

Dichos and Consejos, Ethnic Identity, and Emotion Socialization in Latina Mothers

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ABSTRACT

Dichos and consejos, the messages passed on intergenerationally within Latino communities, are an influential aspect of Latino culture. The purpose of this study was to examine associations between ethnic identity and Latina mothers' interpretations of dichos/ consejos. I also investigated if and how ethnic identity and/ or interpretations of dichos and consejos predicted Latina mothers' emotion socialization beliefs and behaviors. Further, I explored whether maternal education was associated with ethnic identity, interpretations of dichos/consejos, and emotion socialization. Forty Latina mothers of daughters aged 4 – 12 years participated by completing questionnaires on their demographics, ethnic identity, and emotion socialization beliefs and behaviors. Mothers also engaged in a 15-minute interview to assess their interpretations of dichos and consejos. Correlations showed that ethnic identity was not significantly related to interpretations of dichos/consejos. Both ethnic identity and traditionality in helpful dichos were associated with stronger belief that emotions can be dangerous, which in turn was related to both supportive and non-supportive reactions to daughters' negative emotions. Mothers with less education reported stronger beliefs that emotions can be dangerous, more supportive and non-supportive reactions to daughters' negative emotions, and greater likelihood of using more traditional non-helpful dichos to advise other mothers. Regression analyses demonstrated that ethnic identity predicted mothers' belief that emotions can be dangerous even after controlling for maternal education and number of children in the family. After controlling for maternal education, there was a trend for mothers who passed on more traditional non-helpful dichos to their daughters to react in less supportive ways to their

daughters' negative emotions. Results suggest that understanding Latina women's ethnic identity and social location will be helpful for researchers and educators seeking to assess and promote culturally sensitive emotion socialization practices.

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1 Introduction

Dichos and consejos, or the messages passed on throughout Latino communities, are an important, culturally relevant influence on Latina mothers' emotion socialization. These messages tend to be brief and proverb-like (Aviera, 1996). Although dichos and consejos may be brief and practical, the messages passed on are influential and need to be further studied. It is thus the purpose of this study to examine how mothers' interpretations of dichos and consejos relate to their ethnic identities, and how both predict emotion socialization beliefs and behaviors.

This study has four particular aims. First, I will explore whether demographic variables regarding Latina women's social locations are related to ethnic identity, interpretations of dichos/consejos, and emotion socialization beliefs and behaviors, and to the interrelations among these variables. Second, I will examine associations between ethnic identity and mothers' interpretations of dichos/consejos. Third, I will evaluate if and how ethnic identity predicts emotion socialization beliefs and behaviors. Last, interpretation of dichos/consejos will be evaluated for their prediction of emotion socialization beliefs and behaviors.

In the following sections, I will first explain my feminist approach to further exploring and understanding Latina women's experiences as mothers. Second, I will describe the socio-demographic influences that affect Latina women within the United States. Third, I will elaborate on the importance of fully understanding ethnic identity. Fourth, dichos and consejos will be further explained. Last, emotion socialization in Latina families in particular will be discussed.

1.1 Feminist Approach

It is important to note that this study will be using the Latina feminist political consciousness of Isasi-Diaz' liberative praxis (1996, 2004) and Anzaldua's borderlands perspective (Anzaldua, 1991). Throughout this work I conceptualize Anzaldua's borderlands as a metaphor for the political, racial, and social realities Latina women face given their marginalized status within the United States. A borderland perspective theorizes and produces scholarship that does not rely on traditional mainstream educational theories. Rather, this perspective proposes the analysis of overarching discourses in a manner that recognizes the vast range and richness of the knowledge that is created by Latinas from their everyday lived experiences (Delgado Bernal, Aleman Jr., & Garavito, 2009). According to Bejarano (2005) borderland theories are helpful in our understanding of Latina women because they provide a foundation for describing ethnic and gender issues Latina women face while also including, rather than ignoring, history and language. In this study, I use a borderlands perspective in two ways. First, I acknowledge women's active agency while having them elaborate on their diverse thoughts, ideas, and beliefs regarding their roles as mothers. Second, a borderlands perspective is used by analyzing the overarching discourse within Latino communities regarding motherhood and the roles women do/ should play within the family, rather than theorizing from traditional mainstream ideologies.

Liberative praxis is defined as a reflective action with the ultimate goal of liberation (Isasi Diaz, 1996; 2004). It is a process of enablement for and by Latina women that insists on the promotion of a strong sense of moral agency. Additionally, it provides for the clarification of Latina women's importance and value by reflecting on who they are, what they think, and what they do (Isasi-Diaz, 1996; 2004). Last, liberative praxis is utilized to contribute to the liberation of marginalized Latino communities and provide for the opportunity to generate the richness of life all individuals deserve (Isasi-Diaz, 1996, 2004).

It follows that in order to provide liberative praxis in psychology, current social traditions must be changed, thus new definitions and realities must be produced (Hopkins, Kahani-Hopkins, Reicher, 2006). I will accomplish liberative praxis throughout this study in two ways. First, I will engage mothers in an empowering interview that provides an opportunity for critical reflection on how individual women may be active in their own socialization as mothers. Second, the lens of examination will be placed on the mother, rather than her child, as has traditionally been the case in developmental psychology (Woollett & Marshall, 2001). That is, I will interview only the woman and ask her to elaborate on her individual experiences for herself. Current psychological studies tend to focus on mothers in relation to their children rather than as individuals with multiple subjectivities. Because of this narrow focus on the realities of motherhood, Latina mothers' lived experiences have not been properly articulated nor understood. Moreover, given the lack of focus on intersection of identities, psychology has largely reproduced and maintained socially constructed definitions and negative stereotypes of non-White, non-middle class women. By using Anzaldua's (1991) borderlands perspective and Isasi-Diaz' (1996, 2004) liberative praxis to inform the interview, this research will provide a more realistic representation of Latina women's identity as individuals rather than solely as part of a mother-child dyad, and may generate a clearer understanding of Latina mothers' identity overall.

Latina feminist perspectives reveal that Latina women have rich and complex identities based on their experiences with and interpretations of intersecting institutional oppressions and *lo cotidiano*, which are the everyday lived experiences of living in a country that does not view them as fully human (Isasi-Diaz, 1996; 2004). All of these experiences interconnect and have meaning. Therefore, in order to better understand the development of Latina women's identity

and the influence of dichos and consejos on emotion socialization practices, it is important to use methods relying on Latina women's active agency and to recognize the intersections of social location within multiple marginalized categories.

1.2 Socio-Demographic Influences

According to the 2006 U.S. Census data, 15% of the total U.S. population (44.3 million people) self-identify as Latinos. Latina feminist perspectives acknowledge the deep-rooted hierarchies based on racism, classism, and sexism within the United States, which, combined, influence Latina women's identity (Anzaldúa, 1991; Isasi-Díaz, 1996, 2004). It is important to note that as a societal consequence, Latino communities have been understood as "minority" and thus their experiences with oppression must be recognized. For example, given their subordinated status, Latinos have struggled to create a positive identity against assumptions that they are racially inferior (Adams, 2001).

Latinas living in the United States have been racialized, regardless of their diverse racial roots. Within the United States, the term "Latina" often operates not only as an ethnic category, but also as a racial signifier that provides for institutional understandings of Latinas as "others" (Alcoff, 2000). Instead of being fully appreciated for their diverse racial roots, many Latina women are viewed as deviant from a mythical norm of woman and are marginalized away from many privileges given their "otherness" (Ali, 2006). Given this categorization, Latina women share a common experience of racism and subjugation that influences their identities (Hurtado, 2008).

Additionally, Latino communities tend to be classed. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2006), Latino families have a median annual income of \$37, 781 in comparison to non-

Hispanic families' median income of \$52, 423. Although, Latino families have, on average, a much lower annual income than non-Hispanic families, there is variability in class and economic privilege within Latino communities. It is hypothesized that these variabilities in class (income, education, etc.) may not only be related to ethnic identity, interpretations of dichos/ consejos, and mothers' emotion socialization behaviors and beliefs, but may also have an influence on the relations among these constructs.

The ways Latina women experience and develop their identity within the United States may be envisioned quite differently than psychological research has proposed in the past (Anzaldúa, 1991; Isasi-Díaz, 1996; 2004). According to intersectional perspectives, identity is constructed and shaped by institutional and societal structures that produce hierarchical understandings of identity (Warner, 2008) and are affected by issues of power (Mattis, Grayman, Cowie, et. al, 2008). Each of the subordinate identities of Latina women (i.e. race and sex) interacts in a synergistic way (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008) and shapes and influences one another (Shields, 2008). Because Latina women within the United States experience their marginalized identities as one and experience oppression as multiply subordinated "others," Latina women's identity cannot be understood by solely examining one of her social locations (Warner, 2008). The varying subjectivities created from these intersections influence and are affected by the situational contexts and scripts passed on by the society within which Latina women participate (Mattis et. al, 2008). Therefore, Latina women's identities are not separate from their society (Raabe, 1993; Warner, 2008), they are constructed and constrained given the intersections of their multiple locations.

By recognizing the consequences of oppression, we may begin to understand how historical and social contexts have influenced and continue to affect Latina women's identity

(Torres, Howard-Hamilton, & Cooper, 2004). Consequently, Latina women within the United States experience the essence of living on the borderlands. They come to understand themselves as outsiders of both countries (Anzaldua, 1991); they are no longer physically living in their country of origin at the same time that they are living in a society that does not quite accept them socially or politically. It is important to note that this borderland is in a constant state of change and re-construction. Therefore, the border is a site of much ambiguity, confusion, and frustration wherein one imposes, dictates, and mandates collective and individual behavior and another is silenced into subversion (Anzaldua, 1991).

Living on the border is extremely significant for Latina women's identity given that, institutionally, multiply marginalized individuals are ignored and made invisible within the systematic hierarchies of oppression (Anzaldua, 1991; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). Life on the borderlands does not necessarily need to be conceptualized solely as a physical, geographic reality. For example, within the United States, Latina women experience life on the borders given that they are labeled and therefore understood as "others" (politically, racially, etc.). They live life among the borders of multiple and different locations which greatly affects her understanding of herself and the roles she must play within her society. Although no two Latina women experience their locations in the same way, each is, nonetheless, influenced by it. Thus, to the extent possible, I will investigate whether one aspect of social location, socioeconomic status, is related to (a) ethnic identity, interpretations of dichos/ consejos, and emotion socialization beliefs/ behaviors, as well as (b) the interrelations among those variables.

1.3 Importance of Examining Ethnic Identity

There has been much research and debate on identity since Erikson first published his work over 60 years ago (Erikson, 1950). According to Erikson (1974), there are three levels of identity: ego identity, personal identity, and social identity. Ego identity deals with the private, sometimes unconscious views one has about him- or herself, whereas personal identity deals with a set of personal goals, beliefs, and actions that one shows to the world. Social identity, on the other hand, deals with how one's sense of self is influenced by the groups to which one belongs (Schwartz, 2001). Elements of the self such as country of origin, language spoken, and race all comprise social identity. Thus, given the focus of this study, social identity will be explored further through the understanding of ethnic identity.

Ethnic identity is a complex and dynamic concept. Ethnic identity makes up part of an individual's social identity (Phinney, 1992) and is an aspect of one's self-concept that is influenced from both her or his awareness of belonging in a social group and the value or importance she or he ascribes to that membership (Tajfel, 1981). Research has found that individuals from Hispanic groups view ethnic identity as an important aspect of their sense of self (Arce, 1981). Three common concepts of ethnic identity are (1) self-identification as a member of a particular group, (2) one's sense of belonging, and (3) attitudes ascribed towards one's group (Phinney, 1990). In this study, ethnic identity is not viewed as a fixed entity; rather, it may be created and shaped in and through discourse (Hopkins, Kahani-Hopkins, & Reicher, 2006), more specifically *dichos* and *consejos*.

According to Evans, Forney, and Guido-Dibrito (1998), ethnic identity is cultivated from the shared culture, religion, and native language of individual members of a group who are connected given their group loyalty and affiliation. Further, the study of ethnic identity emphasizes how members of groups themselves value and interpret their own ethnicity (Phinney,

1996). It is important to understand that ethnic identity is more than an individual's sense of belonging with the group (Uba, 1994) and serves several functions. Ethnic identity informs the knowledge, beliefs, and expectations a person has about the group, influences how information, situations, events or others are processed or filtered, and serves as a foundation for an individual's behavior (Torres, Howard-Hamilton, & Cooper, 2004; Uba, 1994). Thus, identity is constructed through one's experiences with and interpretations of his or her social interactions. In other words, identity is influenced by social and cultural contexts (Chan, 1989; Cross, 1987; Deaux, 1993; Espiritu, 1994; Jones, 1997; Jones & McEwen, 2000). Given the social aspect of ethnic identity, it is also shaped by individuals' experiences with power and privilege (Deaux, 1993; Espiritu, 1994; Reynolds & Pope, 1991). For example, Latina women in the United States tend to be marginalized (Anzaldúa, 1991; Isasi-Diaz, 1996, 2004) and thus may learn to identify themselves as subordinate individuals given their experience with power and privilege over their ethnic group and themselves.

Research on the psycho-social outcomes associated with ethnic identity has produced somewhat mixed results. For example, studies have shown that a strong ethnic identity is related to higher self-esteem, and that this relation is stronger for African American and Latino adolescents than for Caucasian adolescents (Bracey, Bámaca, & Umaña-Taylor, 2004; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990; Phinney & Chavira, 1992). Additionally, ethnic identity in Latina adolescents has been related to higher self-esteem and fewer depressive symptoms (Roberts, et. al., 1999). Research has also shown that strong ethnic identity acts as a protective factor against Mexican Americans' stress from perceived racial discrimination (Sanchez & Fernandez, 1993).

All of these studies suggest benefits of ethnic identity for psychological adjustment. However, other research with racially diverse university students has not found an association

between ethnic identity and adaptive (self-esteem, purpose in life) and maladaptive (depression, anxiety, etc.) psychosocial functioning (Schwartz, Zamboanga, Weisskirch, & Rodriguez, 2009). These mixed findings could be due to several methodological issues. First, these studies employed different age groups to understand ethnic identity. Whereas Schwartz and colleagues (2009) found no association of ethnic identity with psychosocial functioning in college students, Roberts and colleagues (1999) found that ethnic identity was positively related to 6th, 7th, and 8th graders' self-esteem, coping, and optimism, and negatively related to their loneliness and depression. Second, results may vary by ethnic groups. For example, Umaña-Taylor and Bamaca (2006) found that biracial adolescents had significantly lower self-esteem than African American adolescents, but higher self-esteem than Asian adolescents. It is important to note, however, that there was a positive significant relation between ethnic identity and self-esteem for all ethnic groups in this study (Umaña-Taylor & Bamaca, 2006; Umaña-Taylor, Diversi, & Fine, 2002). Third, and perhaps most importantly, Schwartz and colleagues (2009) found that the two different aspects of identity, exploration and affirmation, were related in different ways to psychosocial functioning. That is, they found that university students who were currently exploring their personal identity were more likely to show signs of negative psychosocial functioning such as anxiety, depression, and impulsivity. Those who had already explored their ethnic identity and were no longer experiencing confusion but rather had affirmed their ethnic identity showed the opposite pattern (Schwartz, Zamboanga, Weisskirch, & Rodriguez, 2009).

The family has been accepted as influential in the process of developing one's ethnic identity (Phinney, 1996; Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992). That is, families provide individuals with a cultural context and perspective from which to interpret and understand their realities. Although this has been generally accepted, ethnic identity's relation to parenting has only been

narrowly examined. For example, according to Bhadha (2002), European American and Asian Indian parents with higher ethnic identity used more training parenting (high parental control, physical closeness, and concern for academic achievement) whereas parents who were other-group oriented reported using authoritative parenting styles, which have been related to positive outcomes in children. It is important to note that there has been no work, to date, on the connection between ethnic identity and socialization beliefs and behaviors of Latina mothers. It is, therefore, imperative to examine possible relations among these constructs.

The limited and mixed information on Latina women's ethnic identity encouraged further exploration of this topic. Given that the Latino population is quickly growing, it is important to understand how ethnic identity may impact Latina women's beliefs, feelings, and actions rather than make over generalized statements about group membership. Furthermore, Latino groups and communities tend to be underrepresented in psychological literature. Additionally, understanding emotion socialization is important for both children's and parents' outcomes. Despite the growing research on identity, much research is still needed to understand the complex nature of ethnic identity, more specifically, Latina women's ethnic identity. It is worthwhile to examine how Latina women's ethnic identity may be related not only to their understanding of themselves, but also to their emotion socialization goals for their children.

1.4 Dichos and Consejos Within Latino Communities

In the previous section, I noted the role of social interactions and specifically discourse in the construction of ethnic identity. One of the ways in which discourse may influence Latina women's identity is through the cultural scripts provided within their communities, which ascribe certain behaviors as appropriate or inappropriate. There are a variety of discourses that

Latina mothers may draw upon to develop and understand their identities as several elements of themselves and their priorities change (Buzzannell, Waymer, Tagle, & Liu, 2007). The type of discourse I will focus on is dichos and consejos. This focus is intentional given that dichos and consejos transmit and maintain cultural scripts within Latino communities (Aviera, 1996; Espinoza-Herold, 2007).

Latino culture may be passed on through dichos, which are the common proverbial sayings or idioms used by a people (Aviera, 1996; Espinoza-Herold, 2007). These proverbial sayings vary widely in themes but often discuss and articulate changes in the self, communal relationships, and social standing within communities (Bailey, 1999). Dichos are both descriptive, that is, they describe and explain the roles women and men play, and prescriptive, meaning they stipulate how individuals should behave. Additionally, dichos are thought of as a cultural blueprint of Latino societies (Ballesteros & Ballesteros, 1992) given that they reflect a culture's values, beliefs, and traditions. Consejos are similar to dichos in that they communicate cultural messages. However, they also are used to counsel individuals within a society. It is important to note that consejos are more than just our understanding of "advice." That is, they communicate concern while also applying cultural norms, scripts, and "truths" (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994). Consequently, dichos and consejos are both an articulation and construction of reality (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994). Therefore, Latina women's interpretation of dichos and consejos provide clear and measurable ways to examine their endorsement of cultural beliefs.

Throughout Latino culture, dichos and consejos have been used as ways to educate, or socialize, individuals and future generations into their culture (Espinoza-Herold, 2007). Further, dichos and consejos have been used as a bridge between generations and are, thus, passed on from generation to generation and may be interpreted in a variety of ways. Although there are

multiple ways to interpret dichos and consejos, there are similar overarching messages, especially about women and their roles within the community. The implication of these messages is that one is a member of her society in specific gendered roles and therefore must act accordingly (Villenas & Moreno, 2001). For example, Latina female identity has become closely associated with motherhood and family (Croghan & Miell, 1998; Martin, 1990; Woollett & Marshall, 2001). Further, Latina women are socialized to be part of their communities as wives, mothers, and daughters and thus begin to understand themselves in relation to others. This is largely due to the fact that dichos and consejos tend to preserve the traditional ideologies of the culture (Ballesteros & Ballesteros, 1992; Delgado-Gaitan, 1994), in this case, sex stereotypes that bolster the status quo. Given the messages regarding these socially constructed gender roles, the way they are communicated not only structures the society, but also sets limits on women's lives.

For this study, women are viewed as active constructors of knowledge rather than passive consumers of their culture. For example, although there are these overarching messages regarding women and motherhood, mothers may take on these messages at face value, modify them to fit their worldview, change them completely, and/ or reject them all together. Further, it is important to note that communication and interactions between individuals are imperfect and therefore individuals may miss, misinterpret, ignore, and/or reject the socialization messages within their culture's dichos and consejos (Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, Foust, 2009). For these reasons, and as part of my feminist approach in this investigation, Latina mothers' interpretations of dichos and consejos were assessed through their narrative responses during a semi-structured interview.

The use of narrative in this investigation is intentional given that it is a cultural product as well as a great influence on individuals' understanding of themselves. Narrative use within this work reflects the "experiencing child view of development" because it views the individual (in this case, the mother rather than child) as active and focuses on what the individual experiences rather than focusing on simply what is available to her within the environment (Nelson, 2007). A major benefit of using this view of development is the focus on the role of individual interpretations of experiences and how memory influences future actions, interpretations, and reconstruction of interactions. That is, narrative recognizes the complexity, diversity, and importance of objective experience (Nelson, 2007) while also emphasizing the mothers' active role in her development, experiences, and construction of knowledge. In this case, meaning is personal and varies depending on the individual and her interpretation of her experiences. Although meaning is person-specific, it is still influenced by social and cultural norms (Nelson, 2007). Over time, these occurrences and encounters with the self and others accumulate to a subjective collection of experiences and perspectives that may be observed through their discourse.

It is important to note that dichos and consejos as a means of socialization and their relations to Latina mother's ethnic identity have not been previously studied within psychology. I expect that women's interpretations and understandings of dichos and consejos will be related to their ethnic identity and predict their emotion socialization beliefs and behaviors. For example, women with stronger ethnic identity will be more likely to discuss traditional dichos and consejos as helpful whereas women with a weak ethnic identity will be more likely to discuss less traditional dichos and consejos as helpful.

1.5 Emotion Socialization in Latino Families

In this section, I will first explain why emotion socialization is an important aspect of mothering worth researching. Second, I will discuss the role Latina mothers play in emotion socialization in Latino families. Last, I will elaborate on Latina mothers' socialization goals for their children.

Emotions as Part of the Cultural Context

Kitayama and Masuda (1995) have argued that emotions are “socially shared” scripts. That is, cultures are comprised of a shared pattern of unique perceptions, beliefs, behaviors, and values about life that provide individuals with a model for behaviors. Further, these scripts instill valued experiences in the community. Given that one's culture prescribes how one should express and experience emotion (Cole, Bruschi, & Tamang, 2002; Cole & Tamang, 1998; Eisenberg, Pidada, & Liew, 2001; Frijda & Mesquita, 1994; Markus & Kitayama, 1991, 1994), one way that culture may be passed down to future generations is through dichos and consejos. Thus, it is crucial to examine socialization in underrepresented groups such as the Latino population.

Latina Mothers' Role in the Family

Latina women's identity has been closely tied to the home and family. Thus, Latina women are likely to view themselves in relation to (rather than separate from) others as wives, mothers, and daughters (Croghan & Miell, 1998; Martin, 1990; Woollett & Marshall, 2001). As an extension of this, within Latino culture, women are commonly viewed as the caretakers

(Blanco, 1995) and are mostly responsible for the management of the home. Given this role, many women take on the responsibility of educating their children as well as guiding them as problems arise. As such, Latina mothers traditionally use consejos as the most practical means of solving a problem with their children (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994). Consejos, which are charged with emotional empathy and compassion, are commonly used to express not only concern but also familial expectations and motivation. It is customary for Latina mothers to use consejos as a means to articulate their children's responsibility in expressing respect as well as cooperation in order to be successful both within the family and in the education system (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994). Thus, examining Latina mothers' thoughts in the process of socializing future generations through their discussion of passing on dichos and consejos to their daughters will provide for powerful insight into the intergenerational transmission of culture within Latino communities.

Emphasis on Interdependence and Proper Demeanor in Latino Families

Latino populations tend to emphasize group conformity, respect, and harmonious social interactions, also known as collectivism. European American populations, however, tend to emphasize the individual and independence from others, also known as individualism (Leyendecker, Harwood, Lamb, & Schölmerich, 2002; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Consequently, European-American mothers tend to emphasize children's personal choice (independence) whereas Puerto Rican mothers tend to emphasize children's interdependence with the mother (Miller & Harwood, 2002). Cultural differences also arise in mothers' perceptions of children's desirable and undesirable behaviors (Harwood, Schölmerich, Ventura-Cook, Schulze, & Wilson, 1996). Harwood and colleagues (1996) found that European-American mothers rate children's self-maximization (e.g. independent, self-confident) behaviors

as more desirable, whereas Latino mothers rate children's proper public behavior (e.g., other-focused) as more desirable.

Even though Latino populations within the United States are very diverse and have emigrated from a variety of different Spanish-speaking countries, research has shown that social interdependence is manifested throughout Latino communities with an emphasis on respect and connectedness to one's extended family (Leyendecker, et al., 2002). Therefore, Latino mothers may describe and evaluate their children's behaviors based on traditional group ideals and norms instead of individualistic goals. Further, this may be reflected in mothers' beliefs about the value or danger of emotions and their roles in emotion socialization. I turn to these emotion socialization beliefs and behaviors next.

1.6 Emotion Socialization Beliefs and Behaviors

One of the ways cultural context has an influence on emotion socialization is through parents' various beliefs about emotions (Eisenberg, Cumberland, & Spinrad, 1998). Parents' beliefs about children's emotions affect how they understand and respond to children's behaviors, which, in turn, may have a significant influence on children's future socio-emotional competence (Dix, 1991; Dunsmore & Halberstadt, 1997; Gottman, Katz, & Hooven, 1996, 1997; Katz, Wilson, & Gottman, 1999). In this study, the focus is on two broad dimensions of parents' beliefs apparent in Dunsmore and Halberstadt's (1997) and Gottman and colleagues' (1997) work: value/danger of emotions and parental guidance of children's emotions.

Potential Danger of Emotions

Varying beliefs about the value/danger of emotions have been identified. For example, Gottman and colleagues (1997) grouped parents differently depending on their valuing of negative emotions (emotion coaching), devaluing of emotion (emotion dismissing), and attitudes neither valuing nor devaluing emotion (*laissez-faire*). Halberstadt and colleagues (2008) found that parents' belief that emotions are valuable was not related to their belief that emotions can be dangerous. Results showed that parents could strongly believe both that emotions can be valuable and that they can be dangerous. In other words, parents could strongly endorse both of the beliefs, only one of the two beliefs, or they could strongly hold neither. Additionally, when examining parents' reports of their interactions with their children after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, parents' belief that emotions can be dangerous predicted both parents' discussions with their children and parents' expression of their own emotions to their children, with parents discussing the attacks more and also masking their emotions more when they more strongly believed emotions can be dangerous. Similarly, Dunsmore, Her, Halberstadt, and Perez-Rivera (2009) found that parents who believed that emotions can be dangerous were more likely to report masking their own emotions when viewed by their children. These studies provide support for the idea that parents' belief about the potential danger of emotions may influence their emotion socialization behaviors.

Because Latino communities tend to be collectivist, I hypothesize that mothers with a strong Latino ethnic identity are more likely to believe that emotions can be dangerous because of an emphasis on group harmony. Further, it is hypothesized that beliefs about emotions will be related to the *dichos* and *consejos* mothers discuss. For example, the more traditional the *dichos* and *consejos* discussed as helpful, the more likely that mothers will believe emotions are dangerous.

Belief in Parental Guidance of Children's Emotions

A second relevant aspect of parents' beliefs about emotions is the extent to which parents believe it is necessary to guide children's emotions in order for children to learn about emotions. Hooven, Gottman, and Katz (1995) found that parents who are high in emotion coaching, which includes a belief that parents should play an active role in emotion socialization, have children who show fewer signs of physiological stress, express greater ability in focusing attention, and engage in less negative play with peers. In addition, emotion-coaching parents tend to be less negative and more positive while interacting with their child. Importantly, these differences in parent-child interactions were not accounted for by social class variables, levels of emotional expressiveness, nor parents' levels of happiness and stability (Hooven et al., 1995).

I hypothesize that mothers with a strong Latino ethnic identity, with an emphasis on group harmony and lower tolerance for uncertainty (Hofstede, 2006), are more likely to support the belief that parents need to guide their child's emotions. Further, mothers who report more traditional *dichos* and *consejos* as helpful will believe that it is their job to guide children's emotions.

Mothers' Emotion Socialization Behaviors

How mothers deal with children's negative behavior provides for an interesting examination of emotion socialization (Fabes, Leonard, Kupanoff, & Martin, 2001; Fabes, Poulin, Eisenberg, & Madden-Derdich, 2002). The way in which mothers react to their daughters' negative emotions may be especially interesting to examine given the aversive physiological arousal mothers may experience when dealing with their daughters' negative emotions. Because

negative emotions create aversive physiological arousal, mothers may be more inclined to respond to negative emotions using various control strategies. Additionally, how mothers react in response to their daughters' negative emotions provides children a model for future coping mechanisms when faced with difficult situations (Fabes, Poulin, Eisenberg, & Madden-Derdich, 2002).

Given the aversive features of negative emotions, common non-supportive controlling strategies may include expressing one's own distress and punishing or minimizing the child's emotions. Parents' non-supportive reactions to children's negative emotions have been found to be related to children's lower adjustment and functioning (Cassidy, Parke, Bukowsky, & Braungart, 1992; Eisenberg, Fabes, Carlo, & Karbon, 1992). For example, parents who reported minimizing and punishing children's negative emotions had children with lower popularity and social skills as reported by teachers (Eisenberg, Fabes, & Murphy, 1996). Further, parents who became emotionally distressed or were harsh in their reactions to children's negative emotions were more likely to have children who did not express their emotions as frequently and who were unable to decode emotions of others (Fabes, Poulin, Eisenberg, & Madden-Derdich, 2002). Denham and colleagues (Denham et al., 1997; Denham & Grout, 1992) have found that parents who respond to their children's negative emotions in non-supportive ways have children who are less emotionally competent and have problems regulating their emotions.

On the other hand, common supportive responses to children's negative emotions include encouraging children's emotional expression and helping children to engage in emotion-focused coping (i.e. comforting the child so he/ she feels better) or problem-focused coping (i.e. trying to help the child resolve the issue that caused her/him distress). When parents are supportive in response to their child's negative expressions, children are more likely to behave in balanced and

socially appropriate ways (Bryant, 1987; Fabes, Eisenberg, & Eisenbud, 1993). Notably, children's age, gender, ethnicity, and family structure (single vs. dual parent) have not been shown to predict maternal supportive and non-supportive responses to children's negative emotions (Fabes, Leonard, Kupanoff, & Martin, 2001; Fabes, Poulin, Eisenberg, & Madden-Derdich, 2002). However, these studies were composed of a predominantly White (79% and 86% respectively) sample and thus it is important to study Latina mothers' reactions to children's negative emotions to investigate whether socio-demographic factors influence Latina mothers' emotion socialization behaviors.

It is hypothesized that both ethnic identity and *dichos/ consejos* will be related to mothers' socialization behaviors. Given that these relations have not been previously examined, I am tentative in my hypotheses about relations of ethnic identity and traditionality in *dichos/ consejos* with non-supportive and supportive reactions to children's negative emotions, but will, nonetheless explore possible associations. As stated above, I expect stronger ethnic identity and greater traditionality in *dichos/consejos* to be related to mothers' belief that emotions can be dangerous. Because mothers who believe emotions are dangerous may react in less supportive ways to their children's negative emotions given their aversion to negative emotions, I hypothesize that mothers with stronger ethnic identity and mothers with greater traditionality in *dichos/consejos* will report more non-supportive and less supportive reactions to their daughters' negative emotions.

1.7 Hypotheses

Aim 1: Explore how Demographic Variables Reflecting Social Locations are Associated with Interrelations Among Variables

If there is sufficient variability in mothers' socioeconomic status (SES), I will examine associations of SES with ethnic identity and traditionality of helpful and non-helpful dichos/consejos. I will also divide the sample into two groups of higher and lower SES to examine whether interrelations among ethnic identity, traditionality of dichos/consejos, and emotion socialization beliefs and behaviors differ according to SES.

Aim 2: Examine Associations Between Ethnic Identity and Mothers' Interpretation of Dichos and Consejos

Higher Latina ethnic identity will be correlated with greater traditionality in helpful dichos/consejos. Lower Latina ethnic identity will be correlated with less traditionality in helpful dichos/ consejos.

Aim 3: Evaluate Whether Ethnic Identity Predicts Emotion Socialization Beliefs and Behaviors

Latina women's ethnic identity will predict their beliefs about emotions, with higher Latina ethnic identity associated with: (a) greater belief that it is her job to guide children's emotions, and (b) greater belief that emotions are dangerous. Because the belief that emotions are dangerous is expected to relate to mothers' more non-supportive and less supportive responses to children's negative emotions, higher Latino ethnic identity may also be associated with these responses.

Aim 4: Evaluate Whether Mothers' Interpretation of Dichos/Consejos Predicts Emotion Socialization Beliefs and Behaviors

More traditionality in helpful dichos/consejos will be related to (a) greater belief that it is her job to guide children's emotions, and (b) greater belief emotions are dangerous. As above, because the belief that emotions are dangerous is expected to relate to mothers' more non-supportive and less supportive responses to children's negative emotions, more traditionality in helpful dichos/consejos may also be associated with these responses.

2 Method

2.1 Participants

Participants were 40 Latina mothers (mean age= 36 years, SD= 5.13, range= 27-48 years) of daughters aged 4-12 years (mean age= 7 years, SD= 2.40). Mothers came from diverse backgrounds as indicated by their countries of origin (1 from Argentina, 2 from Bolivia, 2 from Chile, 2 from Colombia, 2 from Costa Rica, 3 from Ecuador, 3 from El Salvador, 1 from Honduras, 19 from Mexico, 2 from Peru, 1 from Texas, and 2 from Venezuela). Thirty-eight mothers were born outside of the United States and two were born in the United States. Mothers reported residing in the United States for a diverse number of years (mean number of years=12.3 years, range= 2-33 years). Thirty-six of the mothers were married, 3 were cohabitating with their daughter's father, and 1 was single. Mothers had an average of 2 children per household (range= 1 to 6 children). In regard to employment, 16 of the mothers said they were stay at home mothers, 13 reported fulltime employment, 5 reported part time employment, 4 indicated both part time employment and that they were stay at home mothers, and 1 said she was both a part time student and stay at home mother. Mothers had diverse levels of education (mean level of education: 12th grade, range= 5th grade through graduate school). There was also a wide range of family incomes (mean family income=\$50,204, SD=27,135, range= \$18,200 to \$145,000 annually).

Power analyses indicate that 40 mothers are sufficient to detect a medium effect size (.77) with three predictors of the dependent variable in regression analyses. I included only mother-daughter dyads given the study's aim of examining how women acquire and reproduce their

culture intergenerationally. Because daughters are more likely than sons to be viewed as transmitters of culture (Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009), passing on dichos/consejos to daughters was likely to be more salient to mothers than doing so with sons. Mothers also report more cultural socialization of their daughters than their sons (Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, Foust, 2009). Thus, mother-daughter dyads were the focus of this study.

Mothers of daughters aged 4 through 12 years were chosen given that this is an age range before adolescence and after toddlerhood. Additionally, early and middle childhood are important times for emotion socialization and advances in emotion competence, such as emotion understanding and emotion regulation (Denham, 1998; Eisenberg, Cumberland, & Spinrad, 1998). Therefore the study's aims and questions may be more salient for mothers of children in this age range.

Mothers were recruited via church organizations, doctors' offices, beauty salons, tailors, and flyers distributed throughout a rural community in North Carolina and Virginia in both Spanish and English. Please see Appendix A for recruitment flyers. The mothers were compensated \$10 for their participation.

2.2 Procedures

Mothers completed various quantitative questionnaires on their demographics and social locations, beliefs about emotions, emotion socializing behaviors, and ethnic identity. The mothers completed consent forms (see Appendix B), the Parents' Beliefs about Children's Emotions questionnaire (PBACE; Halberstadt, Dunsmore, & Bryant, 2006), a demographic questionnaire, the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure 2 (MEIM-2; Phinney, 1992), and the Coping with Children's Negative Emotions Scale (CCNES; Fabes, Eisenberg, & Bernzweig, 1990) in the language of their choice. Last, mothers participated in a 15-minute qualitative

interview regarding their experience with dichos and consejos. The interview was audiotaped for transcribing purposes. Sessions were conducted in the family's home in the language (Spanish or English) of the mother's choice by the first author; 37 mothers opted to complete the study in Spanish and 3 mothers completed the study in English. The entire session lasted about an hour and a half.

2.3 Materials

Demographics

Mothers completed a demographic questionnaire to provide information on mothers' socioeconomic status (education, occupation, and income), number of children, number of years living in the United States, and place of birth. Please refer to Appendix C for the demographics questionnaire.

Parents' Beliefs about Children's Emotions (PBACE) questionnaire (Halberstadt, et al., 2006)

During the PBACE, mothers read a series of statements and describe their agreement with the items on a 6-point Likert-type scale (1= strongly disagree, 6= strongly agree). These statements express various beliefs about children's emotions and the parents' roles in the socialization of their children's emotions. The mothers read each statement and write a corresponding number that shows their agreement with that statement.

The following PBACE subscales were used: (a) Parental guidance is important (10 items, sample item: "It's a parent's job to teach children how to handle negative feelings", Cronbach's alpha = .72 for the full sample, .72 for the Spanish version only) and (b) Emotions can be

dangerous (16 items, sample item: “When children get angry they create more problems for themselves”, Cronbach’s alpha = .87 for the full sample, .87 for the Spanish version only). Internal consistency $>.78$ has been found for both subscales in three different English-speaking ethnic groups (African American, European American, and Lumbee American Indian). Internal consistency with this sample of Latina mothers was similar to that found in my previous work with the Spanish version of the PBACE with Latina mothers of preschool-age children for the Emotions are dangerous subscale, and better than that found in my previous work for the Parental guidance is important subscale (alpha = .22; Perez-Rivera & Dunsmore, in press). Please refer to Appendix D for the PBACE questionnaire.

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM-2, Phinney, 1992).

The MEIM was developed to measure individuals’ ethnic identity, which includes one’s identification with a group, a sense of belonging to that particular group, and positive attitudes toward one’s group. The revised version of the MEIM was used, which consists of 12 items that assess ethnic identity. This measure consists of two factors, ethnic identity search (cognitive and developmental component), and affirmation, belonging, and commitment (affective component). An overall score may also be calculated. Responses are on a 5-point Likert scale, with 1= strongly disagree to 5= strongly agree. Higher scores indicate a stronger ethnic identity. The responses of this measure are scored using the mean of the item scores for each subscale or total score. Cronbach’s alpha for the ethnic identity search and ethnic identity affirmation subscales ranges from .81 to .89 across ethnic groups (Roberts, et al., 1999). For this study, Cronbach’s alpha for ethnic identity search was .61 for the full sample and .62 for the Spanish-only sample. Cronbach’s alpha for ethnic identity affirmation was .89 for the full sample and .89 for the

Spanish version only. For the overall score, Cronbach's alpha for this study was .85 for both the full sample as well as the Spanish-only sample. Please refer to Appendix E for the MEIM-2.

Coping with Children's Negative Emotions Scale (CCNES; Fabes, Eisenberg, & Bernzweig, 1990).

This scale presents mothers with 12 situations in which children are described as experiencing negative emotions in typical situations (i.e. being teased by friends, being scared of injections, etc.). The mother indicated on a Likert-type scale of 1 (very unlikely) to 7 (very likely) the likelihood that she would respond in a particular manner. The scale yields six subscales: (a) expressive encouragement, i.e.: "encourage my child to express her feelings of anger and frustration"; (b) emotion focused reactions, i.e.: "soothe my child and do something fun with her to make her feel better"; (c) problem focused reactions, i.e.: "help my child think about ways that she could still be with friends"; (d) punitive reactions, i.e.: "send my child to her room to cool off"; (e) minimization, i.e.: "tell my child not to make a big deal about missing the party"; and (f) distress reactions, i.e.: "get angry at my child". These subscales have been found to group into two superordinate categories: (a) supportive reactions (expressive encouragement, emotion focused reactions, and problem focused reactions; $\alpha = .71$), and (b) nonsupportive reactions (punitive reactions, minimization, and distress reactions; $\alpha = .92$; Fabes, Poulin, Eisenberg, & Madden-Derdich, 2002). In this sample internal consistency for both superordinate subscales was good ($\alpha = .77$ for supportive and $.92$ for nonsupportive for the full sample, and $\alpha = .71$ for supportive and $.92$ for nonsupportive for the Spanish-only sample). Please refer to Appendix F for the CCNES.

Qualitative interview

The interview questions for this study were designed to provide an opportunity for Latina women to reflect on their understandings of dichos and consejos and to articulate their perspectives in their own words. The main purpose of the interview was to provide Latina women an opportunity to reflect on themselves as active decision makers and producers of knowledge. That is, the questions of this interview asked women not only about the dichos and consejos passed on to them, but also how they, as active individuals, have understood these messages, transformed them, and/ or passed them on.

The interview was designed to take 15 minutes and began with broad questions regarding both helpful and non-helpful dichos and consejos received about mothering. The mothers were to think of their daughter in the age group for this study throughout the interview and discuss whether and how (i.e. verbatim, slightly modified, not at all, etc.) they would pass on the messages they have heard to their daughter as well as how they would advise a mother in a similar situation. For example, the interview began with a broad question: “Think about your daughter and your experiences as a mother, what was a dicho/ consejo that you received about being a mother that was helpful?” Subsequent questions asked for more particular information (i.e. why was it helpful; who told you this message; how would you advise a mother in a similar situation; would you pass this message to your daughter, what would you say?). These questions were all repeated for the non-helpful dicho. Please refer to Appendix G for the entire interview.

The entire interview was transcribed by a research assistant fluent in Spanish and English. The transcriptions were double-checked by a different student who was also fluent in Spanish and English. Third, the transcripts were translated for coding purposes and again double-checked by a different assistant who was fluent in Spanish and English. English translations of the transcripts were independently coded by two coders in addition to the researcher.

Additionally, all coders overlapped on 25% of the interviews coded for inter-rater reliability using Cohen's Kappa. Reliability was excellent ($K = .91$).

The responses were coded in order to explore and highlight messages dealing with the traditionality of both gender and discipline. For example, the mothers were asked to think of a helpful and a non-helpful dicho and elaborate on their messages. The helpful messages were coded separately from the non-helpful messages, but with the same coding scheme.

Two coders along with the researcher analyzed the English transcripts of the conversation. The coders first read the original dicho and coded it for level of traditionality between a 0 (not traditional at all) to 3 (very traditional). A dicho with the score of 3 had very clear and consistent messages about women's roles in the home (i.e.: "The woman is the pillar of the home"); domesticity for women was a main focus (i.e.: "Why study? You're going to get married and won't need it"; "you need to learn to cook and clean or else you won't get married"); or there were very clear messages about gender (i.e. "girls suffer more"). Additionally, a 3 was assigned to transcripts with very clear power issues discussed as part of children's discipline (i.e.: "do as I say"; "listen to all authority and do as they tell you"; physical correction such as spanking).

A score of 2 was assigned to transcripts that discussed women's roles but also included other themes to reduce its traditionality (i.e.: "Mother is the pillar of the home, but not just the mother, the father has to be there as well"). In regard to discipline, a 2 was assigned to a transcript if it was somewhat strict or limited communication without explaining why (i.e.: "do not console"; cultural taboos about communication: "you don't discuss those things with me").

A dicho was coded as a 1 if it discussed the child as an active member of the dyad and/ or discussed power in an equal/ friendly way (i.e.: "be friends with your daughter"; "put yourself in

her shoes”; “remember when you were little”; “be understanding”). Last, a dicho was coded as a “0” when it had no signs of traditionality at all (i.e.: “have a life outside of the home”) or discussed the importance of individual experience (i.e.: “every child is different”). In regard to discipline, an extremely permissive perspective was coded as a 0 (i.e.: “let them do what they want”).

After the traditionality of the dicho/ consejo was coded, we noted who passed on the message for both the helpful and non-helpful dichos/ consejos. For the second and third sets of questions (i.e.: “How would you advise a mother in a similar situation”; “Would you pass this message on to your daughter”), we coded for traditionality, as well as reviewed the new messages to see if and how mothers would change, modify, or repeat the information received. Coders rated these 2 questions on a scale of 1-3. An N/A was given to those instances when the mother said she would not advise anyone and within the actual analyses, it was scored as missing data. A score of 1 was allotted to dichos that had the exact same message as the original (i.e.: “Mother is the pillar of the home”). Because mothers would not change the dicho at all, the traditionality rating of the dicho passed on would be the same as the traditionality of the original dicho. A score of 2 was assigned to instances where mothers revised a message. That is, it had similar messages as the original, but it was now altered in some way (i.e. “Mother is the pillar home, but...”). This might or might not alter the traditionality rating depending on how the message was revised. Last, a score of 3 was given to those dichos that were completely different than the original dicho all together (i.e.: “Mother is not the pillar of the home”).

This coding scheme yielded 10 codes for each transcript, five for helpful dichos and five for non-helpful dichos. For each type of dichos, there were three areas in which women might demonstrate endorsement of and/or resistance towards traditional gender norms and discipline:

(a) explanation of the dicho itself, (b) explanation of whether she would advise someone else in the same way, and (c) explanation of whether she would/would not pass on the dicho to her daughter. There were two areas in which women might demonstrate intent to modify the dicho: (a) advice to other mothers, and (b) advice to their own daughters. The coding manual is included in Appendix H. A list of dichos/ consejos discussed and modified is included in Appendix I.

3 Results

3.1 Preliminary Analyses

Descriptive data for each variable is presented in Table 2. Distributions, including skewness and kurtosis statistics, were examined for all independent and dependent variables. All but one (modification of non-helpful dichos advised to other mothers) were found to be within bounds for a normal distribution (Hopkins & Weeks, 1990). Because modification of non-helpful dichos advised to other mothers had very limited variability (36 mothers scored at the ceiling for the range), it was not considered in any further analyses.

Relations of codes for traditionality within helpful dichos (traditionality of the dicho itself, the explanation of whether the mother would use it to advise other mothers, and the explanation of whether the mother would pass it on to her daughter) were significantly intercorrelated ($r_s = .67 - .78, p_s < .01$). Therefore, these codes were averaged to form a single traditionality code for helpful dichos. Likewise, the extent to which mothers would modify helpful dichos in advice to other mothers and in passing the dicho on to their daughter were significantly correlated ($r = .62, p < .01$), so these codes were averaged to form a single modification code for helpful dichos.

Relations of codes for traditionality within non-helpful dichos (traditionality of the dicho itself, the elaboration of how mothers would advise other mothers, and the explanation of how the mother would pass it on to her daughter) had varying intercorrelations ($r_s = -.47$ to $.37$). Therefore, these codes were kept separate for further analyses. As mentioned above, there was a ceiling effect for the extent to which mothers would modify non-helpful dichos in advice to other

mothers, and so only the extent to which mothers would modify non-helpful dichos before passing the dicho on to their daughter was used in further analyses.

Finally, relations of study variables with the demographic variable of number of children per family unit were examined by calculating correlations. The number of children in a family was positively related to mothers' belief that emotions are dangerous ($r = .40, p < .05$) and so was controlled for in regression analyses predicting that belief.

3.2 Aim 1: Explore how Indices of Social Location relate to Study Variables and their Interrelations

To address Aim 1, I first examined correlations of two indices of social location, maternal education and family income, with the study variables. Correlations are presented in Table 3. Maternal education was significantly negatively related to several variables. First, in regard to beliefs, mothers with less education more strongly believed that emotions can be dangerous ($r = -.47, p < .01$). Second, mothers' level of education was negatively related to their reactions to their daughters' negative emotions. Mothers with less education reported stronger tendencies to react in both supportive ($r = -.40, p < .05$) and non-supportive ways ($r = -.53, p < .01$). Third, in regard to discussion of dichos and consejos, mothers with less education showed a trend for using more traditionality overall in their discussion of helpful dichos.

Family income was significantly negatively related to only one variable. In regards to beliefs, mothers with less income more strongly believed that emotions can be dangerous ($r = -.35, p < .05$). A positive trend was found between family income and maternal education ($r = .28, p < .10$). Given that this variable was only significantly related to one other study variable, I conducted further analyses on socioeconomic status using only maternal education levels and did not use family income as a further index of social location.

To examine whether there were differences in the pattern of interrelations among the study variables according to maternal education, I conducted a median split to divide the sample according to higher/ lower maternal education. Mothers' median education level was 12th grade and thus any individual who had a 12th grade education or lower was considered to be in the lower education group ($n = 21$) whereas anyone who reported education levels beyond 12th grade was considered to be in the higher education group ($n = 19$). I then calculated correlations among study variables within the two groups formed by the median split. Please see Table 4.

Fisher's r-to-z transformation was used to determine which correlations among constructs differed according to higher/lower maternal education. Results showed two significant differences in the interrelations among study variables according to maternal education. These are bolded in Table 4. Although this is lower than the number of significant differences in the correlations that would be expected by chance (2.7), it is important to cautiously explore these results because of the underrepresented nature of this sample.

Both differences in the correlations involved mothers' non-supportive reactions to their daughters' negative emotions. Mothers with higher education who believed emotions can be dangerous reported more non-supportive reactions to their daughters' negative emotions ($r = .54$, $p < .05$) whereas for mothers with lower education, there was not a significant association between their belief that emotions can be dangerous and their report of non-supportive reactions ($r = -.24$, *ns*). Mothers with lower education and with stronger ethnic identity reported less non-supportive reactions to their daughters' negative emotions ($r = -.44$, $p < .05$), whereas mothers with higher education and with stronger ethnic identity showed a trend to report more non-supportive reactions to their daughters' negative emotions ($r = .42$, $p < .10$). I note that within the

groups of mothers formed by the median split, these variable distributions remained within accepted bounds for a normal distribution.

3.3 Aim 2: Examine Links between Ethnic Identity and Mothers' Interpretation of Dichos/Consejos

Because maternal education was associated with some variables in two of the three groups of study variables (interpretation of dichos and consejos, and emotion socialization beliefs and behaviors) I calculated partial correlations, controlling for maternal education, for use in examining Aims 2, 3, and 4. These partial correlations are presented in Table 5. Contrary to prediction, examination of the partial correlations revealed no significant associations between ethnic identity and mothers' interpretation of dichos and consejos.

3.4 Aims 3 and 4: Examine Whether Ethnic Identity and Traditionality in Interpretations of Dichos and Consejos Predict Emotion Socialization Beliefs and Behaviors

I next examined the partial correlations for linkages of ethnic identity and interpretations of dichos and consejos with mothers' emotion socialization beliefs and behaviors. Mothers' ethnic identity was positively related to the belief that emotions can be dangerous ($r = .56, p < .01$). Ethnic identity was not related to mothers' supportive and non-supportive reactions.

Modification of helpful dichos was related to less supportive reactions to daughters' negative emotions ($r = -.39, p < .05$), as was traditionality in the description whether mothers would pass on non-helpful dichos to their daughters ($r = -.46, p < .01$). Modification of non-helpful dichos passed on to daughters showed a positive trend with the belief that emotions can be dangerous ($r = .32, p < .10$).

I also noted intercorrelations among variables within constructs. The traditionality of non-helpful dichos/ consejos advised to other mothers was negatively related to the traditionality of non-helpful dichos discussed ($r = -.46, p < .01$) and positively related to the traditionality of non-helpful dichos discussed with their daughters ($r = .35, p < .05$).

When emotion socialization beliefs and behaviors were related to more than one index of ethnic identity of mothers' interpretations of dichos/consejos, multiple regression analyses were then used to evaluate the unique contributions of each potential predictor. Potential predictors were included in each regression only when they showed a significant partial correlation (controlling for maternal education) with the index of emotion socialization beliefs and behaviors that was the criterion variable in that regression. Thus, regressions were conducted only for the belief that emotions can be dangerous and for supportive reactions. Maternal education was controlled for in the first step of all regression analyses. Number of children was also controlled for when predicting the belief that emotions can be dangerous.

Mothers' Belief that Emotions can be Dangerous

The first step of the equation that included maternal education and number of children in the family was significant, $F(2,37) = 8.71, p < .001$, and accounted for 28% of the variance in the beliefs that emotions are dangerous. When mothers' ethnic identity was included in the second step, the model was again significant, $F(3,36) = 11.79, p < .001$ and accounted for an additional 17% of the variance. The full model accounted for 45% of the variance. Examination of the beta coefficients showed that mothers with stronger ethnic identity more strongly believed that emotions can be dangerous, even after controlling for the effects of maternal education and number of children in the family. See Table 6.

Supportive Reactions to Daughters' Negative Emotions

The first step of the equation that included maternal education was significant $F(1,32) = 6.07, p < .01$ and accounted for 13.3% of the variance in mothers' supportive reactions to their daughters' negative emotions. When both (a) mothers' tendency to modify helpful dichos and (b) the traditionality scores for non-helpful dichos advised to daughters were included in the second step, the model was again significant, $F(3,30) = 4.73, p < .01$ and contributed additional unique variance $\Delta R^2 = .12$. The full model accounted for 25.3% of the variance. Examination of the beta coefficients showed a trend for more traditionality in non-helpful dichos passed on to daughters to predict mothers' less supportive reactions to their daughters' negative emotions, even after controlling for the effects of maternal education. See Table 6.

4 Discussion

Ethnic and cultural socialization have been an increasing area of interest for many researchers within developmental psychology and feminist studies. This study provides an important contribution to the growing literature on ethnic identity within Latino families. To contribute to the literature, I addressed four goals. First, I examined how socio-demographic variables are associated with ethnic identity, interpretations of dichos and consejos, emotion socialization, and the relations among them. Second, I examined associations between ethnic identity and mothers' interpretations of dichos/ consejos. Third, I evaluated if and how ethnic identity predicts mothers' emotion socialization beliefs and behaviors. Fourth, I examined if and how mothers' interpretations of dichos/ consejos predict mothers' emotion socialization beliefs and behaviors.

Overall, the findings of this study indicated strong relations of mothers' social location, as measured by level of education, with their emotion socialization, including both their beliefs and behaviors with their daughters, and including advice to other mothers. Further, ethnic identity predicted mothers' belief that emotions can be dangerous, which in turn was associated with mothers' supportive and non-supportive reactions to their daughters' negative emotions. The results provide an initial step in the examination of how social location, ethnic identity, and mothers' interpretation of cultural messages may be linked to mothers' emotion socialization practices with their daughters in Latino families. In the sections below, I discuss how my results support, or fail to support, my hypotheses.

4.1 Aim 1: Association of Social Location with Ethnic Identity, Interpretations of Dichos and Consejos, and Emotion Socialization Beliefs and Behaviors

I first note that two maternal characteristics (education and family size) were linked with study variables. In regard to emotion socialization, mothers' level of education was negatively related to: (a) the belief that emotions are dangerous, (b) supportive reactions, and (c) non-supportive reactions. Indeed, in regression analyses, mothers' level of education was often the strongest beta coefficient predicting mothers' emotion socialization beliefs and behaviors. Mothers who were less educated were more likely to believe that emotions are dangerous as well as to react in both supportive and non-supportive ways towards their daughters' negative emotions. Less educated women tend to be exposed to more traditional child-rearing ideas (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldgerger, & Tarule, 1986) that minimize the value of children's emotions as individuals. For example, Belenky and colleagues (1986) found that mothers who were less educated tended to experience themselves as mindless and voiceless (silenced knowers) or as incapable of creating new knowledge (received knowers) and thus may have an unquestioned submission to authority because authority, not the self, is viewed as the source of truth. In both silenced and received knowers, women view all knowledge as originating from an outside source (i.e. authorities) rather than internally constructed. Thus they may endorse any child-rearing tactic, supportive or non-supportive, as a reaction to their daughters' negative emotions. Less educated women may also have fewer resources available to them both financially and socially so their daughters' emotions may be more readily viewed as a threat. Thus, mothers may both believe that emotions can be dangerous and be willing to try anything – supportive or non-supportive – to get their daughters' negative emotions to go away. In sum, because emotions are viewed as dangerous and a possible threat, less educated mothers may be more prone to accept any possible means, supportive or non-supportive, as a solution to their daughters' negative emotions.

In regard to the dichos discussed, mothers who were lower in education were more likely to pass on traditional dichos/consejos that they had not found helpful to other mothers. Similarly, there was a trend for mothers who were more educated to be less likely to discuss traditional dichos/consejos as helpful. This makes intuitive sense given that higher levels of education provide for the further exploration of ideas and philosophies outside of the home, which tend to be less traditional. That is, mothers who are more educated are exposed to different and various opportunities outside of the home which shape not only their experiences, but also their beliefs and interpretations of the messages passed on throughout their culture. This is also supported by Belenky and colleagues' work (1986), which found that more educated mothers were more likely to be subjective, procedural, or constructed knowers who were aware that knowledge is created by individuals, view themselves as capable of creating new information, and value both subjective and objective ways to understand personal experiences. The more education a mother achieves, the more opportunities and tools she will have to critically think about and assess messages within her environment. This gain in education and knowledge will equip a mother to not only critically think about the messages passed on to her, but also to modify the ones she considers useful so they can fit within her worldview and discard the ones she views as not helpful or disempowering.

It is interesting to note, however, that family income was not significantly correlated to any maternal emotion socialization behaviors nor codes for discussion of dichos. Income, was however, negatively correlated to mothers' belief that emotions are dangerous and thus, mothers with more income were less threatened by their child's emotions. Income may not be related to the maternal emotion socialization variables given that the questions in this study were more closely tied with the self and women's identity rather than general statements about the family as

a whole. The composition of this sample must also be noted in order to understand this lack of findings. In this study, 40% of mothers listed themselves as stay-at-home mothers and thus, they are not the main source of income in their families. It may be that maternal education is more closely associated with Latina women's ethnic identity than is income, which is less salient for these women's identity. Because these questions were directly asking about their identity as mothers, their own education, which is more personal and active, may have been more salient than their household income as an index of social location.

It is interesting to note that mothers with more children were more likely to believe that emotions can be dangerous. This makes intuitive sense because Latina mothers who have more children will have to manage a larger nuclear unit and thus are likely to view emotions as dangerous for group harmony. There was also a trend for mothers with more children to be less likely to modify the traditional dichos/consejos they had found helpful. This could be due to the fact that mothers who have more children may have less time to redefine or alter messages passed on to them. For example, as the size of the nuclear family increases, the amount of time that can be devoted towards altering or completely changing traditional messages may decrease and thus mothers who have more children may continue to pass on similar messages to their daughters rather than modifying them.

Furthermore, when I conducted a median split and analyzed correlations among study variables according to maternal education, two interesting findings resulted. The first finding is specific to the group of mothers low in education, where a negative relation was found between ethnic identity and non-supportive reactions. In other words, mothers within the less educated group, who had lower ethnic identity, were more likely to be non-supportive. Inversely, mothers within the less educated group, who had higher ethnic identity, were less likely to be non-

supportive. This could be due to several factors. First, according to Roberts and colleagues (1999), both social identity theory and developmental theory have articulated that a more committed, stronger ethnic identity is positively associated with psychological well being. Further, ethnic identity has been positively associated with self-esteem (Phinney & Kohatsu, 1997). For example, when one feels proud and committed to her ethnic group she is more likely to have higher self-esteem and positive regard for the self. In other words, if Latina mothers value the group they belong to, they will experience higher self-esteem, whereas mothers who do not value their ethnic group will experience lower self-esteem. Self-esteem may affect the way mothers respond to their daughters' negative emotions. For example, mothers high in ethnic identity may experience higher self-esteem and therefore may be less likely to be non-supportive towards their daughters' negative emotions, whereas mothers low in ethnic identity may experience lower self-esteem and thus take their daughters' negative emotions more personally. This may influence their interpretations of negative emotions such that they react in more non-supportive ways to their daughters' expression of negative emotions.

Second, ethnic identity is a combination of affirmation, search, and commitment to one's social group (Phinney, 1992). I did not measure Latina mothers' level of ethnic identity confusion, which might have helped explain this finding. For instance, mothers who have a lower ethnic identity may have higher levels of identity confusion (as opposed to achieved/committed identity) (Schwartz, Zamboanga, Weisskirch, & Rodriguez, 2009), and thus this third variable could be affecting mothers' non-supportive reactions to their daughters.

This association between ethnic identity and non-supportive reactions to daughters' negative emotions may not have held for mothers with higher education for two reasons. First, because higher education may be considered a resilience or resource factor for Latina women

(Heilemann, Lee, & Kury, 2005; Werner, 1986), ethnic identity may not have added an additional buffer against non-supportive reactions to daughters' negative emotions for mothers higher in education. Second, mothers higher in education may consider daughters' negative emotional expressions not only as a form of improper social behavior but also as evidence of healthy self-expression that will promote individuality (Harwood, Schöelmerich, Ventura-Cook, Schulze, & Wilson, 1996) and so stronger ethnic identity may not consistently relate to non-supportive reactions to daughters' negative emotions for mothers higher in education because they may have opposing reactions depending on the specific context.

Thus, it appears as though ethnic identity and maternal education may work as protective factors against distressed, punitive, and/or minimizing reactions. That is, when mothers have less education, their higher ethnic identity may serve as a resource that helps them to be less likely to react in non-supportive ways to their daughters' negative emotions. It is worth noting that these findings could well have been due to chance; however, they are worth exploring given this sample's underrepresentation in the literature.

The second finding is specific to the mothers higher in education. Within this group, mothers who believed emotions could be dangerous were more likely to react in non-supportive ways to their daughters' negative emotions. Inversely, mothers high in education with a lower belief that emotions can be dangerous were less likely to be non-supportive to their daughters' negative emotions. I note that because the median split occurred at 12 years of education, mothers in the higher education all had some post-high school education. Perhaps mothers with more experience in higher education pay more attention to consistency in their emotion socialization beliefs and behaviors because higher education involves making connections between abstract ideas, much like beliefs, and concrete examples, such as behaviors. In this

instance, since they believe emotions may be dangerous, their reactions are more likely to be non-supportive. In other words, because they view emotions as possibly being dangerous, they will not support negative emotions in their daughters. A similar association may not have been found for mothers lower in education if they consider emotion socialization beliefs and behaviors to be separate entities and therefore are less concerned about consistency between beliefs and behaviors.

It is important to note, regardless of maternal education, that mothers may view different emotions as dangerous depending on the context. For example, what is considered dangerous varies based on the situation and this may influence how mothers react to daughters' negative emotional expressions. Thus, the association of maternal education with relations between the belief that emotions can be dangerous and reactions to negative emotion may also depend on the situational context. Again, I note that these findings could have been due to chance, but because of the underrepresented nature of my sample they were worth exploration. Further research is needed to determine the stability of these findings.

4.2 Aim 2: Associations between Ethnic Identity and Interpretations of Dichos and Consejos

There was a lack of associations found among ethnic identity and all other study variables, which was very surprising. The absence of additional relations could be due to several issues. First, ethnic identity was measured with a quantitative scale whereas dichos/ consejos were collected in a qualitative fashion and was coded based on my definitions and interpretations of our conversations during the interview. The discrepancy between the manner in which the data was measured could have influenced the results such that the questionnaires had a pre-existing, non-personalized scoring system whereas the coding scheme for the interview was

developed in order to capture these 40 women's interpretations of their own, personal experiences and realities. Essentially, I allowed the qualitative data to inform the coding and analyses whereas the quantitative data was analyzed in a non-personalized manner. Last, the questionnaires focused on the prevalence of certain beliefs and behaviors, whereas the interview asked for further elaboration of dichos/ consejos mothers had received. Thus, mothers had a plethora of non-limited experiences from which to draw upon throughout the interview. Ultimately mothers shaped the qualitative interview process and its coding scheme.

Second, ethnic identity may be very strongly connected with the embracing of traditional beliefs and thus, mothers may not feel the need to completely alter traditional messages although they were not particularly useful for them. That is, they are able to acknowledge individual differences in parenting and recognize that although a particular dicho/ consejo was not helpful for them, it could still be helpful for someone else. Further, mothers may romanticize traditional cultural messages and reproduce them to current and future generations given their cultural pride in dichos and consejos that represent wisdom of past generations. Because one's cultural history may be romanticized as reflecting the wisdom and richness of one's ancestors (Aviera, 1996), mothers may pass traditional dichos/ consejos on to their daughters regardless of whether they were helpful or not helpful.

Third, ethnic identity and traditionality of dichos/ consejos may simply not be related. The way in which mothers interpret and recall dichos/ consejos given to them may simply not be a reflection of their ethnic identity. Importantly, the lack of findings cannot be attributed to lack of internal consistency nor variable distributions. Perhaps the lack of relations between ethnic identity and dichos/ consejos may be attributed to the complexity of mothers' interpretations of

dichos/ consejos. Further the complexity of these interpretations could be indicative of mothers' diverse active participation in the process.

4.3 Aims 3 and 4: Prediction of Emotion Socialization Beliefs and Behaviors from Ethnic Identity and Interpretations of Dichos and Consejos

Consistent with hypotheses, mothers with a stronger ethnic identity were more likely to believe that emotions are dangerous. This finding could be explained given Latino communities' tendency to endorse collectivist behaviors and beliefs (Hofstede, 2006; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). That is, Latino, collectivist societies tend to focus on group interrelationships and harmonious interactions (Hofstede, 2006; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). It follows, that if one is concerned for the needs of the group, emotions could be viewed as dangerous given their unpredictability and possible negative consequences of expressing strong emotions.

As predicted, mothers with a stronger ethnic identity more strongly endorsed the belief that emotions can be dangerous. Likewise, mothers' discussion of more traditional dichos/consejos as helpful predicted their endorsement of the belief that emotions can be dangerous. These findings could be related to Latino culture's low tolerance for uncertainty (Hofstede, 2006), which has been defined as the degree to which a culture feels either at ease or uneasy in novel interactions. For example, because emotions are constantly changing and therefore unpredictable, more Latina-identified mothers may feel uneasy with their child's feelings and expressions of negative emotions. On the other hand, less Latina-identified mothers may have a higher tolerance for uncertainty. If they are more tolerant of uncertainty, emotions may not be as readily perceived as a threat and, therefore, less Latina identified mothers may not feel as strongly that children need to be protected from everyday emotions. Moreover, these findings could be related to Latino culture's tendency to endorse interdependence communally

(Hofstede, 2006; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). That is, more Latino identified mothers may believe that emotions may disrupt group harmony and are, therefore, dangerous.

Contrary to prediction, mothers' discussion of more traditional dichos as helpful did not predict their belief that parents need to guide their children's emotions nor their tendency to react in non-supportive ways. Distributions of all variables were within accepted bounds for skewness and kurtosis. However, mothers reported high endorsement of the belief that parents need to guide their children's emotions, and this could have limited the ability for analyses to capture associations with this belief. This was not the case for mothers' reports of non-supportive reactions to their daughters' negative emotions, which showed both good range and only moderate endorsement on the response scale. Therefore, it could be the case that the discussion of more traditional dichos as helpful could be related to a more passive belief about emotions (i.e. emotions can be dangerous) rather than a more active belief (i.e. in guiding children's emotions) or behavior (i.e. non-supportive reactions).

Last, less traditionality in mothers' non-helpful dichos discussed when advising their daughters predicted mothers' supportive reactions. In other words, mothers who were more traditional when discussing non-helpful dichos for their daughters were less supportive of their daughters' negative emotions. This could be related to mothers' traditional, collectivist worldview which encompasses a larger whole (Hofstede, 2006; Markus & Kitayama, 1991) and thus their daughters' negative emotions may disrupt group harmony. If negative emotions are viewed as a source of group disruption, traditional mothers may react in less supportive ways to their daughters' negative emotions.

4.4 Strengths and Limitations

I would like to note four strengths of this study in particular. First, I expand current literature on ethnic identity and emotion socialization by focusing on Latina mothers and their active agency in the consumption and construction of cultural messages passed on to future generations. In this study, the role of a mother was positioned as very important for influencing not only current practices, but also impacting future generations. Thus, mothers' reflection on how they use their power to influence other mothers as well as their daughters provided insight into the reproduction and modification of culture within Latino families. This project presents distinct questions and new insights that have been previously unexplored within developmental psychology. The evidence emphasizes the importance of including Latino families in further research examining socio-emotional factors. It is imperative to continue investigating Latina mothers and their families given their experiences within the United States as "others" (Alcoff, 2000). This population will provide unique and worthwhile insights into the socialization process given their current reality of navigating through and within dominant and minority cultures.

Second, this project shifted the lens of study onto a more integrated knowledge of Latina women that included the viewpoints of a group of Latina mothers who were allowed to express their beliefs and heritage in their own words and reflections. In addition, this investigation provided for a deeper appreciation of how Latina women living in the United States engage with the powerful, overarching discourses concerning women and their roles and expectations as mothers. This approach provided for a more holistic examination of how social location, as measured through maternal education, is interconnected with other aspects of the self. Relatedly, this piece contributes to feminist literature by investigating motherhood as a source of strength and power by representing women, more specifically Latina women, as active in their own socialization and production of cultural messages. This project further recognized the

traditionality of dichos/consejos about motherhood that is so deeply entrenched, reinforced, and greatly influences thinking and behavior.

Third, the present study is unique in that I included both qualitative and quantitative measures to tap into not only the prevalence and strength of ethnic identity and emotion socialization beliefs and behaviors, but also how and why Latina mothers endorse particular, overarching cultural messages. This represents a methodological contribution to the field by showing that although mothers may endorse a traditional cultural message or belief, the way they make sense of or reproduce these beliefs may be quite different than previously assumed. Further, the qualitative results did not map neatly onto the quantitative results of ethnic identity. This may be representative of the complexity of both ethnic identity and mothers' active process in constructing and understanding their reality.

Fourth, this study provides an initial account of how maternal education, ethnic identity, and traditionality of cultural messages relate to maternal emotion socialization (beliefs about and reactions to children's emotions). The study variables in this investigation are representative of Eisenberg, Spinrad, and Cumberland's (1998) heuristic model. This model proposed that parents' emotion-related socialization behaviors (ERSBs) mediate the impact of parent characteristics (i.e. beliefs about emotions and ethnic identity) and cultural factors (i.e. interpretation of dichos/consejos) on children's outcomes. As a result, this investigation offers a rich and nuanced view of Latina mothers' emotion socialization of their daughters during early to middle childhood (ages 4 years to 12 years).

I also note three limitations of this study in particular. First, all quantitative study materials were translated from English to Spanish, rather than using questionnaires that were originally developed in Spanish. Because these materials were not originally intended for use

with Latina mothers, even careful translation and back-translation does not necessarily ensure cultural relevance (Knight & Zerr, 2010). For example, the CCNES provided mothers with 12 situations in which their daughter experiences negative emotions, in several situations (i.e. “my daughter is anxious and her eyes get watery when I leave her at her friend’s house because I cannot stay with her”) mothers expressed that, as Latinas, they do not “pass their children off to others” like they do in American culture and thus, this situation was not only viewed as irrelevant within their family, but also it was perceived as non-relevant to their Latina culture. Although it is possible that the measures may not have been culturally relevant, the internal consistency of the subscales was acceptable and fits with previous research.

Second, and relatedly, the questions in both the quantitative and qualitative portion of the study were open to individual interpretation. For example, some conversations during the interview were very rich with detail and mothers were able to discuss complex and abstract ideas and thoughts, whereas other discussions were very vague or discussed non-relevant information (i.e. some women discussed advice regarding how to care for a child -- burping, feeding, what to do with the umbilical cord - rather than discussing messages passed on about being a mother). Further, regarding mothers’ reactions to children’s negative emotions, some situations on the questionnaire were not applicable to some mothers and their daughters (i.e. my child is going to a friend’s house and she gets anxious that I cannot stay with her...). For example, as mentioned above, some mothers discussed that their daughters are not allowed to go to their friends’ houses and are, instead, required to spend time with the family. One mother stated that she would actually be delighted if her daughter felt anxiety when visiting a non-family member’s home. Although the questions within this study were open to interpretation, which could have limited the analyses of the interviews, this could also be viewed as a great strength. Again, the diverse

responses I received to the interview questions could be indicative of the great complexity of mothers' understanding and interpretations of cultural messages within their communities.

Third, although my sample size was comparable to previous research on emotion socialization within Latino families (Cervantes, 2002; Eisenberg, 1999, 2002), and I had sufficient power for regressions with three predictors, the sample was still small. This limited statistical power for additional analyses, especially those exploring the role of maternal education in relations between ethnic identity, interpretation of dichos/consejos, and emotion socialization beliefs and behaviors. Further research is needed to determine the generalizability and replicability of the findings. In future work with larger sample sizes, it would be informative to examine potential interactions between emotion socialization beliefs and parents' reactions to children's behaviors, and interactions between emotion socialization beliefs/behaviors and ethnic identity in Latino families. However, given the lack of research with Latino families and the importance of representing Latino families in research on emotion socialization, this study provides an important exploration of Latina mothers' emotion socialization beliefs and behaviors and the traditionality of cultural messages mothers' endorse in relation to ethnic identity.

Last, although the theories of Anzaldúa (1991) and Isasi-Díaz (1996; 2004) were influential in the conceptualization of this project, I chose not to use a Borderlands perspective in the analysis of mothers' discussion of dichos/ consejos for two reasons. First, for the purpose of this work, I was interested in examining mothers' traditionality and modification of dichos/ consejos rather than analyzing for the symbolic meaning of being a mother. I was interested in how mothers reproduce and create their own culture via the traditionality and modification of the dichos/ consejos that were considered helpful/ not helpful and how they use their power to advise other mothers and their own daughters. Second, mothers did not always discuss the community's

expectations of the role of mothers; rather, they were more likely to discuss child discipline and care giving practices, such as spanking and feeding schedules. Thus, the coding scheme I created was both more practical and informative in analyzing mothers' discussion of dichos/consejos, and more reflective of what was most salient to the mothers themselves. In other words, because of my feminist lens, I let the women speak for themselves and allowed the conversations to shape the coding scheme rather than forcing a pre-existing analysis on to the data. In the future, it would be worthwhile to further analyze dichos/ consejos using a content analysis informed by Anzaldúa's (1991) and Isasi-Díaz' (1996; 2004) conceptualizations.

For example, it may be useful to further examine what the mothers in this sample said to see if and how their conceptualizations of dichos/ consejos reflect the traditional dichotomy of woman. That is, according to Anzaldúa (1991), Latina mothers are located on a borderland, which dichotomizes the maternal role either as pure, all giving, and asexual (i.e. the Virgin Mary) or as a traitor to her community (i.e. the Malinche). Because Latina women's roles as mothers are so dichotomized, many women experience confusion, frustration, and contradiction in their understanding of mothers' roles. Some of the mothers in this study seemed to show some acceptance of the role of the pure, all-giving devoted mother. For example, when asked about a helpful dicho they heard about being a mother, some mothers simply said "be a good mother" or "a good mother devotes all of her time to her children" with no further elaboration. This could be symbolic of their acceptance of this dichotomy of "mother." Interestingly, none of the mothers discussed nor referred to the other extreme, Malinche role. Systematic analysis of themes such as these will be an important future direction for research. A comprehensive list of the dichos/ consejos discussed by mothers in this study is included in Appendix I.

4.5 Future Directions

In future work, it would be fruitful to include mothers of both daughters and sons to explore not only similarities and differences in emotion socialization beliefs and behaviors, but also their endorsement of particular messages for daughters versus sons. For example, it would be very interesting to see if mothers endorse more traditional messages for their daughters than for their sons or if they would advise mothers of sons differently than mothers of daughters.

It will also be productive to expand the measurement of ethnic identity in two ways. First, it would be insightful to explore developmental changes in ethnic identity. That is, it would be interesting to study identity as a process, rather than a fixed entity. For example, future studies may benefit from measuring ethnic identity at various time points of mothers' development (i.e. before birth of first child, 1 year after birth, 5 years, etc.). It would be very interesting to see if and how mothers' ethnic identity, beliefs, behaviors, and endorsement of traditional *dichos/consejos* changes throughout their growing experiences as mothers. Second, because identity is tied to social location (Mahalingam, Balan, & Haritatos, 2008; Trujillo, 1998), it would be worthwhile to examine mothers' physical space; that is, it would be beneficial to explore the neighborhoods experienced by the women in this investigation and see if and how ethnic identity is tied to characteristics of their physical location, such as neighborhood risk and community resources available. Last, it would be beneficial to utilize varying models of identity when studying Latino populations, because trying to describe all Latino women within one model does not elevate the discussion of identity. That is, attempting to fit all Latina women into one monolithic category generalizes and stereotypes a large, diverse group of women based on the postulation that their beliefs, behaviors, interpretations of reality, and levels of awareness are all the same (Torres, Howard-Hamilton, & Cooper, 2004).

Further, it would also be worthwhile to investigate differences within the Spanish-speaking community, given that there is so much variability within this society. That is, the Latino population is comprised of 21 different countries; it is logical to expect differences in beliefs and behaviors depending on country of origin. For example, the country's overall political context (i.e. wealth, status, and political atmosphere) within a geographical space greatly shapes and influences what individuals within that country, especially women, are expected and promoted to do, as well as how they experience and interpret their reality (Delgado-Bernal, Alemán Jr., & Garavito, 2009). That is, overarching messages within countries varies and these messages greatly shape common ideologies that are accepted as social norms and expectations for its individual citizens. In other words, if the overarching, political context is very traditionally oppressive in regards to gender, women may endorse more traditional beliefs whereas if the overarching political context is liberal in regards to women's roles, individuals within that society may endorse less traditional emotional socialization beliefs and behaviors.

It may be fruitful to measure collectivism/individualism or tolerance for uncertainty in future investigations with Latina mothers rather than applying group findings from past research based on ethnic identity. Future studies could examine whether including the measurement of individualism/ collectivism alters the relations between Latina mothers' ethnic identity, emotion socialization beliefs and behaviors, and their endorsement of cultural messages. Also, measuring mothers' levels of tolerance for uncertainty, rather than assuming it based on ethnic identity, could be helpful in informing our knowledge of the associations between the study variables. For example, if both individualism/ collectivism and tolerance for uncertainty are measured in future studies, we may be able to test whether mothers' levels of individualism/ collectivism account

for differences in beliefs and behaviors or whether level of tolerance for uncertainty drives these relations.

Furthermore, it would be illuminating to focus on not only the traditionality of the messages women discuss, but also on the actual content of their conversations. Future studies could use a content analysis and see if and how mothers' discussions vary based on socio-demographic variables and socio-emotional beliefs and behaviors. Second, when focusing on the content, it would be fascinating to analyze the transcripts in the original language of the conversation rather than transcribing and translating, for some meaning may be lost in the process. Third, with a content analysis, one could also examine if and how mothers' awareness of contradiction (i.e. mention a traditional dicho/consejo as not helpful but pass it on to their daughters anyways) alters the interrelations among the study variables.

Last, it would be fascinating to examine characteristics of mothers and daughters to better understand emotion socialization, ethnic identity, and endorsement of cultural messages. For example, comparisons could focus on mothers of different ages (younger vs. older mothers), generational status (first vs. second generation), and different times spent in the US because these characteristics may be associated with ethnic identity, interpretations of cultural messages, and their relations to emotion socialization. Furthermore, it would be fruitful to investigate mothers of older daughters, more specifically, mothers of daughters currently going through puberty as well as mothers of college-aged daughters given both onset of reproductive fertility and potential transitions to more traditional or less traditional educational and career pathways. That is, because daughters would be at an age of reproductive capability, mothers may choose to focus and discuss more messages regarding motherhood to their older daughters than younger daughters. Last, it would be interesting to study mothers' of college-aged daughters and see how

they define achievement based on daughters' educational attainment (i.e. mothers of daughters in college vs. mothers of daughters not in college). For instance mothers who have a daughter in college may articulate less traditional messages than mothers of non-degree seeking daughters.

4.6 Conclusion

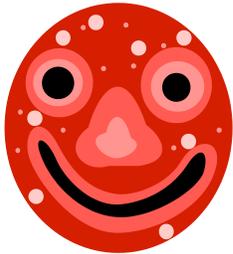
The findings of this study help elucidate how Latina women make sense of their culture, traditions, and experiences. Further, this study sheds light on how cultural differences in parenting beliefs and behaviors are not only shaped by the overarching cultural messages, but also influenced by how individuals within a culture interpret, understand, modify, and/or reject those messages. The findings of this study also provide a richer understanding of the developmental issues Latina women face as they attempt to define themselves and become active agents in the construction of knowledge.

In conclusion, this study expands previous research on the emotion socialization and ethnic identity by focusing on Latina mothers. Taken as a whole, results underscore the importance of examining the associations of culture (measured by ethnic identity) and social class (measured by maternal education) with mothers' emotion socialization and experiences with dichos/consejos. This study contributes to the field of psychology by incorporating the feminist thoughts and ideologies of two influential Latina feminists (Anzaldúa, 1991; Isasi-Díaz, 1996, 2004). Anzaldúa's (1991) borderland perspective influenced the framework and conceptualization of the interviews with Latina mothers. Because a borderland perspective was used to create the qualitative interview, Latina women were recognized as active constructors of knowledge who experience a different social reality given their minority status. This project theorized and produced knowledge not from the traditional, mainstream ideologies, rather the

overarching discourses mothers discussed informed the analyses which provided for a different lens from which to understand Latina women's lived experiences. Last, Isasi Diaz' (1996, 2004) liberative praxis informed the conceptualization of this study by reflecting on who Latina women are, what they think, and how they engage with their realities. This project provided for new understandings of Latina women's realities while simultaneously providing the women themselves the opportunity for critical self-reflections on how they are active in their communities and in their children's socialization.

5 Appendices

5.1 Appendix A- Recruitment Materials



¿Que cree sobre las emociones de los niños, los dichos y consejos?

Frustrado

Estamos buscando madres para participar en nuestro estudio. Le pediremos que llenen unos cuestionarios sobre sus pensamientos y reacciones sobre las emociones de niños y su identidad étnica. Madres despues podran compartir sus experiencias con dichos y consejos.



El estudio durará 1 hora y media. Los visitaremos en su hogar! (Si Usted desea, puede visitarnos en el Laboratorio de Desarrollo Social en Virginia Tech.)

Familias reciben \$10!



¿Interesado? Por favor llame a Marie Belle al Laboratorio de Desarrollo Social de Virginia Tech al (540) 231 – 8179 o e-mail a socdev@vt.edu.

Excitado



VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE



What do you think about children's emotions, dichos, and consejos?

Happy

We are looking for Latina mothers to participate in our study. We will ask parents to fill out some surveys about their feelings and reactions to children's emotions, and their ethnic identity. Mothers will then be able to share their experiences with dichos and consejos.



Participation will take about 1 ½ hours. We will come to your house! If you would like, you can request to come to the Social Development Lab at Virginia Tech. Families will receive \$10!

Sad



Interested? Please call Marie Belle at the Virginia Tech Social Development Lab at (540) 231 - 8179 or e-mail us at socdev@vt.edu. We look forward to talking with you!



VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC
INSTITUTE

5.2 Appendix B

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE AND STATE UNIVERSITY

Informed Consent for Participants in Research Projects Involving Human Subjects

Title of Project: Dichos and Consejos, Ethnic Identity, and Emotion Socialization in Latina Mothers

Investigators: Julie C. Dunsmore, Ph.D. and Marie B. Perez Rivera, M.S.

I. Purpose of this Research: We invite you to participate in our research on dichos and consejos, ethnic identity, and emotion socialization. The purpose of this study is to understand how dichos/ consejos, ethnic identity, and emotion socialization beliefs and behaviors are related. Forty mothers will be needed to participate in this study.

II. Procedures: You may participate at your home. (If you wish, you may instead visit the Social Development Lab at Virginia Tech to complete the study.) We will ask mothers to fill out questionnaires about (a) demographics (so we can describe the group who participated) (b) their beliefs about children's emotions, (c) ethnic identity, and (d) their responses to children's negative emotions. I will then have a 20-minute discussion with you about your experiences with dichos and consejos. The whole study should take approximately 1 ½ hours.

III. Risks: There are no foreseeable risks for you.

IV. Benefits: No promise or guarantee of benefits has been made to encourage you to participate. Benefits may include the opportunity to think about your beliefs and behaviors about emotion and to reflect on your experiences with dichos and consejos. For developmental scientists, this research will contribute to understanding how parents' beliefs, behaviors, and ethnic identity are related to dichos and consejos. If you like, we will send you a letter describing the results of this study at the conclusion of this project.

V. Extent of Confidentiality: The information in the study records will be kept completely confidential. Your information will be treated privately. A code number will be used to identify your information, including audio recordings. Audiotapes will be accessible only to Research Assistants supervised by Dr. Dunsmore and Marie Belle Perez-Rivera and will be erased after 7 years. Information linking your name and code number will be kept in a locked room. All materials will be stored securely in a locked room and will be made available only to persons conducting the study unless you specifically give permission in writing to do otherwise. No reference will be made in oral or written reports that could link you to the study.

VI. Compensation: You will receive a \$10 gift certificate for your time.

VII. Freedom to Withdraw: Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may decline to participate without penalty and without loss of benefits. You may choose to discontinue participation at any time during the study without penalty. If you withdraw from the study before data collection is completed the data will be returned to you or destroyed.

VIII. Approval of Research: This research project has been approved, as required, by the Department of Psychology's Human Subjects Committee and by the Institutional Review Board for Research Involving Human Subjects at Virginia Tech.

IX. Parent's Responsibilities: None.

X. Parent's Consent to Participate: I have read and understand the above information. I have received a copy of this form. I have had all my questions answered. I hereby acknowledge the above and give my voluntary to participate in this study.

Parent name _____

Parent signature _____

Date _____

CONTACT INFORMATION: If you have questions at any time about this study or study procedures, you may contact Dr. Julie C. Dunsmore at jdunsmor@vt.edu or (540) 231 – 4201. If you feel you have not been treated according to the descriptions in this form, or that your rights as a research participant have been violated during the course of this project, you may contact Dr. David W. Harrison, Chair of the Psychology Department Human Subjects Committee at dwh@vt.edu or (540) 231 – 4422 or Dr. David Moore, Chair of the Virginia Tech IRB Research Involving Human Subjects, moored@vt.edu or (540) 231 – 4991.

Consent for Use of Audiotape and Transcripts

An important part of research is to share our research findings with the community. When explaining our research findings, it may be useful to listen to some portions of some audiotapes or transcribed sessions of the conversation to our colleagues. For example, the audiotapes could demonstrate how mothers were able to discuss dichos and consejos openly and comfortably. It would be very helpful to have your permission to listen to the audiotapes or transcripts to our colleagues, however, this permission is not necessary for us to complete the study. If you do not want to give your permission transcripts of the conversation will not be shared.

Please indicate below what you are you comfortable with. In all cases, your name will be kept confidential. Please remember that your participation in the study is important whatever permission level you choose.

Write Yes or NO in each blank.

_____ You have my permission to use audiotapes/ transcripts of our conversation when you are talking about this study with faculty or students at Virginia Tech.

_____ You have my permission to use audiotapes/ transcripts of our conversation when you are giving presentations about this study at other universities.

_____ You have my permission to use audiotapes/ transcripts of our conversation when you are giving presentations about this study at national and international conferences.

Your Printed Name

Date

Your Signature

Formulario de Consentimiento para los Padres Virginia Tech University

Título del Estudio: Dichos y Consejos, Identidad étnica, y la Socialización Emocional en Madres Latinas

Miembro de Facultad: Julie C. Dunsmore, Ph.D. and Marie Belle Perez Rivera, M.S.

I. Propósito: Los invitamos a participar en nuestro estudio sobre dichos y consejos, identidad étnica, y la socialización emocional. Estamos interesados en entender como dichos/ consejos, identidad étnica, y las creencias y comportamientos emocionales están relacionadas. Necesitamos 40 madres en este estudio.

II. Procedimientos: Usted participaran en su hogar. (Si desea, puede visitar el Social Development Lab en Virginia Tech para completar el estudio). Durante este estudio, le preguntaremos que completen un cuestionario sobre (a) demograficas (para poder describir el grupo que participo), (b) pensamientos sobre las emociones de niños, (c) identidad étnica, y (d) sus respuestas a las emociones negativas de su hijo (-a). Después, tendre una discusión con Usted sobre sus experiencias con dichos y consejos. El estudio completo tomara como una hora y media.

Section 1.01 **III. Riesgos:** No existen riesgos para usted.

Section 1.02 **IV. Beneficios:** No hacemos promesas ni garantías. Beneficios pueden incluir la oportunidad para pensar sobre sus creencias y comportamientos sobre emociones y reflejar sobre sus experiencias con dichos y consejos. Para científicos de desarrollo, este estudio va a contribuir al entendimiento sobre como las creencias de los padres, sus comportamientos, y su identidad étnica estan relacionados con dichos y consejos. Si desea, le mandaremos una carta describiendo los resultados de este proyecto.

V. Confidencialidad. Toda la información recopilada durante la sesión será guardada en nuestros archivos en una manera confidencial y será archivada con un número de identificación en vez de su nombre. Toda la información solo será utilizada por aquellas personas que estén conduciendo la investigación. Todos los formularios de consentimiento estarán separados de los cuestionarios y cualquier referencia con su nombre sólo estará disponible a la Dra. Dunsmore, a menos que Usted nos permita contactarlos en el futuro cercano para otra investigación. Audiocintas serán disponible solo por esas personas conduciendo la investigación y las cintas serán destruídas después de 7 años. Todas sus respuestas serán guardadas de manera confidencial y trataremos de mantener su anonimato. No usaremos su nombre en reportes que puedan conectarse a este estudio.

VI. Compensación: Como agradecimiento por su participación y su tiempo, usted recibirá \$10.00.

VII. Libertad para retirarse: Su participación en este estudio es completamente voluntario. Si en cualquier momento, llenando estos cuestionarios o participando en cualesquiera de las actividades, Usted se siente incómoda, puede retirar su participación sin ninguna penalidad. Si Usted se retira del estudio antes que toda la data sea recopilada,

toda información obtenida será destruída y recibirá su recompensa por el tiempo que nos dedicó a la investigación.

VIII. Aprobación del estudio: Este proyecto ha sido aprobado, como necesario, por el Departamento de Psicología “Human Subjects Committee” en Virginia Tech.

IX. Responsabilidades de las madres: Ninguna

X. Consentimiento de las Madres para Participar: He leído y comprendo la información suministrada. He recibido una copia de este formulario. Estoy de acuerdo en participar en este estudio.

Firma del padre del participante_____ **Fecha** _____

Firma del investigador_____ **Fecha** _____

INFORMACIÓN PARA CONTACTO: Si usted tiene preguntas sobre este estudio o los procedimientos del estudio, puede contactar a la Dra. Julie C. Dunsmore a jdunsmor@vt.edu o (540) 231 – 4201. Si Usted se siente que no ha sido tratado (-a) como describimos en este formulario, o si sus derechos han sido violados durante este proyecto, puede contactar al Dr. David W. Harrison, Chair del Departamento de Psicología “Human Subjects Committee” al dwh@vt.edu o (540) 231 – 4422 o Dr. David Moore, Chair de Virginia Tech IRB Research que Envuelve Participantes Humanos, moored@vt.edu o (540) 231 – 4991.

Consentimiento para Uso de los Audios y Transcripciones

Es una parte importante de investigaciones compartir nuestros resultados con la comunidad. Cuando expliquemos nuestros resultados, a veces puede ser útil escuchar algunas porciones de los audios o transcripciones de las conversaciones a nuestros colegas. Por ejemplo, los audios pueden demostrar como madres pudieron hablar sobre dichos y consejos abiertamente. Puede ser muy servicial tener su permiso para escuchar los audios o transcripciones a nuestros colegas, pero este permiso no es necesario para completar este estudio. Si no desea dar su permiso las transcripciones tampoco serán compartidos.

Por favor indique con que Usted esta comoda. En todo casos, su nombre sera confidencial. Por favor acuerdese que su participación en este estudio es importante cualquier nivel de permiso Usted escoja.

Escribe SI o NO en los blancos.

_____ Tienen mi permiso para usar los audios/ transcripciones de nuestra conversación cuando estén hablando de este estudio con la facultad o estudiantes de Virginia Tech.

_____ Tienen mi permiso para usar los audios/ transcripciones de nuestra conversación cuando estén hablando de este estudio con otras universidades.

_____ Tienen mi permiso para usar los audios/ transcripciones de nuestra conversación cuando estén dando presentaciones de este estudio en conferencias nacionales e internacionales.

Su Nombre

Fecha

Su Firma

5.3 Appendix C

Demographic Form

We are interested in conducting our research with a representative population. Please let us know how diverse our population is by filling out the following information.

Article II. 1. Date of Birth ____/____/____ Age: ____

Article III. 2. Gender: ____

Article IV. 3. ¿How many years of formal education have you completed?

Article V. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
20+
(Elementary School) (High school) (University) (Graduate School)

4. How many years of formal education has the other parent completed?

Article VI. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
20+
(Elementary School) (High school) (University) (Graduate School)

5. ¿What ethnic group do you belong to? _____ (African American, Hispanic, Native American, White)

5b. ¿Do you consider yourself to be Hispanic? __ Yes __ No

6. ¿What is your marital status? Single Married Divorced Separated Widow Cohabiting

7. ¿How many children do you have? _____ Please state the age and gender of each child:

	Age	Gender		Age	Gender
Child #1	_____	_____	Child # 4	_____	_____
Child #2	_____	_____	Child # 5	_____	_____
Child #3	_____	_____	Child #6	_____	_____

8. ¿What is your religious affiliation, if you have one? _____

9. ¿What country were you born in? _____

10. You at this moment: (circle all that apply)

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| a. Full-time employee | f. Not employed, looking for employment |
| b. Part-time employee | g. Not employed, not looking for employment |
| c. Stay at home | h. Full-time student |
| d. Retired | i. Part-time student |
| e. Retired due to disability | j. Never employed |

11. If you are currently working, what is your position ? _____

12. If you have a partner, what is his/her position? _____

13. ¿What is your combined income? _____

14. How many years have you been living in United States? _____

Formulario Demográfico (Spanish Version)

Estamos interesados en conducir nuestra investigación con una población representativa. Por favor déjenos saber cuan diversa es nuestra población llenando la siguiente información.

Article VII. 1. Fecha de nacimiento ____/____/____ Edad: ____

Article VIII. 2. Género: ____

Article IX. 3. ¿Cuantos años de educación ha completado?

Article X. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
20+
(Escuela elemental) (Escuela superior) (Universidad) (Escuela graduada)

5. ¿Cuantos años de educación el otro padre del niño ha completado?

Article XI. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
20+
(Escuela Elemental) (Escuela Superior) (Universidad) (Escuela graduada)

5. ¿En que grupo étnico te ubicas? _____ (Afro Americano, Hispano, Nativo Americano, Blanco)

5b. ¿Se considera Hispano? __ Sí __ No

6. ¿Cual es su estado marital? Soltero Casado Divorciado Separado Viudo Convivencia

7. ¿Cuantos hijos tiene? _____ Por favor enliste el género y la edad del Niño debajo:

	Edad	genero		Edad	genero
niño #1	_____	_____	niño # 4	_____	_____
niño #2	_____	_____	niño # 5	_____	_____
niño #3	_____	_____	niño #6	_____	_____

8. ¿A que religión pertenece, si es que pertenece a alguna? _____

9. ¿En que país nació? _____

10. Usted al presente: (circule todas las que correspondan)

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| a. Empleado a tiempo completo | f. No empleado buscando empleo |
| b. Empleado a tiempo parcial | g. No empleado y no buscando trabajo |
| c. Ama (o) de casa | h. Estudiante a tiempo completo |
| d. Retirado | i. estudiante a tiempo parcial |
| e. Retirado por incapacidad | j. Nunca empleado |

11. Si esta trabajando, ¿Cual es su titulo? _____

12. Si tiene una pareja y esta trabajando, ¿Cual es su titulo o posición? _____

13. ¿Cual es su ingreso combinado? _____

14. ¿Cuántos años has vivido en Estados Unidos? _____

5.4 Appendix D

Guidance:

Instructions (3a): These statements express different beliefs about children’s emotional development and about parents’ roles in helping children with their emotions. Please read each statement and write in the number that shows how much you agree with the statement. Put this response in the column titled “Answer”. Because children’s abilities develop over time, please pick a child age (somewhere between the ages of 4 and 10) that you are familiar with, and respond to these statements for children of that age.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Strongly Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree

Number	Item	Answer
1	When children become sad or upset, parents can let them manage their feelings on their own.	
2	It's the parent's job to teach children how to handle negative feelings.	
3	It's the parent's job to help children know when and how to express their positive emotions.	
4	How and when to show positive emotions is something that children have to figure out for themselves.	
5	It's important for parents to help a child who is feeling sad.	
6	It is important for parents to teach children when and how to show pride in themselves.	
7	It's a parent's job to teach children about happiness.	
8	When children are feeling angry, parents can help them work through those feelings.	
9	Children can figure out how to express sad feelings on their own.	
10	It is a parent's job to teach their children how to handle their emotions.	

11	Children generally learn how to deal with their angry feelings, without parents telling them how.	
12	It's usually best to let a child work through their negative feelings on their own.	
13	Children can learn to manage their emotions without help from parents.	
14	It's important for parents to teach children the best ways to express their feelings.	
15	It's a parent's job to teach children how to deal with distress and other upsetting feelings.	
16	When children are angry, it is best to just let them work it through on their own.	
17	Children can figure out how to express their feelings on their own.	

Value:

Instructions (5a): These statements express different beliefs about children’s emotional development and about parents’ roles in helping children with their emotions. Please read each statement and write in the number that shows how much you agree with the statement. Put this response in the column titled “Answer”. Because children’s abilities develop over time, please pick a child age (somewhere between the ages of 4 and 10) that you are familiar with, and respond to these statements for children of that age.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

Number	Item	Answer
1	Getting mad can help children do things they need to, like sticking with a task that’s hard, or standing up for themselves.	
2	It is okay when children feel angry, and it is okay when they don’t.	
3	Showing emotions isn’t a good thing or a bad thing, it’s just part of being human.	
4	It’s good for the family when children share their positive emotions.	
5	It is important for children to be able to show when they are happy.	
6	It is important for children to express their happiness when they feel it.	
7	Feeling sad sometimes is just a part of life.	
8	It is good for children to feel sad at times.	
9	Feeling negative emotions is sort of a dead end street, and children should do whatever they can to avoid going down it.	
10	Showing anger is not a good idea for children.	
11	Feeling all emotions is a part of life, like breathing.	

12	When children get angry they create more problems for themselves.	
13	It is important for children to develop lots of ways to be happy.	
14	Feeling angry sometimes is just a part of life.	
15	Feeling sad is just not good for children.	
16	It is important for children to show others when they feel upset.	
17	It is okay when children feel sad, and it is okay when they don't.	
18	When children are too loving others take advantage of them.	
19	Children who are too loving can get walked all over.	
20	Children's anger can be a relief to them, like a storm that clears the air.	
21	It is useful for children to feel angry sometimes.	
22	Joy is an important emotion to feel.	
23	Feeling angry is just not good for children.	
24	Sometimes it is good for a child to sit down and have a good cry.	
25	When children get angry, it can only lead to problems.	
26	Having lots of joy is very important for a child.	
27	Showing sadness is neither bad nor good, it is just part of being human.	
28	When children are too happy, they can get out of control.	
29	When children show pride in what they have done, it is a good thing.	
30	It is good for children to let their anger out.	

31	When children show anger, they are letting you know that something is important to them.	
32	It is important for children to avoid feeling sad whenever possible.	
33	It is important for children to share their positive emotions with others.	
34	Being sad isn't "good" or "bad" -- it is just a part of life.	
35	It is important for children to feel pride in their accomplishments.	
36	Being angry isn't "good" or "bad" -- it just is a part of life.	
37	It is important for children to be proud of a job well done.	
38	Feeling sad helps children to know what is important to them.	
39	When children express anger, someone in the family ends up having to deal with the consequences.	
40	Anger in children can be emotionally dangerous.	
41	Children who feel emotions strongly are likely to face a lot of trouble in life.	
42	The experience of anger can be a useful motivation for action.	
43	It is okay when children feel happy, and it is okay when they don't.	
44	Children can think more clearly when emotions don't get in the way	
45	Children's feelings can get hurt if they love too much.	
46	Being angry can motivate children to change or fix something in their lives.	
47	It is okay if children show they are happy, and it's okay if they don't.	
48	Expressing anger is a good way for a child to let his/her desires and opinions be known.	
49	When children start to show strong emotions, one never knows where it will	

	end up.	
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Guidance:

Instrucciones (3a): Estas declaraciones expresan creencias diferentes sobre el desarrollo emocional de niños y la función de los padres en ayudar a los niños con sus emociones. Por favor lean cada declaración y escriban el número que expresa cuanto Usted esta de acuerdo o desacuerdo con la declaración. Coloque esta respuesta en la columna titulada “Respuesta.” Porque las capacidades de niños se desarrollan durante el tiempo, por favor escoga la edad de niño (entre las edades de 4 y 10 años) que Usted esté familiarizado con, y responde a estas declaraciones para niños de esa edad.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Totalmente Desacuerdo	Algo Desacuerdo	Un poco Desacuerdo	Un poco Acuerdo	Algo Acuerdo	Totalmente Acuerdo

Numero	Declaraciones	Respuesta
1	Cuando los niños(-as) se ponen tristes o apenados, los padres pueden dejarlos manejar sus sentimientos.	
2	Es el trabajo de los padres enseñarles a los niños(-as) cómo manejar los sentimientos negativos.	
3	Es el trabajo de los padres ayudar que los niños(-as) sepan cuándo y cómo expresar sus emociones positivas.	
4	Cómo y cuándo mostrar emociones positivas es algo que los niños(-as) tienen que aprender ellos mismos.	
5	Es importante que los padres ayuden cuando su niño(-a) se siente triste.	
6	Es importante que los padres enseñen a sus hijos(-as) cuándo y cómo expresar orgullo en ellos mismos.	
7	Es el trabajo de los padres enseñarles a sus hijos(-as) sobre la felicidad.	
8	Cuando los niños(-as) se sienten enojados, los padres pueden ayudarlos trabajar para resolver esos sentimientos.	
9	Los niños(-as) pueden entender cómo expresar sentimientos tristes ellos mismos.	
10	Es el trabajo de los padres enseñarles a sus hijos como manejar sus emociones.	

11	Los niños(-as), generalmente, aprenden cómo manejar sus enojos sin la ayuda de sus padres.	
12	Es mejor dejar que los niños(-as) trabajen para resolver sus sentimientos negativos ellos mismos.	
13	Niños(as) pueden aprender como manejar sus emociones sin ayuda de sus padres.	
14	Es importante que los padres enseñen a sus hijos(as) las mejores maneras para expresar sus sentimientos.	
15	Es el trabajo de los padres enseñar a sus hijos(as) como manejar angustia y otras emociones apenadas.	
16	Cuando niños están enojados, es mejor dejarlos a trabajar solos.	
17	Niños(as) pueden entender como expresar sus sentimientos ellos mismos.	

Value

Instrucciones (5a): Estas declaraciones expresan creencias diferentes sobre el desarrollo emocional de niños y la función de los padres en ayudar a los niños con sus emociones. Por favor lean cada declaración y escriban el número que expresa cuanto Usted esta de acuerdo o desacuerdo con la declaración. Coloque esta respuesta en la columna titulada "Respuesta." Porque las capacidades de niños se desarrollan durante el tiempo, por favor escoga la edad de niño (entre las edades de 4 y 10 años) que Usted esté familiarizado con, y responde a estas declaraciones para niños de esa edad.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Totalmente Desacuerdo	Algo Desacuerdo	Un poco Desacuerdo	Un poco Acuerdo	Algo Acuerdo	Totalmente Acuerdo

Numero	Declaraciones	Respuesta
1	Enojándose puede ayudar en que los niños(-as) hagan lo que necesitan hacer, como completar una tarea difícil o defenderse por ellos mismos.	
2	Está bien cuando los niños(-as) se sienten enojados, y está bien si no se sienten así.	
3	Expresando emociones no es algo bueno ni malo, es parte de ser humano.	
4	Es bueno para la familia cuando los niños(-as) comparten sus emociones positivas.	
5	Es importante que los niños(-as) puedan expresarse cuando estén contentos.	
6	Es importante que los niños(-as) expresen su felicidad cuando la sienten.	
7	Sintiéndose triste a veces, es parte de la vida.	
8	Es bueno que los niños(-as) se sientan tristes, algunas veces.	
9	Sentir emociones negativas es como un callejón sin salida, y los niños(-as) deben hacer lo que puedan para evitar tomar ese camino.	
10	Expresar enojo no es una buena idea para los niños(-as).	

11	Sentir todas las emociones es parte de la vida, como respirar.	
12	Cuando los niños(-as) se enojan, ellos crean más problemas para ellos mismos.	
13	Es importante que los niños(-as) desarrollen muchas maneras de ser felices.	
14	Sintiéndose enojados a veces es parte de la vida.	
15	El sentirse triste no es bueno para los niños(-as).	
16	Es importante que los niños(-as) se expresen cuando se sientan apenados.	
17	Está bien cuando los niños(-as) se sienten tristes, y está bien cuando no.	
18	Cuando los niños(-as) son muy cariñosos, otros pueden aprovecharse de ellos.	
19	Los niños(-as) que son demasiado cariñosos pueden ser pisoteados.	
20	Los enojos de los niños(-as) pueden ser alivios para ellos, como una tormenta que aclara el aire.	
21	Es útil que los niños(-as) se sientan enojados de vez en cuando.	
22	Alegría es una emoción importante para sentir.	
23	El sentirse enojado no es bueno para los niños(-as).	
24	A veces es bueno que los niños(-as) tengan una liberación emocional por llorar.	
25	Cuando los niños(-as) se enojan, nada más pueden empezar problemas.	
26	Tener mucha alegría es muy importante para un niño(-a).	
27	El expresar tristeza, ni es bueno ni es malo, nada más es parte de ser humano.	

28	Cuando los niños(-as) están demasiado contentos, pueden perder el control.	
29	Es bueno cuando los niños(-as) expresan orgullo en lo que han hecho.	
30	Es bueno que los niños(-as) revelen sus enojos.	
31	Cuando los niños(-as) expresan su enojo, ellos están dejándonos saber que algo es importante para ellos.	
32	Es importante que los niños(-as) eviten sentirse tristes cuándo sea posible.	
33	Es importante que los niños(-as) compartan sus emociones positivas con otros.	
34	El estar triste no es “bueno” ni “malo”—nada más es parte de la vida.	
35	Es importante que los niños(-as) sientan orgullo en sus logros.	
36	Estar enojado no es “bueno” ni “malo”—nada más es parte de la vida.	
37	Es importante que los niños(-as) estén orgullosos de su trabajo bien hecho.	
38	El sentirse triste ayuda que los niños(-as) aprendan qué es importante para ellos.	
39	Cuando los niños(-as) expresan enojos, alguien en la familia tiene que encargarse con las consecuencias.	
40	Enojos en los niños(-as) puede ser emocionalmente muy peligroso.	
41	Para los niños(-as) que sienten emociones fuertemente, es probable que tendrán que enfrentarse con muchos problemas en la vida.	
42	La experiencia de enojos puede ser una motivación útil para la acción.	
43	Está bien cuando los niños(-as) se sienten felices, y está bien cuando no.	
44	Los niños(-as) pueden pensar más claramente cuando las emociones no bloquean el camino.	

45	Si los niños(-as) son demasiado amorosos, sus sentimientos pueden ser lastimados.	
46	Sentirse enojados puede motivar a los niños(-as) a tratar de cambiar o arreglar algo en su vida.	
47	Está bien si los niños(-as) expresan que están felices, y está bien si no.	
48	Expresar enojos es una buena manera para los niños(-as) dejar saber otras personas sus deseos y opiniones.	
49	Cuando los niños(-as) empiezan a expresar emociones fuertes, nunca se sabe en donde terminarán.	

5.5 Appendix E

The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-2 (MEIM-2)

In this country, people come from many different countries and cultures. In this questionnaire, we use the term “ethnic group” to refer to those different cultures of origin. Some name for these groups are, for example, Mexican-American, Hispanic, Black, Asian American, American Indian, Anglo American.

To pertain to one or various ethnic groups, and the feelings we have in respect to them, have an influence on different areas of our lives. The following statements attempt to define your attitudes and thoughts in reference to your ethnic group.

Please fill in:

In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be _____

Use the numbers below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

(5) Strongly agree (4) Agree (3) Neutral (2) Disagree (1) Strongly disagree

1- I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.

2- I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.

3- I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.

4- I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.

5- I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.

6- I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.

7- I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.

8- In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.

9- I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group.

10- I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.

11- I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.

12- I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.

13- My ethnicity is

(1) Asian or Asian American, including Chinese, Japanese, and others

(2) Black or African American

(3) Hispanic or Latino

(4) White, Caucasian, Anglo, European American; not Hispanic

(5) American Indian/Native American

(6) Mexican

(7) Mexican-American

(8) Mixed; Parents are from two different groups

(9) Other (write in): _____

14- My father's ethnicity is (use numbers above)

15- My mother's ethnicity is (use numbers above)

MEIM-2-Spanish
La Medida de Identidad de Multigrupos Étnicos-2 (Revisada)

En este país, la gente viene de diferentes culturas y países. En este cuestionario usamos la palabra “grupo étnico” para referirnos a esas diferentes culturas de origen. Algunos nombres de estos grupos étnicos son, por ejemplo, Mexicanos-Americanos, Hispanos, Negros, Asiáticos-Americanos, Indios-Americanos, Anglo-Americanos, y Blancos.

El pertenecer a uno o a varios grupos étnicos, y los sentimientos que tenemos al respecto, tienen una influencia en diferentes áreas de nuestra vida. Las siguientes frases tienen el propósito de definir cuáles son tus actitudes y pensamientos en referencia a tu grupo étnico.

Por favor llena el siguiente cuestionario:

En términos de grupos étnicos, yo me considero: _____

Usa los números que se encuentran abajo para calificar cada frase de acuerdo tu opinión al respecto:

1 = muy en desacuerdo

2 = un tanto en desacuerdo

3 = neutral

4 = un tanto de acuerdo

5 = muy de acuerdo

1. He dedicado tiempo para averiguar más acerca de mi grupo étnico, como la historia, tradiciones y costumbres.
1 2 3 4 5
2. Estoy activo en organizaciones o grupos sociales en los cuales la mayoría de sus miembros son de mi propio grupo étnico
1 2 3 4 5
3. Tengo una idea clara de lo que es mi grupo étnico y lo que significa para mí.
1 2 3 4 5
4. He pensado bastante en como mi grupo étnico influye en mi vida.
1 2 3 4 5

5. Me siento contento de pertenecer a mi grupo étnico.
1 2 3 4 5
6. Me siento muy identificado con el grupo étnico al que pertenezco.
1 2 3 4 5
7. Entiendo claramente lo que significa pertenecer a mi propio grupo étnico
1 2 3 4 5
8. Para aprender más acerca de mis raíces étnicas, he hablado con otros acerca de mi grupo étnico.
1 2 3 4 5
9. Estoy orgulloso/a de mi grupo étnico.
1 2 3 4 5
10. Participo en actividades culturales de mi propio grupo étnico como, por ejemplo, comidas especiales, música y costumbres.
1 2 3 4 5
11. Siento un gran afecto hacia mi grupo étnico.
1 2 3 4 5
12. Me siento a gusto con mi herencia cultural y étnica.
1 2 3 4 5
13. Mi etnicidad es:
1. Asiático/a, Asiático/a-Americano/a, o Oriental
 2. Negro/a o Afro/a-Americano/a
 3. Hispano/a o Latino/a
 4. Europeo/a, Caucáseo/a, Blanco/a (No Hispano/a)
 5. Indio/a-Americano/a
 6. Mexicano/a
 7. Mexicano/a-Americano/a
 8. Mixto/a; mis padres son de dos diferentes grupos étnicos
 9. Otros (escríbalo): _____

14. El grupo étnico de mi padre es (use los números de arriba para contestar esta pregunta):

15. El grupo étnico de mi madre es (use los números de arriba para contestar esta pregunta):

5.6 Appendix F

COPING WITH CHILDREN'S NEGATIVE EMOTIONS SCALE (CCNES)

Instructions: In the following items, please indicate on a scale from 1 (very unlikely) to 7 (very likely) the likelihood that you would respond in the ways listed for each item. Please read each item carefully and respond as honestly and sincerely as you can. For each response, please circle a number from 1-7.

 Response Scale: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Very Unlikely Medium Very Likely

1. If my child becomes angry because he/she is sick or hurt and can't go to his/her friend's birthday party, I would:

- | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. send my child to his/her room to cool off | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| b. get angry at my child | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| c. help my child think about ways that he/she can still be with friends (e.g., invite some friends over after the party) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| d. tell my child not to make a big deal out of missing the party | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| e. encourage my child to express his/her feelings of anger and frustration | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| f. soothe my child and do something fun with him/her to make him/her feel better about missing the party | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

2. If my child falls off his/her bike and breaks it, and then gets upset and cries, I would:

- | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. remain calm and not let myself get anxious | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| b. comfort my child and try to get him/her to forget about the accident | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| c. tell my child that he/she is over-reacting | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| d. help my child figure out how to get the bike fixed | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| e. tell my child it's OK to cry | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| f. tell my child to stop crying or he/she won't be allowed to ride his/her bike anytime soon | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

3. If my child loses some prized possession and reacts with tears, I would:

- | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. get upset with him/her for being so careless and then crying about it | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| b. tell my child that he/she is over-reacting | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| c. help my child think of places he/she hasn't looked yet | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| d. distract my child by talking about happy things | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| e. tell him/her it's OK to cry when you feel unhappy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| f. tell him/her that's what happens when you're not careful | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

4. If my child is afraid of injections and becomes quite shaky and teary while waiting for his/her turn to get a shot, I would:

- | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. tell him/her to shape up or he/she won't be allowed to do something he/she likes to do (e.g., watch TV) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| b. encourage my child to talk about his/her fears | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| c. tell my child not to make big deal of the shot | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| d. tell him/her not to embarrass us by crying | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| e. comfort him/her before and after the shot | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| f. talk to my child about ways to make it hurt less | | | | | | | |

(such as relaxing so it won't hurt or taking deep breaths). 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Response Scale: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Very Unlikely Medium Very Likely

5. If my child is going over to spend the afternoon at a friend's house and becomes nervous and upset because I can't stay there with him/her, I would:

- a. distract my child by talking about all the fun he/she will have with his/her friend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b. help my child think of things that he/she could do so that being at the friend's house without me wasn't scary (e.g., take a favorite book or toy with him/her) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c. tell my child to quit over-reacting and being a baby 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d. tell the child that if he/she doesn't stop that he/she won't be allowed to go out anymore 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e. feel upset and uncomfortable because of my child's reactions 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- f. encourage my child to talk about his/her nervous feelings 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. If my child is participating in some group activity with his/her friends and proceeds to make a mistake and then looks embarrassed and on the verge of tears, I would:

- a. comfort my child and try to make him/her feel better 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b. tell my child that he/she is over-reacting 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c. feel uncomfortable and embarrassed myself 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d. tell my child to straighten up or we'll go home right away 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e. encourage my child to talk about his/her feelings of embarrassment 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- f. tell my child that I'll help him/her practice so that he/she can do better next time 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. If my child is about to appear in a recital or sports activity and becomes visibly nervous about people watching him/her, I would:

- a. help my child think of things that he/she could do to get ready for his/her turn (e.g., to do some warm-ups and not to look at the audience) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b. suggest that my child think about something relaxing so that his/her nervousness will go away 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c. remain calm and not get nervous myself 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d. tell my child that he/she is being a baby about it 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e. tell my child that if he/she doesn't calm down, we'll have to leave and go home right away 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- f. encourage my child to talk about his/her nervous feelings 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

 Response Scale: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Very Unlikely Medium Very Likely

8. If my child receives an undesirable birthday gift from a friend and looks obviously disappointed, even annoyed, after

opening it in the presence of the friend, I would:

- a. encourage my child to express his/her disappointed feelings 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b. tell my child that the present can be exchanged
for something the child wants 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c. NOT be annoyed with my child for being rude 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d. tell my child that he/she is over-reacting 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e. scold my child for being insensitive to the
friend's feelings 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- f. try to get my child to feel better by doing something fun 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. If my child is panicky and can't go to sleep after watching a scary TV show, I would:

- a. encourage my child to talk about what scared him/her 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b. get upset with him/her for being silly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c. tell my child that he/she is over-reacting 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d. help my child think of something to do so that he/she can get
to sleep (e.g., take a toy to bed, leave the lights on) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e. tell him/her to go to bed or he/she won't be allowed to
watch any more TV 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- f. do something fun with my child to help him/her forget
about what scared him/her 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. If my child is at a park and appears on the verge of tears because the other children are mean to him/her and won't let

him/her play with them, I would:

- a. NOT get upset myself 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b. tell my child that if he/she starts crying
then we'll have to go home right away 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c. tell my child it's OK to cry when he/she feels bad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d. comfort my child and try to get him/her to think about
something happy 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e. help my child think of something else to do 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- f. tell my child that he/she will feel better soon 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. If my child is playing with other children and one of them calls him/her names, and my child then begins to tremble and

become tearful, I would:

- a. tell my child not to make a big deal out of it 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b. feel upset myself 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c. tell my child to behave or we'll have to go home right away 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d. help my child think of constructive things to do when
other children tease him/her (e.g., find other things to do) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e. comfort him/her and play a game to take his/her mind off
the upsetting event 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- f. encourage him/her to talk about how it hurts to be teased 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Response Scale: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Very Unlikely Medium Very Likely

12. If my child is shy and scared around strangers and consistently becomes teary and wants to stay in his/her

bedroom whenever family friends come to visit, I would:

- | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. help my child think of things to do that would make meeting my friends less scary (e.g., to take a favorite toy with him/her when meeting my friends) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| b. tell my child that it is OK to feel nervous | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| c. try to make my child happy by talking about the fun things we can do with our friends | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| d. feel upset and uncomfortable because of my child's reactions | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| e. tell my child that he/she must stay in the living room and visit with our friends | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| f. tell my child that he/she is being a baby | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

Instrucciones: En las siguientes frases, por favor indique del 1 (muy improbable) al 7 (muy probable) la probabilidad de que usted respondería de la forma listada en cada frase. Por favor lea cuidadosamente cada frase y responda tan honesta y sinceramente como pueda. Para cada respuesta, por favor llene un número del 1 al 7.

	Muy improbable 1	2	3	Inter-medio 4	5	6	Muy probable 7
1. Si mi hijo(a) se enoja porque él/ella está enfermo(a) o lastimado(a) y no puede ir a la fiesta de cumpleaños de su amigo(a), yo:							
a. mandarí a mi hijo(a) a su cuarto a que se calme.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
b. me enojaría con mi hijo(a)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c. ayudaría a mi hijo(a) a que pensara en maneras en que todavía pudiera estar con los amigos (ejemplo, invitar a que los amigos vengan a casa después de la fiesta).	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
d. le diría a mi hijo(a) que no le diera tanta importancia a perderse la fiesta.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
e. animaría a mi hijo(a) a que exprese sus sentimientos de enojo y frustración.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
f. Calmaría mi hijo(a) y haría algo divertido con él/ella para que se sienta mejor por perderse la fiesta.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2. Si mi hijo(a) se cae de su bicicleta y la quiebra, y luego se molesta y llora, yo:							
a. mantendría la calma y no me inquietaría.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
b. consolaría a mi hijo(a) y trataría de que él/ella se olvidara del accidente.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c. le diría a mi hijo(a) que él/ella está exagerando.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
d. ayudaría a mi hijo(a) a ver como se puede reparar la bicicleta.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
e. le diría a mi hijo(a) que está bien llorar.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
f. le diría a mi hijo(a) que dejara de llorar o sino no le permitiría montar su bicicleta por un buen rato.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

	Muy improbable			Inter-medio			Muy probable
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Si mi hijo(a) pierde alguna posesión valiosa y reacciona con lagrimas, yo:							
a. me molestaría con él/ella por ser tan descuidado(a) y luego ponerse a llorar.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
b. le diría a mi hijo(a) que él/ella está exagerando.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c. le ayudaría a mi hijo(a) a pensar en lugares en los que no haya buscado aun.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
d. distraería a mi hijo(a) platicándole de cosas alegres.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
e. le diría a mi hijo(a) que está bien llorar cuando uno se siente descontento.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
f. le diría que eso es lo que pasa cuando uno no tiene cuidado.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4. Si mi hijo(a) le tiene miedo a las inyecciones y se pone tembloroso(a) y se le ponen los ojos llorosos mientras espera por su turno de ser inyectado, yo:							
a. le diría que se componga o sino no va a poder hacer algo que le guste hacer (por ejemplo, ver TV).	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
b. animaría a mi hijo(a) a platicar de sus temores.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c. le diría a mi hijo(a) que no le de tanta importancia a la inyección.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
d. le diría que no nos avergonzara llorando.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
e. lo(a) consolaría antes y después de la inyección.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
f. platicaría con mi hijo(a) de maneras para hacer que duela menos (por ejemplo, relajándose o respirando profundo).	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

	Muy impro- bable 1	2	3	Inter- medio 4	5	6	Muy prob able 7
5. Si mi hijo(a) se va a pasar la tarde a la casa de un amigo y se pone nervioso(a) o molesto(a) porque yo no me puedo quedar allí con él/ella, yo:							
a. distraería a mi hijo(a) platicándole de toda la diversión que va a tener con su amigo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
b. ayudaría a que mi hijo(a) piense en cosas que él/ella pudiera hacer para que al estar en la casa de su amigo sin mi no se asustara (por ejemplo, llevar un libro o juguete favorito).	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c. le diría a mi hijo(a) que dejara de exagerar o dejara de actuar como un bebe.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
d. le diría a mi hijo(o) que si no dejara de hacerlo ya no le iba a permitir salir más.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
e. me sentiría molesto(a) e incomodo(a) por las reacciones de mi hijo(a).	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
f. animaría a mi hijo(a) a que platicara de sus sentimientos de nervios.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6. Si mi hijo(a) está participando en alguna actividad en grupo EN LA ESCUELA (con sus amigos) y comete un error y luego le da pena y a punto de llorar, yo:							
a. consolaría a mi hijo(a) y trataría que él/ella se sintiera mejor.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
b. le diría a mi hijo(a) que está exagerando.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c. me sentiría incomodo(a) y avergonzado(a).	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
d. le diría a mi hijo(a) que se comporte o sino no vamos a casa enseguida.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
e. animaría a mi hijo(a) a que platicara de sus sentimientos de vergüenza.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
f. le diría a mi hijo(a) que le voy a ayudar a practicar para que le vaya mejor la próxima vez.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

	Muy impro- bable 1	2	3	Inter- medio 4	5	6	Muy prob able 7
7. Si mi hijo(a) está a punto de salir en un recital o CONCIERTO y se pone nervioso(a) porque la gente lo(a) está mirando, yo:							
a. ayudaría a mi hijo(a) a que pensara en cosas que él/ella pudiera hacer para prepararse para su turno (por ejemplo, calentamientos y no mirar a la audiencia).	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
b. le sugeriría a mi hijo(a) que pensara en algo relajante para que su nerviosidad se vaya.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c. mantendría la calma y no me pusiera nervioso(a).	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
d. le diría a mi hijo(a) que está actuando como un bebe al respecto.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
e. le diría a mi hijo(a) que si él/ella nos se calma, vamos a tener que irnos enseguida.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
f. animaría a mi hijo(a) a que platicara de sus sentimientos de nervios.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8. Si mi hijo(a) recibe un regalo de cumpleaños que no desea de un amigo y se le nota que está desilusionado(a), y aun fastidiado(a), después de abrirlo enfrente de su amigo, yo:							
a. animaría a mi hijo(a) a que exprese sus sentimientos de desilusión.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
b. le diría a mi hijo(a) que el regalo se puede cambiar por algo que él/ella quiere.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c. <u>NO</u> me fastidiaría con mi hijo(a) por ser rudo.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
d. le diría a mi hijo(a) que él/ella está exagerando.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
e. regañaría a mi hijo(a) por ser insensitivo con los sentimientos de su amigo.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
f. trataría que mi hijo(a) se sintiera mejor haciendo algo divertido.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

	Muy impro- bable			Inter- medio			Muy prob able
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Si mi hijo(a) tiene pánico y no se puede dormir después de ver un programa de televisión de miedo, yo:							
a. animaría a mi hijo(a) a que platique de lo que lo(a) asustó.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
b. me molestaría con él/ella por ser necio.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c. le diría a mi hijo(a) que él/ella está exagerando.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
d. ayudaría a mi hijo(a) a pensar en algo que hacer para que se pueda dormir (por ejemplo, tener un juguete en la cama, dejar las luces prendidas).	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
e. le diría que se fuera a dormir o sino ya no le permito ver más televisión.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
f. haría algo divertido con mi hijo(a) para ayudarlo a que se le olvide lo que lo(a) asustó.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10. Si mi hijo(a) está LLORANDO PORQUE LE HICIERON BURLA LOS COMPAÑEROS DE ESCUELA (en un parque y parece que va a llorar porque los otros niños son malos con él/ella y no lo(a) dejan jugar con ellos), yo:							
a. <u>NO</u> me molestaría.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
b. le diría a mi hijo(a) que si él/ella empieza a llorar nos vamos a casa enseguida.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c. le diría a mi hijo(a) que está bien llorar cuando se sienta mal.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
d. consolaría a mi hijo(a) y trataría de hacer que piense en algo alegre.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
e. ayudaría a mi hijo(a) a que piense en algo más que hacer.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
f. le diría a mi hijo(a) que se va a sentir mejor pronto.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

	Muy impro- bable 1	2	3	Inter- medio 4	5	6	Muy prob able 7
11. Si mi hijo(a) está jugando con otros niños y uno de ellos le llama nombres, y mi hijo(a) empieza a estremecerse y se le ponen llorosos los ojos, yo:							
a. le diría a mi hijo(a) que no le diera gran importancia de ello.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
b. me sentiría molesto(a).	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c. le diría a mi hijo(a) que se comportara o si no nos vamos a tener que ir a casa enseguida.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
d. ayudaría a mi hijo(a) a pensar en cosas constructivas que hacer cuando otros niños se burlen de él/ella (por ejemplo, encontrar otras cosas para hacer).	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
e. consolaría a mi hijo(a) y jugaría un juego para que no piense en el evento desconcertante.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
f. lo(a) animaría a que platique de como duele que se burlen de uno.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12. Si mi hijo(a) es tímido(a) y temeroso(a) cerca de extraños y a menudo se le ponen los ojos llorosos y se quiere quedar en su cuarto cada vez que la familia o amigos vienen a visitar, yo:							
a. ayudaría a mi hijo(a) a que piense en cosas que puede hacer que harían que la reunión con los amigos sea menos temerosa (por ejemplo, llevar un juguete favorito cuando se reúna con los amigos).	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
b. le diría a mi hijo(a) que está bien sentirse nervioso(a).	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c. trataría de hacer a mi hijo(a) feliz platicando de las cosas divertidas que podemos hacer con nuestros amigos.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
d. me sentiría molesto(a) e incomodo(a) por las acciones de mi hijo(a).	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
e. le diría a mi hijo que él/ella se tiene que quedar en la sala y reunirse con nuestros amigos.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
f. le diría a mi hijo(a) que se está portando como un bebe.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

5.7 Appendix G

15- minute Interview

Thank you for your interest in participating in this interview. The purpose of this 15 minute interview is to talk and discuss dichos and consejos, or the sayings and advice that have been given to you about being a mother and how you think about them. I will first ask you a broad question to get us started and then I will ask more specific questions. I am interested in your view on dichos/ consejos and how they have been an influence in your life. There are no right or wrong answers so please answer as truthfully as possible.

To start, think about one of your daughters and your experiences a mother- what was a helpful dicho/ consejo about motherhood you received?

- Why was it helpful?
 - How/ why did it help you?
- Who passed it on to you? Relation?
- How would you advise a mother in a similar situation now?
- Would you pass it on?
 - How?
 - What would you say to your daughter?

Again, think about being a mother- what was a dicho/ consejo about motherhood that you received that was not helpful?

- Why was it not helpful?
 - How/ why did it hinder you or your family?
- Who passed it on to you? Relation?
- How would you advise a mother in a similar situation now?
- Would you pass it on?
 - How?
 - What would you say to your daughter?

15- minute Interview

Gracias por su interes en participar en esta entrevista. El proposito de esta entrevista de 15 minutos es para hablar y discutir dichos y consejos, o los refranes y consejos que te han dicho sobre ser madre y como Usted piensa sobre ellos. Primero te preguntare una pregunta general y despues te preguntare cosas mas especificas. Estoy interesada en su opinion sobre dichos/consejos y como han sido influencias en su vida. No hay respuestas correctas ni incorrectas, porfavor reponde lo mas honesto posible.

Para empezar, piense en una de sus hijas y sus experiencias como madre- que fue un dichos/ consejo sobre ser madre que recibiste que fue útil?

- Por que fue útil?
 - Como/ porque te ayudo?
- Quien te dio el mensaje? Relación?
- Como aconsejaras a una madre en una situación similar?
- Pasarias el mensaje?
 - Como?
 - Que le dirias a su hija?

De nuevo , piense en una de sus hijas y sus experiencias como madre- que fue un dichos/ consejo sobre ser madre que recibiste que no fue útil?

- Por que no fue útil?
 - Como/ porque afecto a su familia?
- Quien te dio el mensaje? Relación?
- Como aconsejaras a una madre en una situación similar?
- Pasarias el mensaje?
 - Como?
 - Que le dirias a su hija?

5.8 Appendix H

Coding Manual

The purpose of this coding scheme is to better understand the messages passed on to Latina women about what it means to be a mother. The main interests of this coding scheme are to explore and highlight terms that deal with traditional gender roles. Thus, we will carefully read each interview and mark all terms that deal with these themes.

Dichos/ Consejos:

In order to effectively code and be reliable with one another, I have provided a list of ways to help us achieve and maintain reliability throughout the semester.

1. Read through the entire manual before coding *each time* for any revisions or additional examples
2. Before coding each dicho, make sure to read the entire portion (i.e. read all of the information regarding the helpful dicho, then code one by one; then read all of the information regarding the non-helpful dicho, then code section by section)
3. Make sure to code each transcript twice. It might be helpful to code all of your transcripts, then go back one by one, rather than coding it and immediately double checking it (i.e. give yourself a break between coding and double checking)
4. Don't forget, that N/A (not applicable) is always an option. If a mother doesn't answer the question, we would code that as N/A and NOT as a "0."

****Special cases****

There will be times in which mothers say they have not received bad advice. In such cases, you would code in the following way:

Dicho: None

Who told: N/A

Traditionality: N/A

Many times they claim to not have received any bad advice, however, they are willing to advise other mothers and pass on messages to their daughters. In such cases, you would code:

Advise mothers: 3 (because it is completely different from the original, non-existent message.)

Pass to daughters: 3 (because it is completely different from the original, non-existent message.)

The rest of the coding should continue as explained in the coding manual.

Statement: _____

Who told? _____ Or NA= Not Applicable

Overall Traditionality rating 0 1 2 3 Or NA= Not Applicable

Traditionality- the extent to which dichos/ consejos ascribe to women's traditional roles of the home and mothering/ domestication

0= No signs of traditionality at all; may even discuss women's roles but in a non-traditional way; does not discuss women or women's roles in any way

- In regards to discipline- (i.e. Let them do what they want; permissive)
- Independence: Have a life outside the home
- Do not do/listen to what others say (discipline too)
- Individual differences: every child is different
- Take good or bad advice, but you don't have to do it all

1= A theme other than playing a traditional role in the home is discussed most of the time, slight mention of women's roles; discuss power issues in an equal/ friendly way (authoritative)

- Be friends with your daughter/ Put yourself in her shoes
- Good judge starts in the home
- Compromise/ look for solutions
- Be understanding/ help them
- Talk with them/ listen
- Remember when you were little and how your mother was with you
- Mentions child or child's reaction
- Child is an active member of the dyad
- Patience with kids
- Be a devoted mother BUT have your own personal activities

2= Women's roles are the main focus, but also may include other themes; mentions women's roles as well as an explanation to minimize the traditionality; discusses both the mother and the father; or discusses message in terms of parents, not just one

- Mother is the pillar of the home, but... not just the mother
- Do not console
- Being a mother is a very important role/ great responsibility
- Limited communication
- Somewhat strict
- Mother has motherly instinct, but...
- Emotional discipline: show you are mad (actually mentions emotion in some way)
- Just mentions mother or parent and not the child

3= Very clear/consistent/ focal messages about women's roles in the home; very domestic; power issues very clearly discussed; very strict discipline; discusses motherhood as a woman's duty; extremely **domestic** roles; very **vague** answers regarding being a mother

- Mother is the pillar of the home
- Don't study/ Why study
- Job of the woman is to stay home
- Learn to wash dishes and cook
- Spanking/ physical discipline
- Be a good mother
- Females being inferior or playing inferior roles (i.e. girls suffer more)
- Listen to authority; do what all others say
- Physical correction/ discipline
- Children are your cross to bear
- Whatever you do as a child you'll pay back as a mother
- Domestic/ household: Feeding, bathing, and belly button (domestic mother hood duties)
- One person is in complete control; be strict
- One way communication (i.e. do what I say) or no communication (taboos)

How would you advise mothers in similar situations?

N/A Would not advise

1. Identical message- the same exact message; may include additional information, but same exact message, original concept is still there (i.e. I would tell her the same thing, I would also say...)- does not change traditionality rating
2. Revised- similar concepts but altered in some way (i.e. original message is mother is pillar of the home; now: mother is the pillar but father is...)- could change traditionality rating
 - a. What is different
 - b. What is same
3. Different- different concept/ way of thinking from the original dicho altogether
 - a. What is different

Overall Traditionality rating 0 1 2 3 Or NA= Not Applicable

Would you pass it on to your daughters?

1. Identical message- the same exact message; may include additional information, but same exact message, original concept is still there (i.e. I would tell her the same thing, I would also say...)- does not change traditionality rating
2. Revised- similar concepts but altered in some way (i.e. original message is mother is pillar of the home; now: mother is the pillar but father is...)- could change traditionality rating
 - a. What is different
 - b. What is same
3. Not at all, Different
 - a. What is different

Overall Traditionality rating 0 1 2 3

5.9 Appendix I

Comprehensive List of Dichos/Consejos Discussed by Mothers

<u>Helpful Dicho</u>	<u>Advise Mothers</u>	<u>Pass to Daughters</u>
Everything you do while you're young, you'll pay for when you're a parent	Remember when you were little, how your mother was with you	She is responsible for her acts, not me, consequences are better
Put saliva on stomach (ex: discussing umbilical cord)	Be involved with children	Very difficult to correct a child who is not being corrected at home
How to feed and burp her	How to feed and bathe	Bathe, feed, and never sleep next to her
Being a mother is a very important role	Being a mother is a very important role	Being a mother is a very important role
Do not worry so much, children are made of rubber	Not to worry too much, your motherly instinct will guide you	It does not matter if she calls at midnight, I can advise her so she feels supported
More than anything get to know her and express that I love her very much	Start each day expressing love, love your children, and tell them that	How important family is, important to love them, keep them united, make them feel good, help them develop
Be friends with daughter	Be your daughter's friend	Be your daughter's friend
Drop of honey is better than a barrel of bile	Be friends, but not too much of a friend	Try to talk the nice way and search for the method
Mother is the pillar of the home	N/A	N/A
Be a good mother	Be a good mother, be understandable, have patience	The good judge starts in the home
Being a mother is a great responsibility, do the best you can, teach children, love them	I am teaching myself with her	Teach her how I went about it
Educate your children and give good advice	Pay attention to children and more to adolescents	Pay attention to the friends she has

<u>Helpful Dicho</u>	<u>Advise Mothers</u>	<u>Pass to Daughters</u>
None worked for me	N/A	N/A
Have patience	Have patience	Have patience
Always lead child, try to be open	Listen, encourage, help them	Finish your studies first
It's okay to be at home, but always have an activity for yourself so you can make your own money	It's okay to be at home, but always have an activity for yourself so you can make your own money	It's okay to be at home, but always have an activity for yourself so you can make your own money
We do not need to give our children everything they want	We should not spoil our kids, we cannot always buy them what they want	We cannot give them everything they think they want
How to help them, understand them	Being patient, trying to understand, talking to them	She has to help her children
She will change completely in adolescence	First and foremost, communication between mother and daughter	It's not that they change so much, more or less that they think about more things
It is best to have all three children fast	It is okay if she wants to have kids every 3 years	There are pros and cons
It's not easy	Being a mother is not easy and one has to have a lot of patience	It's not easy but full of patience, it is possible
You need to learn to cook or you will not marry	Children should learn what they need to learn... to cook, wash, clean the floor, learn to love their children	You have to learn to do the dishes because when you marry and become a mother you will have to do it for you children
To always be aware of her, being behind her or always be with her	Never have things hidden from your daughter	They must be nice to all people
Leave work and devote time to children	A mother can always learn new things to be able to help her husband when necessary	N/A

<u>Helpful Dicho</u>	<u>Advise Mothers</u>	<u>Pass to Daughters</u>
You are the baby's mother, do not listen to anything but the mother's heart	Each mother really knows in her heart the time that the child has. Try to get to know them	Listen to her heart and pay attention to the baby's needs
You have to try to educate, to be better for them and make them feel that they are the best thing for us	Enjoy being a mother	Enjoy every moment that happens and be the best for them
How to care for the children, how to help them	Make them study, be supportive in everything	Make them study, be supportive in everything
Give them warnings	Give them warnings	Give them warnings
Everything they say is so good; give them more security and confidence; they can do whatever they want	If she (daughter) wants to be a clown, let her, she has the ability to do all things	If she (daughter) wants to be a clown, let her, she has the ability to do all things
You always have to be attentive to your children and the home	Be attentive, very close to them, to your children	Give them a lot of love
Time out	Not waiting for them to grow in order to start correcting him, since the time they are little, you should correct them	Without hitting or anything like that; always explaining why
Beautiful to be a mother... always have someone to tell you I love you and I miss you	It is the best thing one can do	It is the best thing one can do
I should let her speak on her own	Let her make her own mistakes	Remind her how she felt when I interfered
You don't always have to respond with a "no"	Wait a minute instead of automatically responding with a "no"	Sometimes there isn't an immediate response and it's good to wait and be patient to get a response
Have good communication	Important to communicate and to start when they're	Have open communication with children from when

	small	they are small
<u>Helpful Dicho</u>	<u>Advise Mothers</u>	<u>Pass to Daughters</u>
Try to give her all your attention	Children need time from parents	The love and dedication you can give them when they are small is very important for when they grow up
Children are trying to help, not annoy their parents	Children are trying to help, not annoy their parents	Children are trying to help, not annoy their parents
Keep your calm	Be patient	Give advice, talking not hitting
Shouldn't hit children, you should talk to them	Not to mistreat her children, not to hit them, better to talk	Not to mistreat her children, not to hit them, better to talk
She would bring me happiness	Best experience you'll ever have	Good to have kids

<u>Non-helpful Dicho</u>	<u>Advise Mothers</u>	<u>Pass to Daughters</u>
I was the pillar of the family	Speak the truth	Enjoy herself, if she wants to study, let her, live life with passion
If child is crying, it has the "evil eye," someone gave him the evil eye	Take the good or the bad, you don't have to do it all	Instill values in your children
I should feed her	If child cannot sleep at night, don't let her sleep during the day	Do not let her sleep during the day so that she can sleep at night
All men are bad	We cannot judge a person to be bad strictly by appearances	We must know the people, talk to them
Girls suffer more	Each experience is new and different	In our culture the woman carries more weight in relationship or professional issues
Let her do what she wants	It is not correct to do what everyone tells you to do... one should go about learning according to the situation	Learn to make her own decisions and everything from what she learned at home and what she feels
Be strict, do not console your child	Put yourself in your daughter's shoes	Put yourself in your daughter's shoes
Because I'm your mother and because I say so	We shouldn't use violence nor use our authoritative power because it doesn't work	The golden rule
None	Become closer to God	Good Christian= good parent
From the tree comes the chair (i.e. like father, like son)	Have patience	Be a good mother
Hit children	It is not right to hit children	You should not hit children
Let them do what they want	It is not good to let children yell at her, have to do what they are told	She obeys everything that I tell her

<u>Non-helpful Dicho</u>	<u>Advise Mothers</u>	<u>Pass to Daughters</u>
Be strict with child so he does not become spoiled	Listen to nobody... it is her experience with her child	With love but set limits
Easier to have children spread out than close together	Better to have 2 or 3 babies, but together	Not too much or too little space
Follow whatever others think	Listen to your own heart and what feels right	Important that she always listen to authorities
Why study?... you will be in your house	Look for something that makes you happy	The house is nice, to share, to have a good time, but not to be stuck there
Let them do what they want	One always has to be there, not giving them all the freedom to do something they consider good... we can show them the way in a manner they understand	N/A
Life changes when one has children	Life changes a little	It is different having a family, having children
If I don't buy them everything they'll grow up traumatized	I don't believe in giving them everything they desire	You will not always have everything and you can't always buy everything you want
With so many children one can't go out, can't go to parties	Our children are not a barrier for us, life can still be beautiful	It is not hard
If I get mad about something she does, she'll stop doing it	Getting angry is not the answer	N/A
Do not talk to me about those things	You should have more communication with your daughter	She can have all the confidence with me to discuss any topic at any time
I must let her develop by herself	Never leave their daughters alone	N/A

<u>Non-helpful Dicho</u>	<u>Advise Mothers</u>	<u>Pass to Daughters</u>
Forbid everything	Explain the consequences	If she is going to do it, there is an age for her where she can do things and also have consequences
Dedicate yourself to this new job that is being a mother	I would never tell her that being at home with her child is better. I feel being a mother has nothing to do with the labor aspect	She does not feel bad if she works
Don't stop enjoying material things	Dedicate themselves to their children 100%	Good to have things, but also good that you are happy with your life, live well
N/A	N/A	N/A
Give her a schedule	Do not obsess over what she eats or to pass on this worry to her child	We wait for a moment, and now is snack time and I give you fruit
Children should be seen and not heard	Always listen to your children	They should be heard
Punish them	Do not punish them	Be closer, more involved with her
Be strict with food	Make food fun	She should not force them
It is better to punish children, hit them, lock them up	Things should be discussed	Communication is the foundation for everything
With your children, you will pay	Don't emotionally blackmail them	Children are a lot of work, but if you're ready/ prepared, then they are the best reward of life
Give children the option of having 5 more minutes	Don't use it because it hasn't worked for me	Don't give them time at the end...Explain that they can take advantage of this time however they like
Try to have control over	Instead of controlling, advise them and let them learn on	Not to try to control, try to give advice and be children's

children	their own	friend
<u>Non-helpful Dicho</u>	<u>Advise Mothers</u>	<u>Pass to Daughters</u>
Punish kids, hit them, they will learn more	Teach them to learn, to study, discover their intelligence with patience and love	The more love and affection they receive, that is going to help them develop their abilities and intelligence more
When I was older I'd understand what they were talking about	To explain to her child exactly all of the processes that one has to go through	Never tell a child that when they are older they will understand things better
Not to give everything to children because they will be spoiled	You carry your baby; if it's spoiled, it's spoiled	If you want to carry her then carry her, or pass her to me
You should spank your children	Have to talk to them, nothing else; don't hit	One spank is okay, but not to be excessive
You will never have peace of mind again	It's not like it's going to kill you thinking, like worrying and killing you because you're worrying too much	You won't have peace of mind, but everything is worth it

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Table 1

Summary of Hypotheses and Results

Hypotheses		Results
Aim 1: Mothers' social location (operationalized as maternal education) will:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Be related to ethnic identity, traditionality in interpretations of dichos/consejos, and emotion socialization beliefs and behaviors • Influence relations among study variables 	<p>Partially supported; not related to ethnic identity, related to one code for interpretations of dichos/consejos, one emotion socialization belief, both emotion socialization behaviors</p> <p>Not supported; two differences found, three expected by chance</p>
Aim 2: Mothers higher in ethnic identity will:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discuss more traditional dichos/consejos as helpful 	Not supported
Aim 3: Mothers higher in ethnic identity will:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More strongly believe emotions can be dangerous • More strongly believe in parental guidance • React in less supportive and more non-supportive ways to daughters' negative emotions 	<p>Supported</p> <p>Not supported</p> <p>Not supported</p>
Aim 4: Mothers who discuss more traditional helpful dichos/consejos will:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More strongly believe emotions can be dangerous • More strongly believe in parental guidance • React in less supportive and more non-supportive ways to daughters' negative emotions 	<p>Not supported</p> <p>Not supported</p> <p>Partially supported</p>

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations (SD), and Ranges for All Study Variables

Variables	Mean	SD	Range
1. Maternal Education (years)	12.63	4.35	5-21
2. Family income (annual)	\$50,205	\$27,135	\$18,200-145,000
3. Number of Children	2.50	.99	1-6
4. Ethnic Identity Overall	4.21	.63	2.17-5.00
5. Traditionality: Helpful Dicho	1.74	1.07	0-3.00
6. Modification of Helpful: Mothers	1.76	.82	1-3.00
7. Traditionality: Helpful Advise Mothers	1.55	.98	0-3.00
8. Modification of Helpful: Daughters	1.81	.88	1-3.00
9. Traditionality: Helpful Pass to Daughters	1.27	.99	0-3.00
10. Traditionality: Non-helpful Dicho	2.24	1.22	0-3.00
11. Modification of Non-Helpful: Mothers	2.92	.27	2-3.00
12. Traditionality: Non-helpful Advise Mothers	1.05	1.05	0-3.00
13. Modification of Non-Helpful: Daughters	2.69	.52	1-3.00
14. Traditionality: Non-helpful Pass to Daughters	1.28	1.14	0-3.00
15. Parent belief: Parent guidance is important	5.38	.53	3.20-5.90
16. Parent belief: Emotions can be dangerous	3.77	1.05	1.25-5.38
17. Mothers' Non-supportive Reactions	3.35	1.07	1.64-6.44
18. Mothers' Supportive Reactions	5.91	.47	4.56-6.53

Table 3

Correlations among Study Variables

Variables	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
1. Maternal education	--												
2. Family income	.28 [†]	--											
3. Ethnic Identity: Overall	-.07	-.26	--										
4. Traditionality: Helpful Combined	-.31 [†]	.01	.27 [†]	--									
5. Modification: Helpful Combined	-.20	.01	-.01	.02	--								
6. Traditionality: Non-helpful Dicho	.09	.09	-.19	.18	-.09	--							
7. Traditionality: Non-helpful Advise Mothers	-.49 ^{**}	.04	.07	.24	.05	-.42 ^{**}	--						
8. Modification: Non-helpful Pass to Daughters	.15	.26	.30 [†]	-.01	.16	.15	-.12	--					
9. Traditionality: Non-helpful Pass to Daughters	-.07	-.01	-.00	.27	.22	.17	.37 [*]	-.24	--				
10. Parent belief: Parent guidance is important	.02	-.17	.03	-.17	.11	-.15	-.08	-.11	.01	--			
11. Parent belief: Emotions can be dangerous	-.47 ^{**}	-.35 [*]	.51 ^{**}	.36 [*]	.05	-.04	.28 [†]	.23	.17	.05	--		
12. Mothers' Non-supportive Reactions	-.53 ^{**}	-.07	.03	.31 [†]	-.14	.04	.26	-.28 [†]	.14	-.10	.44 ^{**}	--	
13. Mothers' Supportive Reactions	-.40 [*]	-.08	.16	-.02	-.25	-.06	.24	-.01	-.30 [†]	-.02	.32 ^{**}	.23	--

Note: [†] $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 4
Correlations among Study Variables according to Maternal Education

Variables	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
1. Ethnic Identity: Overall	--	.10	.09	-.25	.27	.24	.02	-.25	.55*	.42 [†]	.27
2. Traditionality: Helpful Combined	.37 [†]	--	.13	.27	.14	-.29	.22	-.32	.13	.30	.13
3. Modification: Helpful Combined	-.11	-.08	--	.11	-.07	.02	.32	.25	-.10	.17	-.36
4. Traditionality: Non-helpful Dicho	-.10	.18	-.24	--	-.32	.09	.19	-.03	-.02	-.30	-.19
5. Traditionality: Non-helpful Advise Mothers	-.22	.18	.13	-.46*	--	.23	.14	-.36	.09	.40 [†]	.14
6. Modification: Non-helpful Pass to Daughters	.44 [†]	.26	.26	.20	-.28	--	-.39 [†]	-.22	.24	-.08	.04
7. Traditionality: Non-helpful Pass to Daughters	-.08	.27	.15	.16	.48*	-.12	--	.07	-.11	.08	-.51*
8. Parent belief: Parent guidance is important	.39 [†]	-.13	-.06	-.28	-.04	.07	-.13	--	-.28	-.35	-.28
9. Parent belief: Emotions can be dangerous	.45*	.35	.22	.14	.04	.60*	.41 [†]	.18	--	.54 *	.27
10. Mothers' Non-supportive Reactions	-.44 *	.14	-.33	.32	-.01	-.41	.09	-.25	-.24	--	.28
11. Mothers' Supportive Reactions	-.10	-.35	-.16	.12	.18	-.01	-.21	.25	.05	-.01	--

Note: Mothers with higher education are above the diagonal, mothers with lower education are below the diagonal. [†] p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01

Table 5

Partial Correlations among Study Variables with Maternal Education Controlled

Variables	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
1. Ethnic Identity: Overall	--										
2. Traditionality: Helpful Combined	.22	--									
3. Modification: Helpful Combined	.11	.03	--								
4. Traditionality: Non-helpful Dicho	-.19	.21	-.14	--							
5. Traditionality: Non-helpful Advise Mothers	.04	.12	-.11	-.46**	--						
6. Modification: Non-helpful Pass to Daughters	.28	.02	.16	.14	-.13	--					
7. Traditionality: Non-helpful Pass to Daughters	.00	.23	.19	.11	.35*	-.27	--				
8. Parent belief: Parent guidance is important	-.07	-.22	.21	-.08	-.21	-.19	.01	--			
9. Parent belief: Emotions can be dangerous	.56**	.26	-.06	.06	-.04	.32†	.14	-.04	--		
10. Mothers' Non-supportive Reactions	-.07	.27	-.29	-.03	.23	-.25	.20	-.10	.35†	--	
11. Mothers' Supportive Reactions	.18	-.22	-.39*	-.17	-.01	.06	-.46**	-.02	.13	.05	--

Note: † $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 6.

Standard Coefficients and Standard Errors for Predictors of Mothers' Emotion Socialization Beliefs and Behaviors

Belief that Emotions can be Dangerous				Supportive Reactions			
Step and Variable	β^a	SE β	R ²	Step and Variable	β^a	SE β	R ²
Step 1:				Step 1:			
Maternal Education	-.41**	.03		Maternal Education	-.40*	.02	.13
Number of Children	.32*	.15	.28				
Step 2:				Step 2:			
Ethnic Identity	.43***	.20	.45	Modification of Helpful Dichos	-.22	.11	
				Traditionality in Passing on Non-helpful Dichos to Daughters	-.29†	.07	.25

^aStandardized regression coefficients

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