (Thirkield, 2001). In theory, caregiving tasks can be described in terms of their contributions to either instrumental or emotional needs of family members. The instrumental component may include such activities as caring for siblings, managing the household, and economically contributing to the home. The emotional component includes mediating and resolving family conflict and providing comfort and support.

Past research has found that the assignment of responsibilities to children and adolescents has the potential to become pathogenic when 1) the child is overwhelmed with responsibilities, 2) the child is assigned responsibilities that are beyond their developmental abilities, 3) the parents assume child-like roles in relation to the child, 4) the child's best interests are neglected in the role assignments, and 5) the child is not overtly reinforced in his or her parental roles, and is perhaps punished for not enacting them to the parents' satisfaction (Valleau, Bergner, & Horton, 1995; Bergner, 1982; Boszormenyi-Nagy et al., 1973; Minuchin, 1974; Jurkovic, 1997). However, according to Jurkovic (1997) adaptive forms of filial responsibility can also involve high degrees of emotional and/or instrumental caregiving tasks, provided the children "are not captivated by the role and receive support and fair treatment from their families and the larger sociocultural community of which they are a part" (p. 12). Jurkovic emphasized the parameter of ethicality as the most significant dimension of filial responsibility. He

suggested that issues of fairness are salient at every level of the phenomenon (Thirkield, 2001).

Jurkovic and Casey (2000) examined three components of filial responsibility, instrumental caregiving, emotional caregiving, and fairness in a sample of Latino adolescents. Findings offered support for the direct and moderating effects of fairness on the association of caregiving with adolescent adjustment. Specifically, 1) low levels of fairness were related to high anxiety, depression, and poor interpersonal skills, 2) instrumental caregiving that was perceived as unfair, predicted symptoms of anxiety, and 3) emotional caregiving that was perceived as fair was positively associated with high levels of interpersonal skills.

Understanding Filial Responsibility and Attitudes towards Filial Responsibility within Latino populations

High levels of filial responsibility observed within immigrant families resettling in the United States may in part reflect an adaptation strategy for the family to cope with stresses brought about by the transition to a new and unknown society (Valenzuela, 1999). For example, in the process of adapting to a new host country, immigrant families assign certain tasks and responsibilities to their children in order to distribute household responsibilities. Furthermore, the practice of filial responsibility may reflect an intergenerational view that values loyalty, cooperation, and kinship (Rehberg & Richman, 1989). Additionally, it may also reflect the fact that some cultures and subcultures regard children as responsible beings very early in life (Valenzuela, 1999).

Fulgini et al. (1999) examined the attitudes toward family obligations in a sample of more than 800 tenth and twelfth grade students from Filipino, Chinese, Mexican,

Central and South American, and European backgrounds. Results indicated that Asian and Latin American adolescents reported stronger values and greater expectations regarding their duty to assist, respect, and support their families than their peers with European backgrounds.

Most available literature makes reference to adults' felt responsibilities to elderly parents. For example, Burr and Mutchler (1999) examined a group of 55 and older adults from the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH), found that Hispanics and Blacks, were more likely than non-Hispanic Whites to agree that each generation should provide assistance when needed to family members. It seems that an emphasis on kinship is important among Latinos. For example unity and cooperation among Latino youth typically extends into their adult lives, in that spending time with the family remains important (Fuligni et al., 1999). Additionally, in some situations Latino adults may be obligated to continue to assist their families by contributing portions of their earnings to family members or by taking in elderly parents when they become unable to care for themselves (Feldman, Mont-Reynaud, & Rosenthal, 1992).

Individual Differences in Familism Attitudes and Filial Responsibility

Gender. Gender is a factor that may influence both the immigration process and the amount of participation in immigrant resettlement activities (Valenzuela, 1999; Stein & Wemmerus, 1998). Traditional Latino culture supports distinct roles for males and females that often lead parents to have different expectations for their sons and daughters (Altarriba et al., 1998, Center for Reproductive Health Research and Policy, 2003; Gowan & Trevino, 1998; Phinney & Flores, 2002). For example, Hispanic females are encouraged from an early age to adhere to passive roles; they are expected to assume

responsibility for “traditional female work” such as cleaning and child care (Altarriba et al., 1998; Orellana, 2003). Orellana (2003) among a sample of 280 fifth and sixth graders found that 63% of all girls said they helped with cleaning compared to 37% of all boys.

Valenzuela’s (1999) study with a predominantly Mexican-American sample, found that girls seemed to participate at higher rates than boys in tasks that required detailed explanation or translations, and even though boys assisted in their households with numerous activities related to resettlement, they did not have the same responsibilities or influences girls did. Fuligni et al.’s (2002) study with Chinese American adolescents found that girls demonstrated greater involvement in family obligations than boys. Furthermore, girls spent an additional hour per day on weekends assisting with family obligations. A possible explanation for girls’ increased responsibilities in the two aforementioned studies may be the traditional roles that are predominant among Latino and Chinese cultures, in which household duties are traditionally relegated to women (Goodnow, 1988; Wolf, 1970).

Other studies have found no gender differences among filial responsibility or familism. Hsui-Mei’s (1992) study conducted with American, Chinese-American, and Taiwanese found no significant gender differences in relation to filial responsibilities. Phinney et al. (2000) found no gender difference in a diverse sample (i.e. Armenian, Vietnamese, Mexican, African American, and European American) that included immigrant and non-immigrant families with regard to values pertaining to family obligations. Fuligni et al.’s (1999) study with adolescents from Filipino, Chinese, Mexican, Central and South American, and European backgrounds also found no gender differences in adolescents’ attitudes with regards to familial obligations.

Immigration Age. Time spent in the United States (indexed by the child's age at the time of immigration) is an important factor that assists in understanding the importance of family in Latino culture and in immigrants' process of resettlement to the United States. Researchers (Rumbaut & Portes, 1996; Vega, 1990) have noted that adults adapt to American culture at a slower rate than those who arrive as children or are born in the United States. Adaptation for adults is difficult for a number of reasons including, growing up in a different culture with different cultural values and having to learn a new language.

Furthermore, American society places a strong emphasis on adolescent autonomy; however, Latino youth traditionally come from a collectivistic family orientation and culture. The interaction of these two distinct perspectives (i.e. Latino and American influence) has led some researchers to speculate that American influence may lead some Latino youth to place relatively low importance upon assisting and respecting their families (Fuligni et al., 1999). However, other studies have found that familism as well as amount of filial responsibility remains high regardless of emigrational generation (Gil & Vega, 1996; Harrison et al., 1990). Research on the role of immigration age on filial responsibility and/or familism has presented contradictory findings.

Fuligni et al. (1999) examined a sample of high school students (including, Chinese, Filipino, Mexican, Central and South America, and European) of different generational status and found that attitudes regarding filial obligation remained strong regardless of whether the youths and their parents were born in their home countries or in the US.

Reuschenberg and Buriel (1988) as cited in Harrison et al. (1990) used the Family Environmental Scale (FES) to study Mexican American families who were either short or long term arrivals from Mexico or US born. Results indicated that acculturation (based on time in the US) may change the way individual family members interact and present themselves to outside agents, but internal family dynamics remain mostly intact. Similarly, Gil et al. (1996) found that family cohesion declined significantly as a function of acculturation and immigration age, but that familism remained high.

In contrast to the above findings, Phinney et al. (2000) found that foreign-born immigrant adolescents endorsed family obligations more strongly than did US born children of immigrants. Furthermore, adolescents born in the United States were likely to feel more American and in turn were more likely to develop attitudes and expectations closer to those of their non-immigrant peers (Phinney et al, 2000).

Lugo Steidel et al. (2003) developed a familism scale for use with Latino populations. The sample was comprised of 127 Latino/a adults (mean age 42 years, SD = 18.48 years). Eighty-six percent of respondents were foreign born (i.e. first generation) and 14% of respondents were born in the US with at least one parent born elsewhere (i.e. second generation). Results indicated that 1) highly acculturated participants demonstrated lower adherence to familism items, 2) high adherence to Anglo orientation was associated with less adherence to familism, 3) first generation participants adhered to overall familism and familial honor more strongly than did second generation respondents, and 4) individuals with greater exposure to US culture showed less adherence to overall familism and familial interconnectedness.

Cuellar et al. (1995) looked at differences in five factors (machismo, folk illness, familism, fatalism, and personalism) among a diverse generational sample of Mexican born and of Mexican origin adult participants. Results indicated higher levels of familism among Mexican born participants than U.S. born participants. As a result of these findings Cuellar et al. (1995) postulated that the greater the exposure an individual has to two or more cultures the greater the acculturation changes expected.

In summary, evident in the aforementioned studies are mixed findings with regard to the impact of immigration age on filial responsibility and/or familism. Additionally, great variability exists in past literature regarding how acculturation is defined.

Birth Order. Expectations and attitudes toward filial responsibility may vary as a function of children's birth order within the family. It may be expected that first born children have the largest amount of responsibility for several reasons. For one, first-born children are first able to care for younger siblings. Additionally, first born children reach normative milestones first (e.g. school and employment) and may be expected to lend their experience to help in the guidance and child rearing of younger siblings (Volk, 1999). However, to date there are no published studies examining the relationship between filial responsibility and birth order among Latino children and/or adolescents. As a result studies examining different samples (e.g. Caucasians, Chinese, Chinese-Americans, and Taiwanese) will briefly be discussed.

Most of the existing literature on birth order has focused on adult children. Yu-Tzu (1996) found that oldest children in Chinese immigrant families tend to be more willing to take care of aged parents than youngest children. Finley, Roberts, & Banahan (1988) found among a sample of American adults that oldest or only children exhibited

weaker filial obligation than middle or youngest children. Subsequently, Nyman (1995) utilizing a diverse sample (i.e. 46% Black, 31% Hispanic, 15% White, 5% Asian, and 4% mixed heritage) evaluated different personality traits that were perceived as characteristics of each birth position. Results indicated that for female eldest born, nurturance and responsibility ranked high. A substantial limitation of this last study was that differences across or within ethnic and/or racial groups were not evaluated.

Furthermore, other studies (Kivett & Atkinson, 1984; Hsui-Mei, 1991) have found no difference with regards to filial responsibility and birth order. For example, Kivett and Atkinson (1984) found no differences in perceptions of children's responsibilities for groups of parents of one, two to three, and four or more children. Hsui-Mei's (1991) study with a sample of college students that included Chinese American, Taiwanese, and Americans found no significant birth order differences among filial responsibilities.

The inconsistencies of the above findings in relation to filial responsibilities among adult children and birth order in addition to nonexistent literature with regards to these variables within the Latino adolescent population lends support to the need for further research on these constructs.

Goals of the Present Study

In summary, evident in the aforementioned studies is a scarcity of research on filial responsibility and familism within Latino youth. Furthermore, few studies have investigated the impact of gender, birth order, and immigration age on filial responsibility and/or familism.

This study aimed to address four questions through diverse analytic methods. First, how do responsibilities cluster together? This question was addressed using exploratory principal components analysis with items from the Adolescent Filial Responsibility Questionnaire-Revised (AFRQ-R) to assess whether the theoretical dimensions of instrumental caregiving, emotional caregiving, and fairness could be replicated in the present sample.

Second, how are responsibilities distributed by birth order, gender, and immigration age? To address these question analyses of variance (ANOVA) were used to examine gender, birth order, and immigration age differences on familism and the AFRQ-R factors to identify group differences.

Third, how do individuals cluster together based on filial responsibilities and familism? Scales assessing dimensions of filial responsibility and familism attitudes were entered into a hierarchical agglomerative cluster analysis using Ward's method of linkage to address this question. Cluster analysis is an individual focused exploratory data analysis technique which aims to sort individuals into groups such that the degree of association between two individuals is maximal if they belong to the same group and minimal otherwise (Higgins, 2004; Rapkin & Luke, 1993). It is expected that cluster analysis will provide descriptive information regarding the ways in which the filial responsibility factors and familism co-occur in a sample of Latino youth (Rapkin et al., 1993).

Fourth, how do clusters vary based on birth order, gender, and immigration age? To address this question clusters/profiles were examined using chi square analysis to determine any variation based on gender, birth order, and immigration age.

It was hypothesized that females, eldest children, and recently arrived immigrants would perform higher levels of both instrumental and emotional caregiving.

Furthermore, it was hypothesized that these three groups would be more likely to report that the type and amount of responsibilities they undertake were fair.

Method

Participants

Participants were recruited from a public metropolitan middle school in the Southeastern U.S. An ethnically and racially diverse school with students representing many different countries, the student body includes 54% Latino, 24% African American, 14% Asian, 8% White, and <1% American Indian students. The sample was comprised of 194 Latino youth from diverse Latin American countries (e.g. Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Peru, and Puerto Rico). The majority of the sample, 64%, was of Mexican descent. Immigrants made up 80% of the sample, while the other 20% are Latinos who were born in the US. Of those who immigrated approximately 73% did so before age 11. Participants were 57% female, the average age was 13.8 years ($SD=.80$), and participants were about evenly split between the seventh (53%) and eighth (47%) grades.

Procedure

All students in the middle school who identified as Latino or Hispanic were eligible to participate. Researchers recruited participants by going to classes, explaining the study to those students who identified as Latinos, and signing up those who were interested in participating. Approximately half of the researchers were bilingual in English and Spanish, and introductions were made in both languages. Another recruitment strategy was to set up an information table at the entrance to the school cafeteria for a week, in order for students to sign up and participate. At the time of recruitment, all students were given parental consent forms, in both English and Spanish, for parents to sign. Each student was required to bring a signed parental consent form, and to sign an assent form illustrating personal consent before participating. All

participants were told that they would receive a free movie pass for completing the survey.

Participants completed a battery of questionnaires assessing filial responsibility, acculturation, school adjustment, problem behaviors, school capital, demographics, and immigration history. Only the measures pertaining to filial responsibility, immigration history, and demographics will be used in the present study. Questionnaire items were printed in both English and Spanish on each page of the questionnaire. Questionnaires were administered in groups of approximately 20 students. One researcher read the questionnaire aloud to aid in reading comprehension (in either English or Spanish, depending on the preference of students in each group), while a second researcher was available to monitor the questionnaire administration and answer questions.

Measures

Demographic Questionnaire. Adolescents completed items assessing gender, age, education level, immigration history, immigrations status, generational status, and family composition. Questions pertaining to immigration included: “Were you born in the US? How old were you when you moved to the US? Where were you born? Where was your mother/father born? How many of your grandparents were born in the US?” Questions used to assess family composition included: “Who sleeps in your house now? How many people sleep in your household including yourself? How many children in your household are younger than you? How many children are older than you, but younger than 18?”

Adolescent Filial Responsibility Questionnaire-Revised (Jurkovic, Kuperminc, & Casey, 2000). Adolescents completed 34 items assessing perceived instrumental and

emotional care giving and fairness. Each of the 34 items is rated on a four-point Likert-type scale, with 1 indicating ‘not at all true’ and 4 indicating ‘very true’. Items tap dimensions of instrumental caregiving (e.g., “I often wash, dress, or feed some member of my family.”), emotional caregiving (e.g., “When my parents fight, they try to get me to help them.”) and fairness (e.g., “No one in my family sees how much I give up for them.”). Jurkovic, Kuperminc, & Casey (2003) reported alpha coefficients of .73, .70, and .81, for instrumental caregiving, emotional caregiving, and fairness, respectively, in a high school sample of Latino adolescents.

Familism Scale (Cuellar et al., 1995). Adolescents completed 11 items assessing perceptions of the importance of family interdependence and loyalty, and the degree to which adults should be respected and obeyed. Each of the 11 items is rated on a four-point Likert-type scale, with 1 indicating ‘not at all true’ and 4 indicating ‘very true’. One item pertaining to parental involvement in school was dropped from the original measure because of overlap with other instruments used in the larger study. An example of an item assessing adolescents’ perception of familism, “Even if a child believes that his parents are wrong, he should obey without question.” The overall scale’s internal consistency was $\alpha = .60$.

Data Analysis Plan

The current study sought to identify multiple cluster/profiles that emerged based on adolescents’ perceived instrumental caregiving, emotional caregiving, fairness, and familism. Subsequently, variation as a function of gender, birth order, and immigration age were examined across profiles.

First, an exploratory principal components analysis was conducted with items in the Adolescent Filial Responsibility Questionnaire-Revised to assess whether the theoretical dimensions of instrumental caregiving, emotional caregiving, and fairness could be replicated in the present sample. Second, gender, birth order, and immigration age differences were examined across the various scales to identify group differences using variable centered analyses. Third, scales assessing dimensions of filial responsibility and familism attitudes were entered into a hierarchical agglomerative cluster analysis using Ward's method of linkage. Lastly, the cluster analysis resulting groups were examined for differences based on the demographic variables of interest (i.e. gender, immigration age, and birth order) using chi square analyses.

Results

Factor Analysis of the Filial Responsibility Questionnaire

An exploratory principal components analysis was performed on the 34-items from the *Adolescent Filial Responsibility Questionnaire-Revised (AFRQ-R)* to assess whether the theoretical dimensions of instrumental caregiving, emotional caregiving, and fairness could be replicated in the present sample. Instead of the three factors from the original *AFRQ-R*, the most interpretable solution included five factors explaining 44.6% of the variance. Unit weighted scales reflecting each of the five factors were created by summing all items within each factor. Internal consistencies ranged from $\alpha=.58$ through .84. Eigenvalues and alphas for unit-weighted scales are shown in Table 1.

Table 1 shows each of the 34 items along with their respective loadings and cross loadings above .30. Thirteen items assessing adolescent's perception of fairness with regards to their feelings and household duties comprised the first scale labeled "fairness" (factor loadings ranged from .38 to .74). One item from the fairness factor was "No one in my family sees how much I give up for them." The second scale labeled "chores" was comprised of five items referring to the amount of household work children perform at home (factor loadings ranged from .42 to .72). An item from this scale included "I often do a lot of chores at home." Seven items having to do with adolescents helping their family with tasks that include mediating between the host countries culture and their culture of origin comprised the third scale labeled "culture brokering" (factor loadings ranged from .38 to .70) and included the item "I often help my parents speak to people who don't know Spanish." The fourth scale labeled "emotional tasks" was comprised of six items referring to the amount of emotional support children provide their families

with (factor loadings ranged from .34 to .74). An item from this scale included “It seems like people in my family are always telling me their problems.” Lastly, three items assessing adolescents’ feelings of having an excess amount of tasks and/or responsibilities comprised the fifth factor labeled “overburden” (factor loadings .54 to .71) and included the item “In my family I am often asked to do more than my share.”

Table 1

AFRQ-R Factor Analysis: Loadings and Cross Loadings Above .30

Items	1	2	3	4	5
It often seems that my feelings don't count in my family	.736				
For some reason it is hard for me to trust my parents	.650				
I feel like people in my family disappoint me	.624				
No one in my family notices how much I give up for them	.609				
It's hard sometimes to keep up in school because of my duties at home	.581				
My parents are very helpful when I have a problem	.566	.355		-.375	
Even though my parents care about me, I cannot really depend on them to meet my needs	.481				.309
My parents often criticize my attempts to help out at home	.478				.455
My parents often talk bad to me about each other	.434				.330
Sometimes it seems to me like I am more responsible than my parents are	.432	.429		.318	
In my family, I often give more than I receive	.424			.307	
My parents give me the things I need like clothes, food, and school supplies	.384	.367			
I often feel caught in the middle of my parents' conflicts	.380	.375		.364	
I do a lot of work in the house or yard		.723			
I often do a lot of the chores at home		.682			
I often do the laundry in my family		.505			
My parents often expect me to take care of myself		.484			.308
In my house I often do the cooking		.421			
I often help my brother (s) or sister(s) with their homework			.703		
My parents often ask me to help my brother(s) or sisters(s) with their problems			.673		
I often help my parents speak to people who don't know Spanish			.614		
My parents often ask me to care my brother(s) or sister(s)		.411	.603		
People in my family often ask me for help			.572		
I often go and help my parents when they have business with people at school or other places			.393		.364
I often try to keep the peace in my family			.381	.313	
When my parents fight, they try to get me to help them				.735	
It seems like people in my family are always telling me their problems				.618	
If someone in my family is upset, I try to help in some way				.580	
I feel like I have to take care of my family				.536	
I work to make money to help my family				.419	
I do a lot of the shopping for groceries or clothes for my family				.335	
At times I feel that I am the only one my mother or father can ask for help					.707
In my family I am often asked to do more than my share					.625
My parents tell me that I act older than my age					.544
Eigenvalues	4.23	2.88	2.84	2.74	2.48
Alpha for Unit-Weighted Scales	.84	.66	.73	.62	.58

Note. Principal component factor analysis with Varimax rotation with Kaiser normalization

Birth Order, Gender, and Immigration Age: Main Effects

Next, a separate analyses of variance (ANOVAs) was used for each dependent variable which included familism and each of the five new factors from the AFRQ-R (hereafter referred to as attitude/responsibility variables) to examine group differences with regards to birth order, gender, and immigration age. Shown in table 2 are the F-values for the main effect and interaction results of these variables. None of the two-way interactions involving birth order, gender, and immigration age reached significance.

Table 2

F-Values of Main Effect of Birth Order, Gender, and Immigration Age on Familism and Attitude/Responsibility Variables

	F-Values		
	Birth Order	Gender	Immigration Age
Familism	0.63	1.19	1.39
Fairness	1.88	1.71	0.82
Culture Brokering	5.20**	2.54	4.88**
Chores	6.41***	0.27	1.16
Emotional	2.36	4.16*	0.64
Overburden	2.27	1.98	2.58

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

Note. None of the 2-way interactions involving birth order, gender, and immigration age reached significance and were omitted from the table.

Birth Order

There was a significant main effect of birth order on culture brokering [$F(3,193)=5.20, p<.01, \text{Partial } \eta^2 = .08$] and chores [$F(3,193)=6.41, p<.001, \text{Partial } \eta^2 = .10$]. As shown in table 3, post-hoc analyses using Duncan’s multiple range test revealed that mean culture brokering was significantly higher for only children, middle children, and eldest children than for youngest children. Furthermore, mean chores was significantly higher for middle and eldest children, than for youngest and only children. The main effects of birth order on familism, fairness, emotional tasks, and overburden did not reach significance.

Table 3

Mean Differences on Familism and Attitude/Responsibility Variables by Birth Order

	Birth Order Mean (SD)				Post Hoc Contrasts
	Youngest Child (Y) (n=24)	Middle Child (M) (n=61)	Eldest Child (E) (n=84)	Only Child (O) (n=25)	
	Familism	3.18 (.41)	3.06 (.46)	3.14 (.42)	
Fairness	1.66 (.56)	1.98 (.64)	1.95 (.64)	1.88 (.67)	
Culture Brokering	1.53 (.48)	2.01 (.65)	2.13 (.60)	1.96 (.73)	Y<M,E,O
Chores	2.16 (.62)	2.81 (.64)	2.88 (.67)	2.21 (.60)	Y,O<M,E
Emotional	1.87 (.53)	1.99 (.62)	2.12 (.60)	1.85 (.59)	
Overburden	2.19 (.80)	2.19 (.85)	2.48 (.89)	2.36 (.97)	

Note. Y=youngest child, M=middle child, E=eldest child, and O=only child

Gender

There was a significant main effect of gender on emotional tasks [$F(1,193)=4.16$, $p<.05$, $Partial\ Eta^2 = .02$]; specifically, as shown in Table 4 females reported higher levels of emotional caregiving than did males. The main effects of gender on familism, fairness, culture brokering, chores, and overburden did not reach significance.

Table 4

Mean Differences on Familism and Attitude/Responsibility Variables by Gender

	Gender Mean (SD)	
	Female (n=110)	Male (n=84)
Familism	3.01 (.38)	3.20 (.48)
Fairness	1.96 (.66)	1.86 (.61)
Culture Brokering	1.95 (.63)	2.05 (.66)
Chores	2.73 (.64)	2.62 (.78)
Emotional	2.06 (.58)*	1.95 (.63)
Overburden	2.22 (.87)	2.50 (.89)

Note. * $p<.05$

Immigration Age

There was a significant main effect of immigration age on culture brokering [$F(3,193)=4.88$, $p<.01$, $Partial\ Eta^2 = .08$]. As shown in table 5, post-hoc analyses using Duncan’s multiple range test revealed that mean culture brokering was significantly lower for children who arrived to the US on or after the age of 12 compared to the other

three immigration age groups. The main effects of immigration age on familism, fairness, chores, emotional, and overburden did not reach significance.

Table 5

Mean Differences on Familism and Attitude/Responsibility Variables by Immigration Age

	Immigration Age Mean (SD)				Post Hoc Contrasts
	Non-Immi. (NI) (n=39)	Younger than 5 (Y5) (n=35)	5 through 11 (5-11) (n=68)	12 or older (12+) (n=52)	
Familism	3.02 (.38)	2.95 (.45)	3.09 (.44)	3.25 (.40)	
Fairness	1.93 (.74)	1.96 (.62)	1.97 (.60)	1.80 (.63)	
Culture Brokering	2.22 (.67)	2.15 (.52)	1.99 (.60)	1.72 (.67)	12+<NI,Y5,5-11
Chores	2.64 (.71)	2.68 (.69)	2.83 (.61)	2.52 (.81)	
Emotional	2.06 (.67)	2.01 (.65)	1.96(.49)	2.05 (.66)	
Overburden	2.47 (.89)	2.60 (.83)	2.23 (.82)	2.21 (.96)	

Note. NI=non-immigrant, Y5=younger than 5, 5-11=5 through 11, and 12+=12 or older

Cluster Analysis

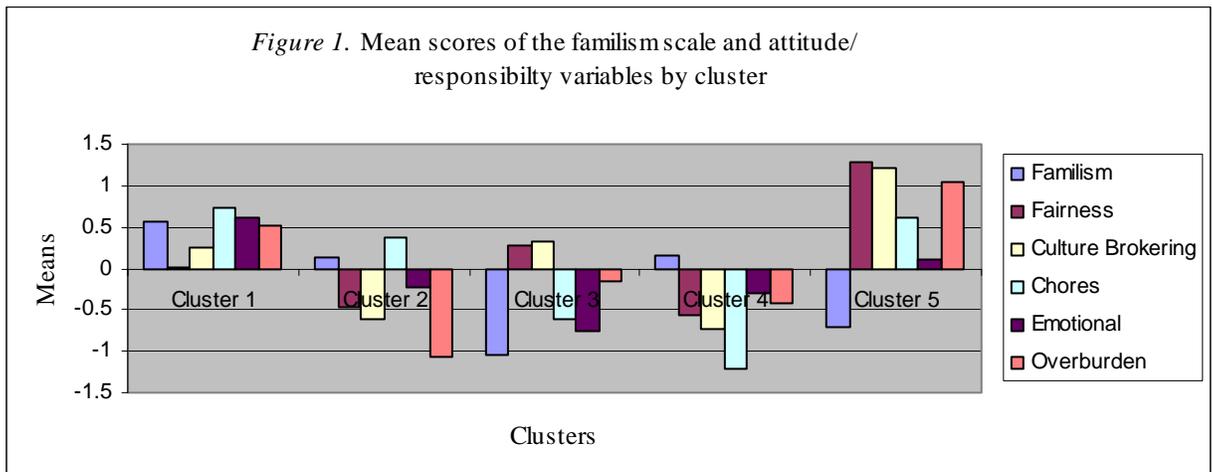
The scores for the five attitude/responsibility variables and the familism scale were entered into hierarchical agglomerative cluster analysis using Ward’s method of linkage. The measure of similarity was the squared Euclidean distance. Since the ranges of scores differed across the variables, all scores were standardized to a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1. Using a procedure suggested by Clark et al. (2003), the numbers of clusters identified and evaluated was determined by inspection of the dendrogram. A

large increase in the dendrogram value for consecutive solutions (e.g. 5 cluster solution compared to four cluster solution) indicates distinct differences among cluster groups. In the present data there was a relatively large increase in the dendrogram value when five clusters were reduced to four. This indicates that solutions with fewer than five clusters combined individuals who were highly dissimilar. Additionally, solutions with six, seven, and eight cluster solutions followed the same pattern captured in the five-cluster solution and added little additional information. Thus, a five-cluster solution was retained because it identified relatively homogeneous subgroups, the solution was clearly interpretable in that it clearly distinguished the subgroups on filial responsibility and familism scores, and the subgroups were sufficiently large to suggest generalizable patterns of filial responsibility and familism differences among clusters.

Cluster Groups

The means and standard deviations for the family attitude and responsibility variables are summarized in the Appendix. Labels for the five clusters were developed to describe cluster members. The five clusters were labeled based on participants' familial attitudes and the type and nature of their responsibilities. On the attitudinal dimension, clusters were labeled traditional if they had scores that were average to high on familism and non-traditional if they had low scores on familism. On the responsibility dimension, clusters were labeled based on participants' responses to the five attitude/responsibility variables. Descriptively, cluster 1 was labeled *traditional overburdened* because of high scores on familism, chores, emotional tasks, and overburden, and average scores on fairness and culture brokering. Cluster 2 was labeled *traditional balanced* because of average scores on familism, fairness, chores, and emotional tasks, and low scores on

culture brokering and overburden. Cluster 3 was labeled *non-traditional culturebrokers* because of low scores on familism, chores, and emotional tasks, and average scores on fairness culture brokering, and overburden. Cluster 4 was labeled *traditional low* because of average scores on familism, emotional tasks, and overburden, and low scores on unfairness, culture brokering, and chores. Cluster 5 was labeled *non-traditional overburdened* because of low scores on familism, average scores on emotional tasks, and high scores on unfairness, culture brokering, chores, and overburden. See Figure 1 for a bar graph of mean scores for each of the five attitude/responsibility variables by cluster.



Cluster Groups Differences: Birth Order, Immigration Age, and Gender

Chi-square analyses indicated significant relations between cluster groups and birth order, (12,194) = 39.79, $p < .001$, gender (4,194) = 9.78, $p < .05$, and immigration age, (12,194) = 27.26, $p < .014$. The number of observed versus expected participants within each cluster based on birth order, immigration age, and gender are shown in Table 6.

Table 6

Number of Observed Versus Expected Participants Within Each Cluster Based on Birth Order, Immigration Age, and Gender

	Cluster 1: Traditional Overburden (n=59)	Cluster 2: Traditional Balanced (n=34)	Cluster 3: Non-Trad. CultBrokers (n=23)	Cluster 4: Traditional Low (n=49)	Cluster 5: Non-Trad. Overburden (n=29)
Birth Order	Observed(Expected)				
Youngest	3(7.3)	3(4.2)	1(2.8)	16(6.1)*	1(3.6)
Middle	18(18.6)	15(10.7)	11(7.2)	9(15.4)*	8(9.1)
Eldest	34(25.5)*	13(14.7)	8(10.0)	14(21.2)*	15(12.6)
Only	4(7.6)	3(4.4)	3(3.0)	10(6.3)	5(3.7)
Immigration Age					
Non-Immigrant	13(11.9)	4(6.8)	6(4.6)	8(9.9)	8(5.8)
Younger than 5	14(10.6)	2(6.1)	6(4.1)	7(8.8)	6(5.2)
5 through 11	19(20.7)	18(11.9)*	10(8.1)	11(17.2)	10(10.2)
12 or older	13(15.8)	10(9.1)	1(6.2)*	23(13.1)*	5(7.8)
Gender					
Female	30(33.5)	24(19.3)	15(13.0)	21(27.8)*	20(16.4)
Male	29(25.5)	10(14.7)	8(10.0)	28(21.2)*	9(12.6)

* observed value significantly different from expected value, $p < .05$

Cluster composition by birth order. Follow up nonparametric chi-square tests revealed that for birth order, youngest children were overrepresented, $X^2(1) = 18.35$,

$p < .001$, and middle and eldest children were underrepresented, $X^2(1) = 3.88$, $p < .05$ and $X^2(1) = 4.31$, $p < .05$, respectively, in the traditional low cluster. Furthermore, eldest children were overrepresented, $X^2(1) = 4.99$, $p < .05$, in the traditional overburden cluster.

Cluster composition by immigration age. With regards to immigration age children who immigrated to the United States on or after the age of 12 were underrepresented in the non-traditional culturebrokers cluster and overrepresented in the traditional low cluster, $X^2(1) = 5.97$, $p < .05$ and $X^2(1) = 10.21$, $p < .001$, respectively. Children who immigrated to the United States between the ages of five and eleven were overrepresented in the traditional balanced cluster, $X^2(1) = 4.75$, $p < .05$.

Cluster composition by gender. Significant gender differences were found only in the traditional low cluster. Specifically, males were overrepresented, $X^2(1) = 3.84$, $p < .05$, and females were underrepresented.

Discussion

The overall goal of this study was to examine variations of filial responsibility among a sample of Latino youth through diverse analytic methods that included both variable centered (i.e. analysis of variance) and person centered (i.e. cluster analysis) analyses. The use of cluster analysis enabled identification of distinctive patterns of behaviors and attitudes related to filial responsibility. Prior to conducting both the variable centered and person centered analyses, exploratory principal components analysis was used to examine the factor structure of items used to assess instrumental caregiving, emotional caregiving, and feelings of fairness.

Factor Analysis

Based on an exploratory principal components analysis it was found that the three hypothesized dimensions from the AFRQ-R were not replicated in the current sample. Instead the most interpretable solution was a five factor explanation that included fairness, chores, culture brokering, emotional tasks, and overburden (also referred to as the attitude/responsibility variables). Although unable to replicate the original model the five-factor model does correspond with Jurkovic's (1997) theory of filial responsibility, which includes instrumental caregiving, emotional caregiving, and fairness. Specifically, the theoretical construct of instrumental caregiving which includes tangible household tasks (e.g. cleaning, caring for siblings) is captured by two of the five factors found in the present study: chores and culture brokering. Similarly, the theoretical construct of emotional caregiving, which includes mediating family conflicts and providing comfort and support, is captured by two factors: emotional tasks and overburden. Furthermore, a factor with item context similar to the fairness factor was identified. Therefore, what the

AFRQ-R five-factor model provides a greater number of factors that address a more differentiated model of filial responsibility possibly allowing future research to more accurately pinpoint where filial responsibility differences exist among groups.

Person- and Variable-Centered Analyses

Based on the five-factor solution derived from exploratory principal component analysis, two kinds of analyses were conducted to examine variations in how filial responsibilities are distributed within immigrant Latino families as a function of gender, birth order, and immigration age. Analyses of variance (ANOVA) were conducted to examine mean differences on each factor, irrespective of scores on the other factors. Next cluster analysis was used to identify homogeneous groups of individuals with similar patterns of attitudes and behaviors and distributions of membership in identified clusters were examined by gender, birth order, and immigration age. In contrast to initial ANOVA analyses, subsequent analyses permitted a more holistic and “person-centered” perspective of understanding filial responsibility. Specifically, cluster analysis expanded on significant ANOVA findings by providing information with regards to the specific cluster members that influenced significant findings.

Mean Level Differences of Filial Responsibility

Using ANOVA, differences were found among the attitude/responsibility variables as a function of gender, birth order, and immigration age. Significant effects of birth order were found for culture brokering and chores. Specifically, only children, middle children, and eldest children reported performing more culture brokering tasks than youngest children. Furthermore, middle and eldest children performed more chores than youngest and only children. Both of these aforementioned findings are consistent

with the expectation that older children (i.e. eldest and middle) of a sibling group would enact more responsibilities than younger children. There are several possible explanations for these findings. One is that with regards to family hierarchy eldest children are the first to reach developmental milestones (e.g. school and employment) and as a result are the first family offspring that are capable of taking on additional tasks. As a result older children may often be expected to teach and share with their younger siblings what they have learned. Another possible explanation is that within the Latino community there are cultural expectations that dictate that eldest children assist parents with greater amounts of household chores in addition to having active roles as caretaker to younger siblings (Reese, 2002; Volk, 1999). Furthermore, within the Latino culture relative to American culture there may be differences in standards as to the appropriate age for children to enact different tasks. Specifically, past studies have found that within Latino culture children are considered capable of performing “adult” responsibilities early in life (Rehberg & Richman, 1989; Valenzuela, 1999). It is interesting that effects of birth order were found only for youths’ involvement in caregiving tasks that could be considered instrumental in nature. Such effects were not found for emotional caregiving tasks, suggesting that emotional caregiving could be distributed in other ways not pertaining to age.

Whereas birth order did not underlie emotional caregiving, there was a significant effect of gender on emotional tasks. Specifically, females reported higher levels of emotional caregiving than did males. A possible explanation for this finding is that Latino culture as well as norms within the United States often supports distinct roles for males and females (Altarriba et al., 1998, Center for Reproductive Health Research and

Policy, 2003; Gowan & Trevino, 1998; Phinney & Flores, 2002). As a result emotional tasks are typically stereotyped as a female trait, since females are often thought to be better listeners and more sensitive than males.

Lastly, there was a significant effect of immigration age on culture brokering. Specifically, culture brokering was lower for children who arrived to the US on or after the age of 12 compared to the other three immigration age groups. In this study the construct of culture brokering refers to adolescents helping their family with tasks that include mediating between the host countries culture and their culture of origin and includes such activities as translating. Therefore, it is not surprising that youth who immigrated at age 12 or older would perform fewer of these tasks because of their more recent immigration status and more limited English proficiency compared to the other three groups.

Differences in Distribution of Homogeneous Patterns of Filial Responsibilities

A cluster analysis technique identified five clusters that emerged based on the attitude/responsibility and familism variables. The five clusters were given two word labels that included participants' familial attitudes (i.e. traditional or non-traditional) and the type and nature of their responsibilities, respectively. The five clusters were traditional overburdened, traditional balanced, non-traditional culturebrokers, traditional low, and non-traditional-overburdened. The traditional overburdened cluster was characterized by average to high scores on all six variables; specifically reporting high amounts of familism, chores, emotional tasks, and overburden. Eldest children were overrepresented in this cluster, suggesting that eldest children may be performing more tasks than they feel comfortable with and as a result are feeling overwhelmed. Therefore,

it is particularly important for future studies to focus on understanding the impact that being an eldest child within this cluster group might have on other external factors within these children's lives, such as psychosocial functioning and academic achievement. This is important in order to accurately assess for both positive and/or negative outcomes.

The traditional balanced cluster was characterized by primarily average scores across all six variables. Children who immigrated to the United States between the ages of five and eleven were overrepresented in the this group suggesting that they may remember a substantial amount of details from their country of origin and may in some ways have found a way to balance their culture of origin with their host culture. Future studies should focus on examining the way these children understand and interpret their responsibilities since they seem to be comfortable and satisfied with the amount of responsibilities they are performing.

The non-traditional culturebrokers cluster was characterized by low amounts of familism, chores, and culture brokering. Children who immigrated to the United States on or after the age of 12 were underrepresented in this group. This finding is congruent with the previous finding that children who immigrated on or after the age of 12 are significantly different from the other three immigration age group with regards to culture brokering. As previously stated this finding is indicative of these youths' limited English proficiency and limited time in a new host country. Furthermore, these youth were overrepresented in the traditional low group and tended to report average to high amounts of familism. This trend is congruent with their recent immigration status since their most recent experiences are from their countries of origin which likely emphasized family connectedness.

The traditional low cluster was characterized by average amounts of familism and low levels of culture brokering and chores. With regards to birth order, youngest children were overrepresented and middle and eldest children were underrepresented in this cluster group. This lends support to the idea that eldest children, followed by middle children, are performing more household responsibilities than younger children. As previously stated, reasons for this may include: 1) eldest and middle children being more able to care for younger siblings and 2) eldest and middle children encounter developmental milestones before younger siblings and therefore are able to convey knowledge to them. With regards to gender, males were overrepresented and females were underrepresented in the traditional low cluster. This suggests evidence of familism and prescribed gender patterns within the Latino culture that promote strong family connectedness and low levels of household tasks for males.

Cluster analysis supplemented ANOVA findings by providing detailed information as to how different forms of family responsibility and attitudes about those responsibilities co-occur within subgroups of Latino/a youth. This information allows future research to target specific individuals who may be more likely to experience negative outcomes as a result of excess responsibilities. For example, eldest children who hold traditional beliefs about family responsibilities may nevertheless feel overburdened. This group may be at high risk for problems, such as depression or anxiety, particularly if they feel they are failing to meet their parents' (or perhaps their own) expectations. Furthermore, whereas both the variable and person centered analysis identified recent immigrants (those who arrived on or after the age of 12) as being less likely than others to perform culture-brokering tasks, cluster analysis supplemented these

finding in that this immigrant group was overrepresented in the traditional low cluster. This finding suggests that besides performing low amounts of culture brokering this immigrant group also performed low amounts of chores and held more traditional views. Cluster analysis also provided information with regards to clusters that seem to adequately balance responsibilities (i.e. children who immigrated between 5 and 11 in the traditional balanced cluster); these clusters may be of interest to researchers because they provide insight into the unique ways these individuals perceive their responsibilities. In summary, examining the co-occurrence of different forms and attitudes of family responsibility allows for a more detailed and holistic understanding of filial responsibility.

Future Directions

This study contributes to understanding filial responsibility and familism patterns among a sample of middle school Latino adolescents using multi-method approaches. Furthermore, this study has attempted to create understanding around how these patterns may be affected by a subset of demographic factors that include birth order, gender, and immigration age. This study also makes an important contribution by understanding filial responsibility and familism within a single ethnicity. Comparing across race and/or ethnicity often leads individuals to assume one race or ethnicity is ideal (Cauce, Coronado, & Watson, 1998). Instead more research needs to focus on understanding variables of interest within a single race or ethnicity, which will provide a more accurate understanding of the unique traits and strengths of each group.

The use of cross-sectional data provides a descriptive picture of how responsibilities are distributed among the children in immigrant families at one point in

time. Future research should focus on examining the variables of interest from a longitudinal perspective in order to address questions about the dynamics of family responsibility and familism over time. This would enable researchers to address questions such as: Do similar patterns of family responsibility persist over time, Does development and/or time in the U.S. contribute to transitions in cluster membership, or do new clusters emerge over time? How does the amount of time in the United States and exposure to different gender ideologies affect this?

Cluster analysis is an exploratory technique that is influenced by the unique characteristics of specific samples (Blashfield & Aldenderfer, 1988). Since the current sample was comprised of all middle school Latino adolescents and that more than half of the sample was of Mexican descent (i.e. 64%) future research should focus on replicating these clusters within larger more diverse samples of Latinos. Future research should also look at the impact of cluster membership on outcome variables such as academic achievement, depression, and anxiety in order to evaluate the implications group membership might have on adjustment.

Furthermore, expanding questionnaire formats beyond quantitative and self-report data would be beneficial in gaining a more holistic understanding of what these children's lives are like based on their different cluster membership. For example, having open-ended questions that allow participants to list the activities they enact at home and how they describe family unity. Additionally, conducting interviews with parents in addition to children would allow for a more accurate understanding of the amounts of responsibilities these children undertake.

In conclusion, prior to addressing questions with regards to the positive or adverse affects responsibilities may have on youth, social scientists must first understand what constructs look like among distinct populations; for example, understanding what filial responsibility looks like solely among Latinos. Subsequently studies should also focus on understanding unique within group difference; for example, understanding the unique aspects of filial responsibility among Mexicans, Cubans, and/or Puerto Ricans. This goal is important as the proportion of Americans who are members of this ethnic minority group continues to increase.

This study aims to lay the foundation for understanding patterns of familism and filial responsibility among a sample of Latino adolescents. Therefore allowing future studies to examine the consequences of different patterns of these variables on outcome variables (such as academic achievement and psychosocial functioning) and to target specific individuals who may be more likely to experience negative outcomes as a result of excess responsibilities.

This study provides valuable information to an array of professionals, including mental health professionals, teachers, school administrators, and anyone working with or providing services to immigrant Latino youth, by providing them a better understanding of what Latino youth's responsibilities are like at home. This is critical for a number of reasons; one, because family responsibilities play an active and influential role in the daily lives of Latino adolescents. Two, filial responsibility among Latino youth may be substantially different from what is considered the norm among American culture because of the interplay of other factors such as culture (e.g. values, beliefs), language barrier, and family composition (e.g. family members immigrating to the United States at

different time points; therefore, resulting in parent-child separations). Although this study examined three variables (i.e. birth order, immigration age, and gender) that may influence filial responsibility and familism it is imperative that future studies examine other potentially influential factors among both Latinos and Latino subgroups. Lastly, the amount and type of responsibilities these children undertake may have an impact on other social systems (e.g. school, social interactions, work); therefore, understanding these youth's responsibilities at home provides for a more holistic understanding of the different factors influencing each youth's life.

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Appendices

Means and Standard Deviations by Cluster Group for the Familism Scale and Attitude/Responsibility Variables

	Cluster 1: (n=59)	Cluster 2 (n=34)	Cluster 3 (n=23)	Cluster 4 (n=49)	Cluster 5 (n=29)	Post Hoc Contrasts
Familism	.56 (.82)	.13 (.85)	-1.05 (.84)	.15 (.86)	-.71 (.82)	3,5<2,4<1
Fairness	.02 (.82)	-.47 (.82)	.27 (.96)	-.58 (.69)	1.28 (.75)	2,4<1,3<5
Culture Brokering	.24 (.87)	-.62 (.76)	.32 (.64)	-.73 (.60)	1.21 (.76)	2,4<3,1<5
Chores	.73 (.57)	.38 (.57)	-.62 (.47)	-1.22 (.48)	.61 (.82)	4<3<2,5<1
Emotional	.62 (1.02)	-.22 (.67)	-.75 (.42)	-.30 (.83)	.10 (1.18)	3<2,4,5<1
Overburden	.51 (.80)	-1.07 (.41)	-.16 (.77)	-.42 (.76)	1.04 (.72)	2<3,4<1<5

Note. All scores were standardized and values in parentheses are standard deviations.

Adolescent Filial Responsibility Questionnaire-Revised (AFRQ-R) (Jurkovic, Kuperminc, & Casey, 2000)

FRQ

		Not At All True	Slightly True	Somewhat True	Very True
1.	I do a lot of the shopping for groceries or clothes for my family. <i>Hago muchas de las compras de comida ó ropa para mi familia</i>	1	2	3	4
2.	At times I feel that I am the only one my mother or father can ask for help. <i>Algunas veces siento que soy el/la único(a) a quién mi madre o padre pueden pedir ayuda.</i>	1	2	3	4
3.	In my family I am often asked to do more than my share. <i>En mi familia, me piden frecuentemente que haga más de lo que me corresponde.</i>	1	2	3	4
4.	I often help my brother(s) or sister(s) with their homework. <i>Frecuentemente ayudo a mis hermanos ó hermanas con su tarea.</i>	1	2	3	4
5.	People in my family often ask me for help. <i>Frecuentemente las personas en mi familia me piden ayuda.</i>	1	2	3	4
		Nada Cierto	Ligeramente Cierto	Algo Cierto	Muy Cierto
6.	Even though my parents care about me, I cannot really depend on them to meet my needs. <i>Aunque mis padres me quieren, no puedo apoyarme totalmente en ellos para mis necesidades.</i>	1	2	3	4
7.	My parents tell me that I act older than my age. <i>Mis padres me dicen que actúo como si fuera mayor de lo que soy.</i>	1	2	3	4
8.	It often seems that my feelings don't count in my family. <i>Muchas veces parece que mis sentimientos no cuentan en mi familia.</i>	1	2	3	4
9.	I work to make money to help my family. <i>Trabajo para ganar dinero para ayudar a mi familia.</i>	1	2	3	4
10.	I often try to keep the peace in my family. <i>Frecuentemente trato de mantener la paz en mi familia..</i>	1	2	3	4

FRQ

		Not At All True	Slightly True	Somewhat True	Very True
11.	I feel like people in my family disappoint me. <i>Yo siento que algunos miembros de mi familia me desilucionan.</i>	1	2	3	4
12.	It's hard sometimes to keep up in school because of my duties at home. <i>Se me hace difícil hacer mi trabajo en la escuela debido a las responsabilidades que tengo en casa.</i>	1	2	3	4
13.	No one in my family notices how much I give up for them. <i>Nadie en mi familia reconoce cuanto sacrificio por ellos.</i>	1	2	3	4
14.	It seems like people in my family are always telling me their problems. <i>Parece que mis familiares siempre me cuentan sus problemas.</i>	1	2	3	4
15.	I often do the laundry in my family. <i>Frecuentemente lavo la ropa de mi familia..</i>	1	2	3	4
		Nada Cierto	Ligeramente Cierto	Algo Cierto	Muy Cierto
16.	If someone in my family is upset, I try to help in some way. <i>Si alguien en mi familia esta disgustado(a), trato de ayudarle de alguna manera.</i>	1	2	3	4
17.	My parents are very helpful when I have a problem. <i>Mis padres me ayudan mucho cuando tengo un problema..</i>	1	2	3	4
18.	In my house I often do the cooking. <i>Frecuentemente soy yo la/él que cocina en mi casa..</i>	1	2	3	4
19.	When my parents fight, they try to get me to help them. <i>Cuando mis padres se pelean, tratan de que yo les ayude a reconciliarse.</i>	1	2	3	4
20.	I feel like I have to take care of my family. <i>Siento como si tuviera que cuidar a mi familia.</i>	1	2	3	4

FRQ

		Not At All True	Slightly True	Somewhat True	Very True
21.	My parents often ask me to care for my brother(s) or sister(s). <i>Mis padres frecuentemente me piden que cuide a mis hermanos(as).</i>	1	2	3	4
22.	I do a lot of the work in the house or yard. <i>Hago mucho del trabajo de la casa ó del jardin (yarda).</i>	1	2	3	4
23.	Sometimes it seems to me like I am more responsible than my parents are. <i>A veces parece como que si yo fuera mas responsable que mis padres.</i>	1	2	3	4
24.	My parents often criticize my attempts to help out at home. <i>Mis padres frecuentemente desprecian mis intentos de ayudar en el hogar.</i>	1	2	3	4
25.	For some reason it is hard for me to trust my parents. <i>Por alguna razón se me hace difícil poder confiar en mis padres</i>	1	2	3	4
		Nada Cierto	Ligeramente Cierto	Algo Cierto	Muy Cierto
26.	My parents often ask me to help my brother(s) or sister(s) with their problems. <i>Mis padres muchas veces me piden que ayude a mis hermanos(as) con sus problemas.</i>	1	2	3	4
27.	I often do a lot of the chores at home. <i>Frecuentemente hago muchas de las tareas de la casa.</i>	1	2	3	4
28.	I often feel caught in the middle of my parents' conflicts. <i>Muchas veces me encuentro atrapado(a) en el medio de los conflictos de mis padres</i>	1	2	3	4
29.	My parents often expect me to take care of myself. <i>Mis padres muchas veces esperan que yo me las arregle por mi mismo/a.</i>	1	2	3	4
30.	My parents often talk bad to me about each other. <i>Mis padres muchas veces me hablan mal el uno del otro.</i>	1	2	3	4

FRQ

		Not At All True	Slightly True	Somewhat True	Very True
31.	In my family, I often give more than I receive. <i>En mi familia, frecuentemente doy más de lo que recibo.</i>	1	2	3	4
32.	I often help my parents speak to people who don't know Spanish. <i>Con frecuencia les ayudo a mis padres a hablar con gente que no habla español.</i>	1	2	3	4
33.	I often go and help my parents when they have business with people at school or other places. <i>Con frecuencia voy y ayudo a mis padres cuando tienen que tratar con personas en la escuela ó en otros lugares.</i>	1	2	3	4
34.	My parents give me the things I need like clothes, food, and school supplies. <i>Mis padres me dan lo que necesito como ropa, comida, y útiles escolares.</i>	1	2	3	4

Familism Scale (Cuellar et al., 1995)

FAMS

	Not At All True	Slightly True	Somewhat True	Very True
1. All adults should be respected. <i>Todos los adultos deben ser respetados.</i>	1	2	3	4
2. More parents should teach their children to be loyal to the family. <i>Más padres deben enseñar a sus hijos a ser leales con la familia.</i>	1	2	3	4
3. It is more important for a woman to learn how to take care of the house and the family than it is for her to get a college education. <i>Es más importante para la mujer aprender a cuidar la casa y la familia que obtener una educación universitaria.</i>	1	2	3	4
4. The stricter the parents, the better the child. <i>Entre mas estrictos son los padres, mejores resultan los hijos.</i>	1	2	3	4
5. Some equality in marriage is a good thing, but the father ought to have the main say-so in family matters. <i>Es bueno tener algo de igualdad en el matrimonio, pero el padre debe tener la ultima palabra en los asuntos familiares.</i>	1	2	3	4
	Nada Cierto	Ligeramente Cierto	Algo Cierto	Muy Cierto

FAMS

	Nada Cierto	Ligeramente Cierto	Algo Cierto	Muy Cierto
6. Even if a child believes that his parents are wrong, he should obey without question. <i>Aunque el hijo ó la hija crea que sus padres están equivocados, debe obedecer sin preguntar.</i>	1	2	3	4
7. Relatives are more important than friends. <i>Los parientes son más importantes que los amigos</i>	1	2	3	4
8. For a child the mother should be the dearest person in the world. <i>La madre debe ser la persona más querida en el mundo para un(a)</i>	1	2	3	4

	<i>niño(a).</i>				
9.	A girl should not date a boy unless her parents approve. <i>Una muchacha (chica) no debería salir con un muchacho al menos que los padres lo aprueben.</i>	1	2	3	4
10.	No matter what the cost, dealing with my relatives' problems comes first (is priority). <i>No importa lo que cueste, tratar con los problemas de mis parientes viene primero.</i>	1	2	3	4
11.	I expect my relatives to help when I need them. <i>Yo espero que mis parientes me ayuden cuando los necesito</i>	1	2	3	4