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While most research in Latinx populations has documented that endorsing filial obligation values predicts better psychosocial outcomes, some studies have also found potential negative ramifications of the fulfillment of high levels of filial obligations, including worse academic performance and psychological maladjustment (e.g., higher depressive symptoms) (Fuligni et al., 1999). These contradictory findings may be due to the role of perceived fairness of these obligations such that filial responsibility may only lead to positive outcomes when the youth perceives the responsibility to be fair and reciprocated, but it may lead to worse outcomes when perceived to be unfair (Kuperminc et al., 2013). Despite this vital role of perceived fairness, little is known about what contributes to the perceived fairness of filial obligations. The present study examined factors nested within the acculturative process (i.e., behavioral practices, values, identity, and acculturation gap) as predictors of perceived unfairness related to familial obligations among Latinx adolescents. Results indicate that the endorsement of mainstream cultural practices and values as well as greater acculturation gap conflict are all associated with higher perceptions of unfairness. Future studies would benefit from considering the acculturative context of the sample and focusing on familial dynamics to better understand perceptions of unfairness and its impacts on psychological outcomes.

PREDICTORS OF PERCEIVED FAIRNESS AMONG LATINX ADOLECENTS

by

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APPROVAL PAGE

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Filial obligations encompass beliefs and behaviors of financial, instrumental, and emotional support towards the family, and these expectations are typically culturally bound (Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999). For example, children of Asian or Latinx backgrounds endorse greater values for filial obligations compared to their European American counterparts, and tend show higher levels of these obligations, such as higher engagement in caretaking of younger siblings or language brokering (Parke & Buriel, 1998; Weisskirch & Alva-Alatorre, 2002). While engaging in some familial obligation behaviors may improve family cohesion, foster educational motivation, and contribute to overall emotional well-being (Parke & Buriel, 1998), these protective effects diminish when the youth perceives the obligations to be unfair and unreciprocated (Jurkovic et al., 2004; Kuperminc, et al., 2013). Yet, little is known about what factors promote feelings of perceived unfairness in Latinx youth and families. This knowledge could further our understanding of the role of cultural factors in promoting the positive developmental outcomes in Latinx youth.

Filial Obligations

At its core, family obligations are characterized by the duty to provide emotional, instrumental, and financial support the family in the present and future (Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam., 1999; Stein et al., 2014). Most commonly, Latinx immigrant adolescents are

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expected to perform tasks such as language brokering (translating across cultural and literal contexts), caretaking of siblings or grandparents, household chores (such as cooking meals or shopping for groceries), and being present for daily meals and special occasions (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 1995; Telzer & Fuligni, 2009). Consistent with the literature on familism values being at the center of Latinx culture, Fuligni et al. (1999) found that Latinx youth, despite generational status, financial need, and acculturation status, endorsed a strong sense of duty to fulfil family obligations. This commitment to family obligation can take several forms and have an impact on adolescent's psychological development (Fuligni, 1999).

It is important to distinguish between the value or attitudinal component which endorsement of the beliefs surrounding family obligations (e.g., must contribute to family financially; Fuligni et al., 1999) and the behavioral enactment of the value (e.g., giving one's paycheck to family; Hafford, 2010; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002; Love & Buriel, 2007) as these have been differentially related to outcomes in Latinx youth. Although endorsement of familism values has generally been associated with positive developmental outcomes (Fuligni, 1999; Fuligni & Pederson, 2002; Gonzales, et al., 2006; McHale, et al., 2009; Smokowski & Bacallao, 2007; Stein, et al., 2015), the performance of obligations has occasionally been associated with negative outcomes such as depressive symptoms (Toro et al., 2018), worse academic performance (e.g., not having enough time to complete homework; Fuligni, 1999), and externalizing behaviors (Kuperminc et al., 2009). Several hypotheses have been employed to explain how and why performing filial obligations could lead to maladjustment, including burden of

caretaking (Early, Cushway, & Cassidy, 2007) and adultification of youth (Telzer et al, 2015). However, little attention has been paid to the perceived fairness hypothesis, despite some initial support (Jurcovic et al., 2004; Kuperminc et al., 2013; Toro et al., 2018).

Perceived Fairness

The perceived fairness hypothesis by Jukovic (1997; Jurkovic et al., 2004) posited that there is a point where culturally legitimate familial processes (for example, filial obligations) can cease to be supportive of adaptive developmental outcomes and become detrimental for the child and this hinges on the balance of fairness within the family. Fairness here is not defined by any universal ethical guidelines but rather the negotiations among family members around roles and responsibilities (Boszormenyi-Negy & Krasner, 1986, Jurkovic, 1997). Perceived fairness has been operationalized as the perception of acknowledgement, equity, and reciprocity within contexts in which the youth enacts the filial responsibility (Kuperminc et al., 2013). Therefore, to understand the psychological benefits of filial obligations it is important to understand how the child perceives their role and responsibilities within the family, and if their obligations are perceived as fair relative to the rest of the family and other family members also contribute.

There is some empirical work supporting the role of perceived fairness in relation to filial obligations and outcomes. Perceived fairness was found to be related to positive adjustment among Bosnian youth, and it moderated the relation between caregiving and school grades and externalizing behaviors (Kuperminc et al., 2009). In this study, youth who perceived their filial obligation (specifically caregiving) as fair achieved better

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grades in school. Perceived fairness has also shown a negative association with psychological distress. In a study with Latinx adolescents, perceived fairness was related to less psychological distress and fewer externalizing behaviors (Kuperminc et al., 2009). In another study conducted with seventh and eighth grade Latinx adolescents, the protective effects of engaging in filial responsibilities against higher psychological distress and lower self-esteem was only present when the task was perceived to be fair (Kuperminc et al., 2013). A similar finding was extended to depressive symptoms in a Latinx college sample whereby perceptions of unfairness related to filial responsibilities were positively associated with higher depressive symptoms (Toro et al., 2018). In summary, there is some support to suggest that perceived fairness can be a contributing factor to promotive psychological effects of filial obligations, but little work has explored what factors contribute to the perception of fairness among Latinx youth.

In 2004, Jurkovic and collogues proposed a conceptual model (Figure 1) to understand the interplay between risk and protective factors that influence the impact of filial obligations on psychological, school, and social adjustment, with a focus on perceived fairness as discussed above. This model combined aspects of Bronfenbrenner's (1977) ecological systems theory with aspects of Ogbu's (1981) cultural-ecological theory to posit that risk and protective factors (e.g., family cohesion, socioeconomic status, acculturative stress) predict attitudes surrounding familial responsibility (e.g., attitudes towards obligations, perceived fairness). Within the model, Jurkovic (2004) paid special attention to immigration/acculturation transition as influencing the perception of these obligations. The acculturative process encompasses changes that occur when

coming into contact with people and social influences that are culturally dissimilar (Gibson, 2001). For Latinx youth, research has shown important changes associated with acculturation in terms of language acquisition (i.e., English language use), an emerging bicultural identity where youth report feeling connected with both their culture of origin and US American culture, and acculturative stress (i.e., conflicts within the family due to diverging values), which are all separate constructs in Jurkovic and colleagues' model.

These same immigration/acculturation factors are all highlighted in the expanded model of acculturation (Figure 2), by Schwartz, and colleagues (2010). This model posits that acculturation is a multidimensional process involving the complex interaction of cultural practices, values, and identity from both mainstream and heritage cultures that result in each changing at a different pace and influencing one another across development. In this model, Schwartz and colleagues clarify that engaging in cultural practices (e.g, language use, TV preferences) is distinct from cultural values endorsement (e.g., traditional values vs. mainstream US values) and both likely inform subsequent identity processes (racial/ethnic identity vs. American identity). Because acculturation does not take place in a linear and unidirectional manner (Berry, 2006) across all aspects (i.e., practices, values, and identity), it is paramount that research examines these processes separately.

In many ways Jurkovic's model aligns with this perspective as cultural practices and identity are distinctly considered in the Immigration/Acculturation Transitions section, all of which influence the endorsement of familism values and subsequently perceived fairness. Further, a phenomenon that is salient among immigrant families with

regard to acculturation in the discrepancies in practices, values, and identities between parents and adolescents, which often leads to conflict within the family (i.e. acculturation gap conflict) (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). Extending Jurcovic's model to include acculturation gap conflict would provide an insight on the role of such conflict in predicting perception of unfairness related to family obligations. Taken together, Jurkovic's acculturative factors need to be understood as distinct predictors of perceived fairness of filial obligations due to the fact that these may not be uniformly endorsed due to the dynamic nature of acculturation.

Importantly, Jurkovic's model highlights the need to focus on the youth's perceptions of fairness regarding the filial obligations as it relates to risk and protective factors and psychological outcomes among Latinx adolescents. Indeed, most studies have focused on the youth's attitudes towards filial obligation (i.e., level of endorsment) (Esparza & Sanchez, 2008; Fuligni et al., 1999) and behavioral enactments of filial obligations (i.e., emotional caregiving or functional caregiving, language brokering, financial support) (Kuperminc et al., 2013; Kuperminc et al., 2009; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002) but rarely has the focus been on the youth's perception of fairness related to filial obligations (Jurcovic et. al., 2004). It is important to note that one of the most common scales used to study perception of fairness in Latinx adolescents is scaled such that the higher score indicates higher levels of perceived unfairness. Given that this thesis uses this scale, going forward, this construct will be referred to as perceived unfairness of familial obligations for ease of interpretation.

By incorporating a more dynamic approach (Schwatz et al., 2010) to the acculturation processes highlighted in Jucovic et al.'s (2004) model, this study builds on this conceptual work by specifically testing levels of acculturation as predictors of perceived unfairness with a focus on behavioral cultural practices (mainstream practices vs. Latinx practices), values (mainstream values vs. Latinx values), identity (American identity and racial/ethnic identity), and acculturation gap conflict.

Predictors of Perceived Unfairness

Behavioral Cultural Practices. Jurcovic et al.'s (2004) model as well as Schwartz and colleagues (2010) suggest that engagement in mainstream/heritage practices (e.g., language, observing holidays) play an integral role in the acculturation process, and influences how youth adapt to their cultural environments. Adolescents participation in mainstream cultural practices has been linked to decrease in engagement in heritage cultural practices (i.e. decrease in use of heritage language, celebrating fewer culturally specific holidays with family) (Cecilia-Zea, et al., 2003) and lower endorsement of familism values (Gonzalez et al., 2007). Mainstream cultural practices have been conceptualized as those reflecting broader American culture in the US (e.g., celebrating traditions, speaking in English) and it is important note that due to cultural racism, these have typically been associated with White, middle class practices that are considered to the norm for the United Status (Dorean & Littrell, 2013). Thus, behavioral items about associated with others included spending time with non-Latinx White peers.

Research also suggests that increasing preference for English and decreasing fluency in Spanish is associated with the loss of certain traditional cultural values (i.e.

fulfilling familial obligations; Cuellar et al., 1980; Ortero-Sabogal & Perez-Stable, 1987).

In a longitudinal study, which included grandparent-grandchild dyads, grandchild's

Spanish speaking ability predicted greater feelings of familism and closeness across

generations (Padilla, 2006). Language ability was found to be at the core of acculturation

differences as it acted as a link between the generations through which cultural

information and traditions were transmitted (Silverstein & Chen, 1996). Engaging in

culturally relevant practices (i.e. language, traditions, music/TV, food consumption) aids

in the formation of beliefs around normative behavior within the context of the heritage

culture. It can be hypothesized that adolescents who report high engagement in heritage

cultural practices would perceive filial obligations as normative and collaborative,

therefore viewing them to be fair; the opposite is likely the case for adolescents who

report high engagement in mainstream cultural practices where these practices may be

less common and not modeled.

      Values. Latinx family values, often operationalized as familism, typically

comprise of the following factors: family obligation, support of/from family, family as

referents, and respect (Stein et al., 2014). Whereas mainstream cultural values, typically

conceptualized based on White, middle class culture (Dorean & Littrell, 2013), and

consist of factors such as independence and self-reliance (self-sufficiency), material

success (prioritizing earning money over other activities), as well as personal

achievement and competition (creating a differentiation between self and others by

competing) (Knight et al., 2011). Research suggests that values related to family

obligations result in the behavioral enactment of the obligations (i.e., high endorsement

of familism leading to higher performing familial obligations) (Suarez-Orozco, & Suarez-Orozco, 1995; Telzer & Fuligni, 2009). In a study conducted by Toro, Schofield, Calderon-Tena, and Farver (2019), for the Latinx young adults who endorsed low to average levels of familism, perceptions of unfairness were more strongly associated with depressive symptoms compared to their counterparts who reported high levels of familism; suggesting that familism values could buffer the adverse effects of perceiving filial obligations as unfair (Toro et al., 2019), but whether or not low familism values or higher mainstream cultural values predict the perceptions of unfairness is not known. It could be hypothesized that higher endorsement of mainstream cultural values would predict perceptions of unfairness related to filial obligations as the expectation to provide emotional, financial, and instrumental support to the family would be in direct conflict with the values they currently hold (i.e., independence) but the opposite would hold true for familism values.

Identity. Jankovic's model includes identity as a key process in adolescent's attitudinal and behavioral fulfilment of filial responsibility. These identity processes are distinct and hypothesized to be orthogonally developing at different rates (Schwartz et al. 2010), and therefore may have unique influence on perceived unfairness. Despite there being two facets of identity at play when considering acculturation among Latinx adolescents (i.e. American identity and racial/ethnic identity), the majority of the literature focuses on racial/ethnic identity (Schwartz et al., 2010). The current thesis examines both how ethnic identity and American identity are associated with perceived unfairness.

Latinx adolescents' racial/ethnic identity is defined as the beliefs and attitudes that individuals have about their racial/ethnic group membership (Umaña -Taylor et al., 2014). Latinx adolescents who endorsed greater affirmation (i.e., how positively an individual feels about their own group) also reported higher endorsement of familism (Umaña-Taylor, Upedegraff, & Gonzales-Backen, 2011). Similarly, Latinx college students with higher levels of positive private regard (i.e. extent to which an individual feel positively or negatively about their group) also endorsed higher familism values overtime (Stein, Rivas-Drake, & Camacho, 2016). These two studies suggest that racial/ethnic identity processes – especially positive feeling associated with ethnic group memberships (ie, pride, affirmation) – inform how youth internalize key cultural values associated with filial obligations and it could be argued that subsequently these are also viewed as more fair as they align with their beliefs about their group membership. Given the focus on beliefs and attitudes about group membership, the current thesis focuses on private regard (i.e., feelings about one's membership) and centrality (i.e., how central membership is relative to other aspects of identity) for both racial/ethnic and American identity. Thus, it can be hypothesized that racial/ethnic identity, defined as beliefs and attitudes that individuals have about their racial/ethnic group membership, will be associated with fewer perceptions of unfairness.

The other salient facet of identity for immigrant adolescents is American identity. The definition of American can vary based on racial/ethnic group but it is generally conceptualized as being individualistic, hardworking, having white/European physical features, speaking English and feelings of pride and belonging in the Americas

(Rodriguez, Schwartz, & Krauss Whitbourne, 2010; Rodriguez et al., 2016). Schwartz et al. (2012) found American identity was positively associated with practicing American customs and having American peers for a diverse sample of college aged students; similar findings can be found in a study conducted by Phinney and colleagues (1997), which suggested that Latinx adolescents who perceived the mainstream group positively, reported feeling more American. Despite being recognized as a salient form for identity for immigrant adolescents, little is known regarding American or national identity among Latinx adolescents (Oetting & Beauvais, 1991). Most of the literature explores racial/ethnic identity with regards to filial obligation, but there is evidence suggesting that American identity might operate uniquely (Briman & Trickett, 2011). Development of an identity that is more aligned with American culture might lead the adolescent to perceive filial obligations as a deviation from American identity as they would want to emulate their American peers who are not burdened by such expectations (Weisskirch, 2005).

Acculturation Gap Conflict. Jurcovic's (2004) conceptual model includes acculturative stress under "familial risk and protective factors" because this stress often stems from conflict between the parent and child in regard to the acculturation process (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). Acculturation gap conflict is rooted in differential degrees of adoption of the surrounding culture and behavior patterns, where the child is often said to acculturate at a faster rate than parents (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). According to Szapocznik, et al. (1984), conflicts caused by acculturation gaps are dissimilar to normative parent-child conflicts, as these conflicts are specifically regarding the acculturation process (rejection of parent-held cultural values, beliefs, and attitudes

by the child). Such conflicts may impact the psychological adjustment of children; for example, acculturation gap conflict has been uniquely linked to greater depressive symptoms among Mexican-American adolescents (Huq, Stein, & Gonzalez, 2016). However, not all forms of acculturation gap conflict impact adolescents in the same way (Basanez, et al., 2004). For example, conflicts regarding autonomy could take place due to safety concerns, in which case the adolescent might feel protected and cared for. Therefore, understanding the specific associations of conflicts related to autonomy (i.e., values around offspring staying emotionally and physically close to the family regardless of age) and preferred culture (i.e., feeling as though one has to choose between competing cultural practices) on adolescent's perception is important. It is also essential to distinguish between how general parent-adolescent conflict and acculturation gap conflict are associated with outcomes in Latinx communities. Acculturation gap conflict may play a larger role in contributing to perceived unfairness of filial obligations as this unique type of conflict is centered on the perceived tension between values and practices across generations. Higher levels of acculturation gap conflict, specifically regarding autonomy and preferred culture, could be perceived by the child as though their fulfilment of obligations is not being acknowledged or reciprocated, potentially contributing to feelings of unfairness.

Moderating Role of Gender

Typically, Latinx families have strong gender roles, these are especially true if parents hold traditional values (i.e. females are supposed to be submissive and dependent while men are supposed to be dominant and independent) (Arnett, 2001; Coman-Diaz,

1987). Often these gender roles contribute towards the division of labor within the household; leading the females to have more responsibilities related to caretaking and emotional support (Comas-Diaz, 1987; Rafaelli & Ontai, 2004). This is echoed in the current literature, which suggests that girls might often be more heavily burdened by obligations compared to boys (Cupito, Stein, & Gonzalez, 2014; Rafaelli & Ontai, 2004; Stein et al., 2013). It can be hypothesized that for girls, the relationships between the predictor variables and the perceived unfairness would be stronger compared to boys especially due to lack of perceived reciprocity with other family members; for example, high engagement in mainstream behavioral practices, high acculturation gap conflict, and endorsement of an American identity might strongly predict higher perceptions of unfairness for girls because the mainstream culture might emphasize more independence, which is not consistent with traditional values related to gender, and more equity of distribution of obligations.

Goals and Hypotheses

The goal of the present study is to examine factors of practices, values, identity, and acculturation gap conflict to identify the predictors of greater feelings of unfairness related to familial obligations among Latinx youth. To clearly distinguish between individual and familial processes, the analysis will classify the predictors as model 1, which will include practices, values, and identity and model two will include acculturation gap conflict and general conflict. Specifically, as seen in the proposed model (Figure 3), this study hypothesized: 1) Higher engagement in heritage cultural practices, endorsement of heritage cultural values, and racial-ethnic identity will be

associated with lower perceptions of unfairness. Whereas higher engagement in

mainstream cultural practices, endorsement of mainstream cultural values, and American

identity will be associated with higher perceptions of unfairness. 2) Higher acculturation

gap conflict, specifically related to autonomy and preferred culture, will uniquely be

associated with higher perceptions of unfairness compared to general conflict. 3) Gender

will moderate each of predictors in a way that the relationship between the predictors and

perceived unfairness will be stronger for females

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Participants

The larger study ("La Familia") from which the present study was drawn,

examined how cultural experiences, family relationships, and school environments

impact psychological adjustment for Latinx children. It included 176 Latinx mothers and

one adolescent (from the same family) recruited from two middle schools in a central

region of North Carolina. In one family with a pair of twins, data from one adolescent

were randomly selected and excluded, resulting in an analyzed sample of 175

adolescents. Adolescents were in seventh ($n = 145$, 82.90%) and eighth grade ($n = 30$,

17.1%), 51.4% were girls, and were on average 12.74 years of age (age range = 10.33-

15.23 years). Most of the adolescents were born in the U.S. ($n = 151$, 86%) and, of those

youth who were not born in the U.S. ($n = 24$, 14%), the average age of immigration was

4.25 years of age (range = 1 to 12 years). All youth were bilingual and fluent in English,

with the exception of three adolescents who primarily spoke Spanish and completed the

assessment in Spanish.

The majority of mothers ($n = 155$, 88.6%) and fathers ($n = 151$, 86.3%) were born

in Mexico and, of those parents who were not, most were foreign-born (mothers: $n = 1$,

Columbia; $n = 2$, Dominican Republic; $n = 1$, Ecuador; $n = 4$, El Salvador; $n = 3$,

Guatemala; $n = 2$, Honduras; $n = 2$ Nicaragua; $n = 1$, Cuba; $n = 2$, Columbia; $n = 2$,

Dominican Republic; n = 1, Ecuador; n = 5, El Salvador; n = 2, Guatemala; n = 4, Honduras; n = 1, Nicaragua); three mothers and four fathers were born in the U.S (including Puerto Rico). On average, mothers and fathers (respectively) lived in the U.S. for 15.67 years (SD = 4.61) and 16.81 years (SD = 6.55). The median family income was $24,999.50 with a range from $5,000.00 to $87,499.50.

The ethnic composition of the schools from which the current sample was drawn was comprised of equal majority of White (39.3%) and Latinx (40.6%) students with fewer Black (14.5%) students. According to recent Census data of this area (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009-2013), the Latinx school population was most likely represented primarily by Mexican origin youth, given that 82% of the city's Latinx population was from Mexico, followed by smaller percentages from other Latinx nationalities (1.5% South American, 1.7% Puerto Rican, .26% Cuban, and 13.1% Central American).

Procedure

Project staff visited two semi-rural middle schools with large Latinx populations and provided information about the current study to school staff. Flyers and letters about the study were given to students and mailed home. Using school call lists of enrolled 7th and 8th grade Latinx students, project staff called families to identify interested and eligible families based on the following criteria: (a) both biological parents were Latinx, (b) the mother (or biological female relative) was the resident caregiver of the participating adolescent, and (c) youth ranged between 11 and 14 years of age. A second phase of data collection included door-to-door home visits to recruit families who were not reached via phone calls (e.g., phone disconnected, wrong number). A total of 597

families were targeted for recruitment via phone or door-to-door recruitment. Of these,

16 families had moved (3%) and 217 were not located (e.g., disconnected numbers,

families not home; 36%). Of the families who were contacted (n = 364), 47 were not

eligible (13%), 125 declined (34%), 16 consented but did not complete interviews (4%),

and 176 families consented and completed interviews (48%). Upon enrollment into the

study, trained research assistants visited families' homes to interview and administer the

questionnaires to the adolescent. Prior to administering interviews, research assistants

obtained assent and consent from the youth and mother. The adolescent and mother were

interviewed in separate rooms and a noise machine was used to ensure privacy. All

assessment materials were available in Spanish and English and administered based upon

participants' language preference. Youth completed questions using a computer-assisted

interview format that took approximately 1.5 to 2 hours to complete and received a $10

gift card following completion of the survey.

Measures

  Perceived Fairness Scale. Perceived fairness measure, a subscale of the Filial

Responsibility Scale – Youth, was used to assess the youth's report on their views of

whether obligations are equitable and reciprocated (10 items total; Appendix A;

(Jurkovic, et al., 2005). Items are rated on a 4-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 (not

at all true) to 4 (very true). Items tap two behaviors, perceptions of unfairness, including

equity (e.g., "In my family, I am often asked to do more than my share") and reciprocity

(e.g., "My parents are very helpful when I have a problem"[reverse coded]) are also

assessed. This measure has demonstrated adequate reliability (Cronbach's alpha = .81)

and associations of the 34-item Fairness Scale – Youth (FRS–Y) with psychological and school functioning, providing evidence of validity (Jurkovic, et al., 2005). In the current sample, the Cronbach alpha for this overall scale was .82. Scores were averaged to represent the construct of perceived unfairness.

Behavioral Cultural Practices. The Asian American Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (AAMAS) (Appendix B) was developed by Chung, Kim, and Abreu (2004) in order to measure acculturation orthogonally and dimensionally across ethnic groups. The scale measures acculturation along 4 domains of cultural identity, language, cultural knowledge and practices, and food consumption. In its original validation, the scale displayed adequate reliability, with alphas ranging from .78 to .91. For the purposes of the present study, the focus was on the behavioral cultural practices and therefore only the language, cultural knowledge, and food consumption for the Latinx subscales will be used. Originally, the scale was developed for use with Asian Americans, but it is easily adapted for use with other cultures, and in this study, we modified the scale in order to be able to assess Latinx participants' level of acculturation to life in the United States. Therefore, 'How well do you speak/write/understand Spanish' replaced 'How well do you speak/write/understand the language of [Asian Country of Origin]' for language items on the scale. Also 'other Latinos living in the United States' replaced 'Other Asian Americans' as a response option on items measuring cultural identity, cultural knowledge, and food consumption; scores were averaged across items. Mainstream behavioral practices were measured in terms of the "White mainstream group" because these are dominant cultural practices in the United Status and consistent with other

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measures of acculturation practices used in Latinx populations (e.g., ARSMA; Cullar et al., 1995). In this current sample, both the Latinx and White orientation scales demonstrated an adequate reliability of .84 and .87 respectively.

Values. The MACVS is a measure that captures culturally related values and beliefs typically held by Mexican-American adolescents and adults (Appendix C; Knight et al., 2010). The measure captures both Mexican-American values (i.e., familism, respeto, religion, traditional gender roles) and mainstream values (i.e., material success; independence/self-reliance; competition/personal achievement), and can be subdivided along individual subscales or overall subscales (i.e., Mexican-American or Mainstream Values). The familism support, respect, obligation, and referent subscales were used to assess Mexican-American values, while independence/self-reliance and competition/personal achievement subscales was used to assess Mainstream Values. Sample items include, "Parents should teach their children that the family always comes first," and "The more money one has, the more respect they should get from others." Participants report on a five-point rating scale ranging from 1 (Not at all) to 5 (Completely), indicating the degree to which they believe in each value. The overall scales demonstrated adequate reliability in the current sample (α = .86), and scores were averaged across scales.

American Identity. The American identity scale (Appendix D; Kiang, Yip, & Fuligni, 2008) was used to assess strength of American identity. The measure was based on the private regard and centrality sub-scales of the MIBI (Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity) (Sellers et al., 1998) to assess how central being American was to a

sample of young adults from multiple ethnic groups (i.e., Filipino Americans, Latin Americans, and Asians) (Kiang et al., 2008). Items were rated on a five-point scale ranging from 1 - strongly disagree to 5 - strongly agree, with higher scores indicating stronger endorsement of American identity. Sample items include "I feel good about being an American," "Being an American is an important reflection of who I am." Within this sample, the scale showed adequate reliability, with a Cronbach alpha of .84, and an average was calculated for the scale.

      Racial/ethnic Identity. An adapted version of Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers, et al., 1998; see Appendix E) developed for Latinx and Asian youth will be used to assed racial/ethnic identity of the adolescents. The private regard and centrality sub-scales will be used in the current analyses. Items are rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 - strongly disagree, 5 - strongly agree). Sample items include, "I have a strong sense of belonging to my ethnic group" (centrality) and "I feel good about being a member of my ethnic group" (private regard). This adapted scale has shown good psychometric properties (Kiang et al., 2006; Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2008). Within this sample, the private regard and centrality sub-scales showed adequate reliability, with a Cronbach alphas of .88 and .82 respectively. An average was calculated using the two subscales with higher scores indicating a stronger racial/ethnic identity.

      Acculturation Gap Conflict. The Acculturation Gap Conflict Inventory (Basanez, et al., 2004; Appendix F) assesses intergenerational conflicts among Latinx young adults and their parents. Items explore situations in which conflicts may arise in the family because a member is either too Americanized or too traditional (in terms of

heritage cultural norms), and cover disagreements regarding social life, language choice, social mores, autonomy, and perspectives about the way an individuals' future and life should be. The measure consists of autonomy, preferred culture, and dating related conflicts. For the purposes of this thesis, the focus is on within family acculturative processes, therefore only the autonomy and preferred culture subscales were included. Participants rated how much they agreed or disagreed on a 7-point scale from 1 (strongly disagree, almost never) to 7 (Strongly agree, almost always) with each statement. Sample items include, "I wish my parents would allow me to be more independent" and "My parents and I have different views about life." Within this sample, the sub-scales showed adequate reliability, with Cronbach alpha of .86 and .90 for autonomy subscale and preferred culture subscale respectively. Average scores were calculated for both sub-scales.

General Conflict. The Network of Relationships Inventory-Relationship Qualities Version (NRI-RQV) (Buhrmaster & Furman, 2009) was developed to examine a broad array of relationship characteristics across a number of different types of personal relationships (Furman & Buhrmester, 1985). For the purposes of this thesis, only the three items measuring parent–child conflict were used. Items are rated on a "How often" scale ranging from 1 (never) to 5 (always). Sample items include, "How often do you and this person disagree and quarrel with each other?" and "How often do you and this person argue with each other?" The scale also showed adequate reliability for the current sample ($\alpha = .83$), and a mean score was calculated.

Analytical Plan

Descriptive statistics were analyzed for each of demographic variables and each of the measures (mean, median, standard deviations) as well as to test for assumptions of normality (skewness and kurtosis). Using the R-studio software (2017), all variables were centered and two separate multiple regression models were tested for each main hypothesis due to the individual nature of variables in model 1 (i.e., practices, values, and identities) compared to the familial nature of model 2 variables (i.e., parent-adolescent acculturation gap conflict and general conflict). Model 1 tested the cultural practices, values, and identities and whether and how it is associated with levels of perceived unfairness among Latinx adolescents. Model 2 tested whether general conflict and acculturation gap conflict related to autonomy and preferred culture as predictors of perceived unfairness. For moderation analysis, each predictor variable was tested individually with an interaction term in both of the models.

Out of the total dataset, 5 cases were removed for having 70% or more of missing data for at least one scale; which led to a final sample size of 171. In this final sample, there was limited missing data (less than 4%) and Little's MCAR test indicated that these data were missing completely at random (χ^2 (265) = 302.87, p = .06). For the cases that have been completed 70% or more, the missing data was dealt by using the multiple imputation method (Jakobsen et al., 2017).

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

Means, standard deviations, and correlations of all predictor and outcome

variables are presented in Table 1. Overall, the sample means indicate that the

participants endorsed slightly higher engagement in heritage cultural practices (mean =

4.09) compared to mainstream cultural practices (mean = 3.57), higher endorsement of

heritage values (mean = 4.11) compared to mainstream cultural values (mean = 2.68),

and slightly higher endorsement of racial-ethnic identity (mean = 4.21) compared to

American identity (mean = 4.01). With regards to acculturation gap conflict, overall, the

sample reported infrequent conflict (autonomy mean score = 2.92 and preferred culture

mean score = 2.09) relative with other samples using this scale (Basanez et al., 2014).

Also, the sample endorsed moderate perceptions of unfairness (mean = 2.10). At the

bivariate level, perceived unfairness was associated with greater mainstream values (r =

.23, p < .01), autonomy-acculturation gap conflict (r = .47, p < .01), preferred culture-

acculturation gap conflict (r = .40, p < .01), and general parent-child conflict (r =.31, p<

.01).

Regression Models

Two primary multiple regression models were estimated. In the first model,

mainstream cultural practices (b = .12, SE = .060, p =.04) and value endorsement (b =

.22, SE = .057, p < 0.001) were significantly associated with greater perceived unfairness above and beyond Latinx cultural practices, American cultural practices, American identity, racial-ethnic identity, and familism values (see Table 2). In the second model, as hypothesized, acculturation gap conflict regarding autonomy (b = .20, SE = .05, p < 0.001) and preferred cultures (b = .14, SE = .05, p < 0.01) were associated with higher perceived unfairness while general conflict was not associated once taking into account acculturation gap conflict.

Moderation Analysis

Individual moderation tests were conducted for each predictor variable (Table 3). Gender significantly moderated the relation between mainstream cultural practices (b = -.24, SE = .10, p < 0.5) and perceived unfairness (Figure 4) such that for girls (b = .27, p = <0.01), as engagement in mainstream practices increased, their perceptions of unfairness also increased but this relation was not significant for boys (b = .04, p > 0.5).

Post-Hoc Analysis

In order to differentiate between the construct of perceived unfairness and acculturation gap conflict (autonomy and preferred culture), an Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) was conducted to see if these two measures tapped into different constructs. Based on the assessments of eigenvalues greater than 1 and the scree plot, a three-factor structure was chosen for the EFA. With acceptable model fit (RMSEA = .75, 95% CI = (0.063, 0.09), standardized factor loadings ranging from .37 to .76 suggested the factors were appropriately defined (Table 4). Only two items from the perception of unfairness scale (frq6 and frq9, both related to reciprocity) did not load correctly; frq6

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loaded. The factor loadings indicated acculturation gap conflict and perceived unfairness

are indeed distinct factors.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

Fulfilment of familial obligations is at the center of family values within the

Latinx culture. A few studies have suggested that positive developmental benefits of

familial cultural values depend on whether youth perceives these obligations as fair

(Kuperminc et al., 2009; Kuperminc et al., 2003; Toro et al., 2018;). Yet, no past study

has examined what contributes to Latinx adolescents perceiving these obligations as fair

and reciprocated within the family. The present study examined several facets of

acculturation (i.e., practices, values, identity, and acculturation gap conflict) consistent

with Jurkovic's model (Figure 1) to identify the predictors of greater feelings of

unfairness related to familial obligations among Latinx youth finding that perceptions of

unfairness were associated with greater mainstream cultural engagement and value

endorsement rather than heritage factors. Furthermore, youth who reported greater

acculturation gap conflict also perceived these obligations as unfair and unreciprocated.

Partially consistent with my hypothesis, mainstream cultural practices and values

were associated with higher perceptions of unfairness however, neither American nor

ethnic identity was associated. As Latinx adolescents begin to have more exposure to

mainstream cultural practices and internalize values associated with the mainstream

culture (e.g., independence), they might begin to perceive additional responsibilities

related familial obligations as burdensome or unfair. Higher engagement in mainstream

culture and endorsement of concordant values could foster beliefs about there being a

lack of reciprocity in the family. For example, a Latinx adolescent perceiving the obligation to cook meals for the family as unfair because his/her friends from the mainstream culture might not have to; or his/her friends get rewarded in a certain way for cooking a meal, which might lead the Latinx adolescent to feel unacknowledged within the family setting and therefore perceive their obligations as unfair. Importantly, most of the youth in the sample endorsed high levels of familism values and Latinx cultural engagement. This suggests that it is as adolescents begin to engage in white cultural milieus and start to internalize mainstream values, it potentially creates internal conflict for them as the mainstream practices and values may be competing with how they were socialized by their parents and their own heritage values.

Further, the weight of these familial obligations might be heavier for girls when they begin to engage in more mainstream cultural practices. Traditional gender roles are seen as part of familial practices and values, and therefore upheld within Latinx families (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). Given the high engagement in heritage culture practices and the socialization of immigrant parents, it is possible that the girls in the family might be burdened with more responsibilities than the boys (Arnett, 2001; Coman-Diaz, 1987). The increased engagement in mainstream cultural practices might highlight the differential expectation based on gender (e.g., more chores, lesser freedom) (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004), which could lead girls to feel increased lack of reciprocity and acknowledgement for the additionally fulfilled obligations. Or, it could also be that girls who start to eschew the traditional gender roles and perceive values as unfair also begin

to engage in these mainstream cultural practices. Future work should test the directionality of this relation.

It is likely that identity is not associated to perceived unfairness because identity formation is a complex process that goes beyond just engagement in practices and endorsement of values (Schwartz, Zamboanga, & Jarvis, 2007). According to the Schwartz et al. (2010) multidimensional acculturation model, understanding "identity acculturation" requires exploration of all aspects of acculturation. Future studies would benefit from considering several acculturative covariates (e.g., neighborhood enclaves, discrimination) rather than using cultural practices as a proxy in claims of identity acculturation.

The process of cultural disconnect was also evident with regards to the findings for acculturation gap conflict being associated with higher perceptions of unfairness, which was evident for both girls and boys. As adolescents increasingly engage with the mainstream culture and values, they are likely to acculturate at a faster rate compared to their immigrant parents (Berry, 2006). Often the gap in acculturation rate leads to conflict within the household (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). Jorkovic (2004) argues that for collectivistic cultures it is not the unbalanced division of labor that influences perceptions of fairness but instead it is rooted in the adolescent feeling as though these values and behaviors are reciprocated in other ways by family members (e.g., by providing emotional support) especially if their contributions are acknowledged. For parent-adolescent relationships that have greater acculturation gaps, this study suggests that these adolescents may perceive lower reciprocity of tasks in the family (i.e., my parents

do not help me) or feel there is a lack of recognition for their worldview (i.e., my views do not matter). According to the acculturation gap distress model (Szapocznik, 1978), the increase in acculturation related conflict within the family context could lead to adolescent maladjustment, and the findings add to this model by introducing a crucial construct (i.e., perceived fairness) that could further clarify the relationship between acculturation gap conflict and youth maladjustment. Understanding the critical role of perceived unfairness would further help in the development of targeted family interventions that could help mitigate negative psychological and psychosocial impacts of acculturation gap conflicts within Latinx families.

Thus, taking all the findings together, it suggests that perceived fairness might be embedded in how adolescents view themselves as culturally distinct; perhaps driven by their engagement in mainstream cultural practices and internalization of mainstream cultural values. As cultural lines get drawn, acculturation gap conflict ensues that together leads adolescents to see these obligations as burdensome and not fairly distributed, likely fostering more conflict. This study suggests that rather than conflict regarding differences in heritage culture values, practices, and identity, discrepancy regarding mainstream cultural values is associated with how youth perceive their filial obligations as suggested by the bivariate correlations between acculturation gap conflict and mainstream cultural practices and values. Interestingly, mainstream practices and values were positively associated acculturation gap conflicts related to autonomy, while heritage values were negatively related to preferred culture conflict. Future studies could explore the role of acculturation gap conflict as a moderator between multidimensional

acculturation and perceptions of unfairness. Factor analysis suggests that despite the disparities in perceptions that underlies both, acculturation gap conflict and perceived unfairness are related but distinct constructs that likely result from cultural value differences.

Contrary to my hypothesis, endorsing higher levels of Latinx cultural practices, values, and identity was not associated with lower perceived unfairness regarding filial obligations, rather it is the uptake of mainstream cultural values that are associated with perceptions of unfairness among Latinx adolescents. Literature suggests that endorsement maintenance and engagement in Latinx cultural practices (e.g., speaking Spanish, watching Spanish TV, celebrating traditional holidays), the internalization of familism values, and strong connection and pride in Latinx identity is associated with positive psychological outcomes (Cecilia-zea et al., 2003; Padilla, 2006), yet in the current sample these protective factors did not contribute to adolescents feeling familial obligations are fair and reciprocated. With the findings noted above, this suggests that perceptions of fairness are not fueled with cultural alignment with parents on heritage values but instead when there is a cultural misalignment on mainstream values (Marks, Patton, & Coyne, 2011).

However, it is feasible to speculate that given the dynamic nature of acculturation, there are degrees to which enculturative and acculturative processes vary depending on generational status. The current finding may be unique to youth with immigrant parents who continue to endorse high levels of cultural heritage values and different associations may be found in other samples that include youth from multiple generations where there

has been potentially more deterioration of heritage value endorsement. In samples where there is more variability in the retention of cultural values (e.g., samples including third and fourth generation youth), heritage cultural practices, values, and identity may be important predictors of perceived fairness as these youth and families still align with these cultural practices and their obligations. Further, acculturation gap processes may also differ across these generations. For example, first- and second-generation adolescents are raised by immigrant parents and are socialized in the heritage culture therefore could experience higher acculturative stress as they attempt to navigate the mainstream culture (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Whereas, third-generation adolescents might be raised in an environment that is more oriented toward the larger US American culture (e.g., English being spoken at home, parents participating in mainstream cultural practices, acculturated values endorsed by parents), at which stage the child experiences acculturation in a low conflict environment, therefore finding ethnic practices, values, and identity to be more protective against feelings of unfairness. Furthermore, it is likely that second generation parents who grew up perceiving certain obligations as unfair or experienced conflict related to it might have different expectations from their children, which could also lead to lower perceptions of unfairness among the third generation. Thus, the unique demographic make-up of our sample (i.e., mostly second generation in an emerging immigrant community) highlights a nuance in the acculturative process experienced by Latinx adolescents within broader community, and needs to be considered in future research.

Clinical Implications

  This study has several clinical implications for the treatment of Latinx youth and their families. First, levels of enculturation and acculturation should be assessed for Latinx adolescents presenting with internalizing issues (e.g., depression, anxiety) or familial conflict. Despite having similar perspectives on heritage culture practices, values, and identity, if the adolescent and parent(s) are differing on their level of mainstream cultural engagement and value endorsement, it would be beneficial to provide psychoeducation between adolescent and the parent in order to reduce the acculturation related conflict within the family context. Acculturation gap conflict has been linked to several internalizing symptoms among immigrant adolescents (Atzaba-Poria & Pike, 2007; Kim & Park, 2011; Huq, Stein, & Gonzalez, 2016) therefore clinicians should routinely assess parental and adolescent levels of acculturation in order to provide tailored psychoeducation. Facilitating and fostering communication regarding the disconnect related to mainstream culture would help reduce acculturation related conflict among family members during the ongoing acculturation process (Kim & Park, 2011).

  Second, reciprocity and acknowledgement is essential in reducing adolescent's perception of unfairness but this can drastically differ based on several factors (e.g., level of acculturation, number and nature of caregivers). Along with psychoeducation regarding acculturation gap conflicts, clinicians should also aid the parents and adolescent in negotiating ways in which parents could demonstrate reciprocity and acknowledgement upon completion of familial obligations. Using communication

training would help parents and adolescents draw parameters around healthy negotiations. Since perception of unfairness regarding familial obligations as been linked to internalizing symptoms (depression, anxiety) (Kuperminc, et al, 2013), decreased self-efficacy (Kuperminc et al., 2013), and greater depressive symptoms (Toro et al., 2018), it would be important for clinicians consider family dynamics and communication discrepancies in order to provide appropriate psychoeducation and skills provision.

Third, because of the higher burden of obligations on Latinx girls, perceptions of unfairness should be taken into consideration when assessing for acculturative stress and/or family conflict. Given the higher prevalence of depression and suicidality among on Latinx females (Alegria et al., 2007; Estrada et al., 2018), it would be important to assess the cognitions associated with family obligations, reciprocity, and acknowledgement. Culturally informed Cognitive-Behavioral Therapy (CBT) that is targeted towards Latinx youth (Consoli et al., 2018) could help address some of the harmful cognitions related to family obligations. Along with CBT, clinicians should still consider parent-adolescent communication training to help with healthy negotiations in service of reciprocity and acknowledgement of the Latinx female.

Limitations

This study is not without its limitations. First, the cross-sectional nature of the data does not allow us to fully explore the adolescent's patterns of acculturation over time and also limits any causal claims. The dynamic nature of acculturation allows for unique experiences across the development, therefore adolescents' experiences with engagement in both, enculturative and acculturative, processes across time could produce a more

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detailed understanding of perceived unfairness within the given context. Along with understanding how acculturation processes impact perceptions of unfairness overtime, it would be beneficial to understand the impacts of perceived unfairness on various other psychosocial and academic outcomes. Second, since majority of our participants were second generation immigrants, these results may not generalize to other settings or to third or fourth generation Latinxs. While later generation adolescents might be more acculturated, there might also be more variability in heritage culture retention, which could lead to different family dynamics. Since perceptions of fairness rely heavily on reciprocity and acknowledgment from family (Jurkovic et al., 2004), generational family dynamics and processes would be a vital consideration. Third, by focusing on the predominant acculturative factors, several other factors suggested in Jurkovic's model were not tested such as socioeconomic status, neighborhood capital, school/academic climate, family structure, and parental distress were not examined; it is possible that integrating these other factors could provide a richer understanding of the adolescent's circumstances and therefore perceptions.

Conclusion

On the whole, this study underscores the importance of familial interactions within the context of immigrant families as it impacts adolescent perceptions of unfairness. Engagement in mainstream practices and acquisition of mainstream values might be a contributing factor of higher acculturation gap conflict among parents and adolescents, both of which are associated with higher perceptions of unfairness related to filial obligations. Most importantly, the pivotal role of familial relationships with regards

reciprocity and acknowledgement in Latinx families should be taken into consideration. Further examination of the role of perceived unfairness as mediator and moderator within the existing acculturation gap distress model (Szapocznik, 1978) would provide greater understanding of the psychosocial pathway related to adolescent maladjustment. Future studies should continue to view acculturation through a dynamic lens and further explore the expectations around reciprocity and acknowledgement within particular cultural contexts.

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TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1. Participant Demographics.

Means, standard deviations, and correlations for all independent and dependent variable (n=171)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Gender												
2. Age	-.10											
3. Perceived Unfairness	.03	.07										
4. Heritage Practices	-.16	-.06	-.04									
5. Mainstream Practices	-.03	.02	.14	.36**								
6. Heritage Values	-.09	-.11	-.05	.32**	.01							
7. Mainstream Values	.02	.07	.23**	-.01	.03	.39**						
8. Heritage Identity	-.02	-.07	.01	.26**	.16*	.19*	-.03					
9. Mainstream Identity	.09	-.07	-.07	.01	.18*	.07	.02	.04				
10. Autonomy Conflict	-.02	.05	.47**	.02	.19*	-.09	.24**	.01	-.04			
11. Pref. Culture Con.	.02	.07	.40**	-.14	.01	-.20**	.15	-.07	-.06	.58**		
12. General Conflict	-.01	.05	.31**	-.08	.01	-.03	.05	-.01	-.22**	.34**	.40**	
Mean	0.48	12.74	2.10	4.09	3.57	4.11	2.70	4.21	4.01	2.92	2.09	2.40
Standard Deviation	0.50	1.61	0.84	0.65	1.17	0.66	0.76	1.02	0.91	1.16	1.18	0.94

* indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$.

Note. M and SD are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively. For gender: girls = 0, boys = 1 and Pref. Culture Con. stands for preferred culture conflict.

Table 2. Multiple Regression Table

Summary of Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Perceived Unfairness (n=171)

Variables	B	SE	95% CI	β	p
Model 1					
Heritage Practices	-.081	.113	-.067, .390	-.162	.478
Mainstream Practices	.123	.060	-.082, -.158	.011	.041*
Heritage Values	-.184	.112	-.056, .397	-.098	.104
Mainstream Values	.310	.091	-.460, -.094	.374	<.001**
Racial-ethnic Identity	.031	.064	-.220, .039	.024	.633
American Identity	.091	.071	.007, .291	.070	.478
Model 2					
Autonomy Conflict	.259	.155	.140, .377	.380	<.001**
Preferred Culture Conflict	.134	.060	.018, .251	.235	.010*
General Conflict	.162	.064	-.012, .250	.180	.076

* indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$.

Table 3. Interactions Analysis Table

Summary of Individual Interaction Analysis for each predictor (n=171)

Variables	B	SE	95% CI	β	p
Model 1					
Mainstream Practices	.270	.070	.132, .411	.233	.010**
Gender	.837	.383	.082, 1.592	.032	.030*
Mainstream Practices*Gender	**-.224**	**.103**	-.428, -.020	**-.160**	**.031***
Heritage Practices	.074	.137	-.196, .345	.093	.590
Gender	-.195	.741	-1.657, 1.267	.045	.793
Heritage Practices*Gender	**.068**	**.180**	-.286, .423	**.030**	**.704**
Mainstream Values	.275	.108	.061, .488	.321	.012*
Gender	-.279	.417	-1.102, .544	.028	.504
Mainstream Values*Gender	**.125**	**.151**	-.173, .423	**.060**	**.408**
Heritage Values	-.027	.132	-.288, .235	.081	.841
Gender	-.872	.689	-2.232, .488	.040	.207
Heritage Values*Gender	**.234**	**.166**	-.095, .562	**.111**	**.162**
American Identity	-.047	.090	-.225, .130	-.035	.599
Gender	-.061	.615	-1.274, 1.153	.034	.922
American Identify*Gender	**.031**	**.149**	-.263, .324	**.016**	**.838**
Racial/ethnic identify	-.011	.093	-.195, .173	.057	.903
Gender	-.455	.553	-.547, 0.637	.034	.412
Racial/ethnic Identity*Gender	**.124**	**.128**	-.130, .377	**.074**	**.336**
Model 2					
Autonomy	.375	.060	.384, .646	.515	<.001**
Gender	.103	.295	-.093, .165	.003	.728
Autonomy*Gender	**.014**	**.096**	**-.142, .122**	**-.009**	**.885**
Preferred Culture	.347	.067	.285, .560	.422	<.001**
Gender	.169	.246	-.123, .151	.014	.494
Preferred Culture*Gender	**-.070**	**.104**	-.186, .091	**-.047**	**.502**
General Conflict	.370	.095	.247, .529	-.388	<.001**
Gender	.179	.323	-.100, .178	.039	.580
General Conflict*Gender	**-.047**	**.127**	-.167, .114	**-.026**	**.713**

* indicates *p* < .05. ** indicates *p* < .01.

Note. For gender: girls = 0 , boys = 1.

Table 4. Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) Results of Three-Factor Solution;
Factor Loadings for Perceived Unfairness and Acculturation Gap Conflict (autonomy and preferred culture subscales) (n=171)

Variable	Item	F1	F2	F3
frq1	In my family I am often asked to do more than my share.			0.372
frq2	Even though my parents care about me, I cannot really depend on them to meet my needs			0.384
frq3	It often seems that my feelings don't count in my family			0.661
frq4	I feel like people in my family disappoint me			0.601
frq5	No one in my family sees how much I give up for them			0.677
frq6	My parents are very helpful when I have a problem	0.273		
frq7	Sometimes it seems like I am more responsible than my parents are			0.619
frq8	My parents often criticize my attempts to help out at home			0.679
frq9	For some reason it is hard for me to trust my parents		0.439	
frq10	My parents often expect me to take care of myself			0.528
frq11	In my family, I often give more than I receive			0.511
agcs1	I wish that my parents would allow me to be more independent.		0.406	
agcs2	I wish my parents would interfere less with my life.		0.529	
agcs3	My parents and I have different expectations about my future.		0.476	
agcs4	My parents and I have different views about life.		0.633	
agcs5	It is hard for me to express disagreement with my parents.		0.631	
agcs6	My parents do not understand what it is like to be someone in my generation.		0.631	
agcs7	I wish my parents would be more accepting of the way I am.		0.644	
agcs8	My parents and I have different values.		0.827	
agcs9	It bothers me that my parents do not understand my values.		0.722	
agcs10	My parents wish that I would practice the customs of my culture more than I do.	0.491		
agcs11	My parents complain that I act too American.	0.397		
agcs12	I've had some problems within my family because I prefer American customs more than they do.	0.686		
agcs13	I get upset at my parents because they do not know American ways of doing things.	0.895		
agcs14	I feel uncomfortable because I have to choose between Latin and non-Latin ways of doing things	0.744		
agcs15	I've been embarrassed of my parents because they do not know American ways of doing things.	0.672		
agcs16	I feel uncomfortable having to choose between my parents' ways of doing things and American ways of doing things.	0.652		
agcs17	I want to stay out late with my friends but my parents think I should come home earlier.	0.751		

Note: Factor loadings suggest adequate model fit, RMSEA = 0.075 (0.063, 0.09).

Figure 1. Jurkovic's Theoretical Model

Theoretical model of relation among risk and protective factors, filial responsibility, and markers of adjustment (Jurkovic et al., 2004). This study will focus on acculturation processes (i.e. immigration/acculturation transition and attitudes of familism) and how they might predict youth's perceptions of fairness.
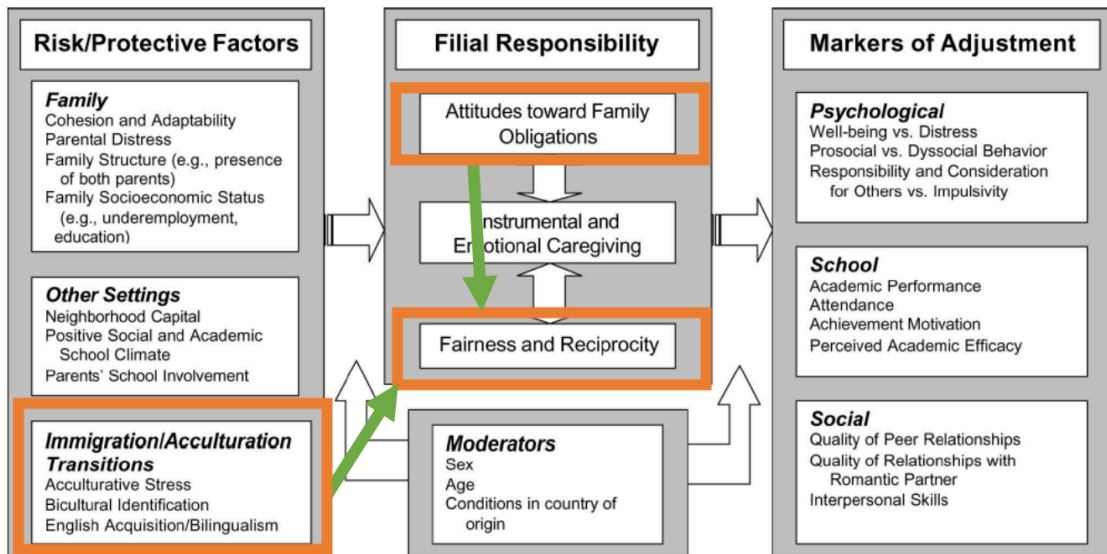
Figure 2. Schwartz's Theoretical Model

Theoretical model depicting the multidemintionality of the acculturation process (Schwartz et al., 2010).
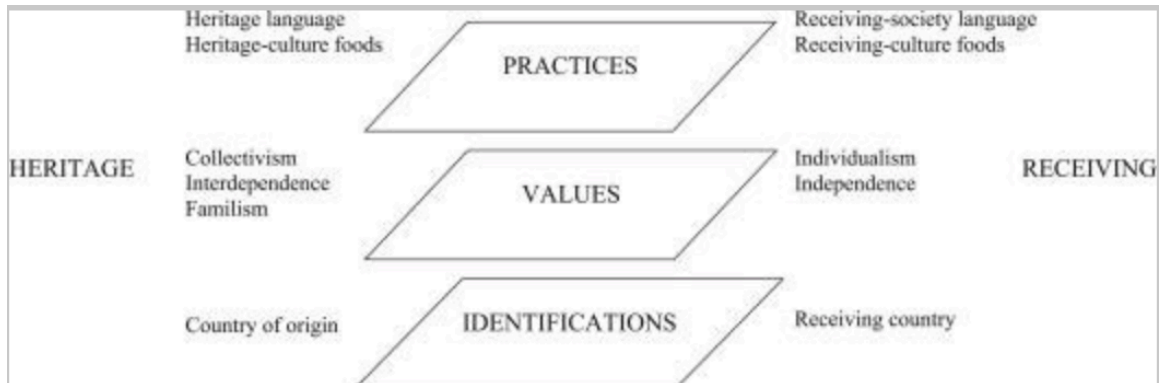
Figure 3. Proposed Model.

Factors to be considered within model 1 consisting acculturation process variables (i.e., behavioral cultural practices, values, identity) and model 2 consisting acculturation gap conflict variables (i.e., autonomy, preferred culture, and general conflict) that are hypothesized to predict perceived unfairness. The plus signs (+) indicates the predictors hypothesized as increasing perceptions of unfairness and the minus sign (-) indicates the predictors hypothesized as decreasing perceptions of unfairness.
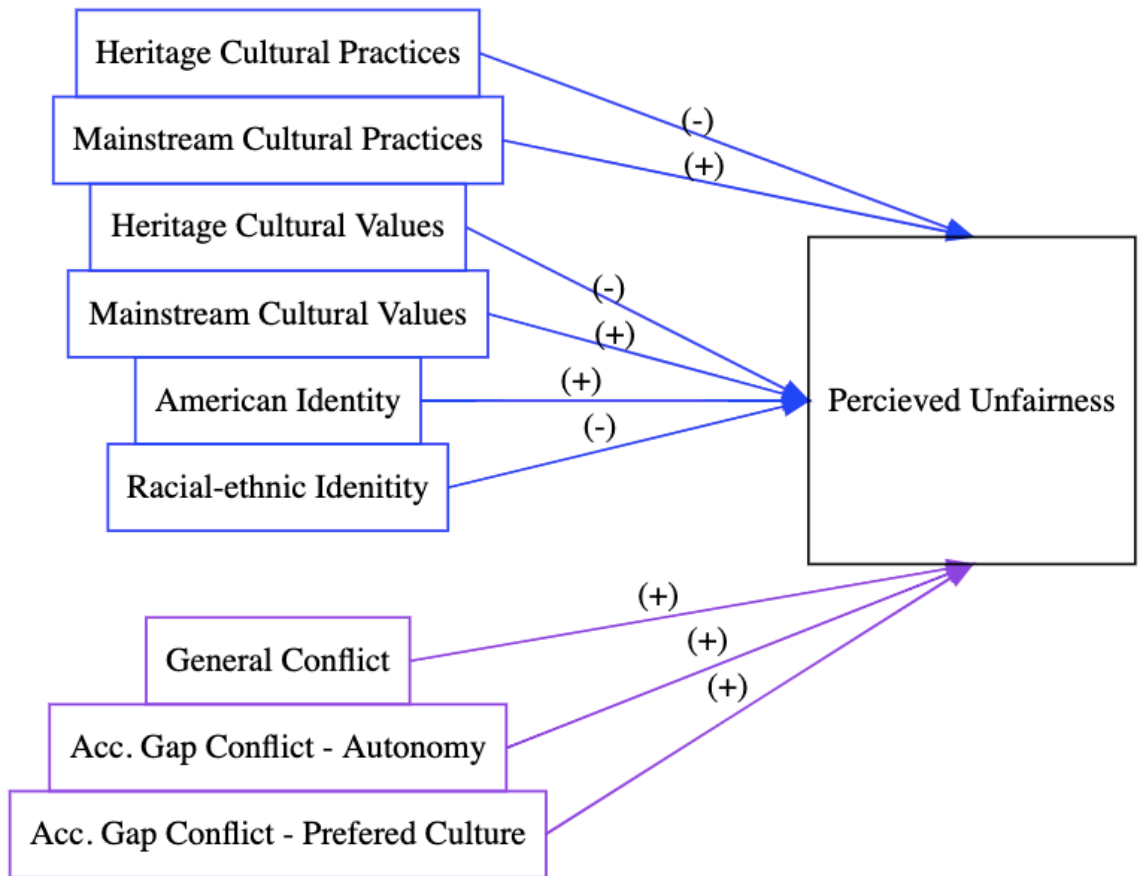
Figure 4. Moderating Role of Gender Between Mainstream Cultural Practices and Perceived Unfairness.

Graph indicates that gender moderates the relationship between mainstream cultural practices and perceived unfairness such that only for girls, as engagement in mainstream practices increases, their perceptions of unfairness also increases.