

UC Santa Barbara

UC Santa Barbara Previously Published Works

Title

What's Values Got to Do With It? Thriving Among Mexican/Mexican American College Students

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0zk34446>

Journal

Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 44(1)

ISSN

0883-8534

Authors

Consoli, Melissa L Morgan
Llamas, Jasmín
Consoli, Andrés J

Publication Date

2016

DOI

10.1002/jmcd.12036

Peer reviewed

What's Values Got to Do With It? Thriving Among Mexican/Mexican American College Students

Melissa L. Morgan Consoli, Jasmín Llamas, and Andrés J. Consoli

The authors examined traditional Mexican/Mexican American and perceived U.S. mainstream cultural values as predictors of thriving. One hundred twenty-four (37 men, 87 women) self-identified Mexican/Mexican American college students participated in the study. The traditional Mexican/Mexican American cultural values of family support and religion were significant positive predictors of thriving. In addition, the perceived U.S. mainstream cultural value of competition negatively predicted thriving, and the perceived U.S. mainstream cultural value of material success positively predicted thriving. Implications and limitations of the study are discussed.

Keywords: thriving, Mexican American, cultural values, mainstream values, college students

Los autores examinaron valores culturales tradicionales mexicano-americanos y percibidos como dominantes en los Estados Unidos como indicadores de prosperidad. Ciento veinticuatro (37 hombres y 87 mujeres) estudiantes universitarios que se identifican como mexicanos o mexicano-americanos participaron en el estudio. Los valores mexicano-americanos de apoyo familiar y religión fueron indicadores significativamente positivos de prosperidad. Además, el valor percibido como dominante en EE. UU. de competitividad fue indicador negativo de prosperidad, y el valor percibido como dominante en EE. UU. de éxito material fue indicador positivo de prosperidad. Se discuten las implicaciones y limitaciones del estudio.

Palabras clave: prosperidad, mexicano-americano, valores culturales, valores dominantes, estudiantes universitarios

College-age Latinas/os represent 17.0% of the U.S. population in that age bracket (U.S. Census Bureau, n.d.) and make up 8.9% of the graduating college population in the United States (Ugonwole, Drewery, & Rios-Vargas, 2012). In 2012, Latina/o undergraduates earned an average of 140,000 bachelor's degrees, whereas non-Hispanic White undergraduates earned 1.2 million bachelor's degrees (Snyder & Dillow, 2013). As of 2012, the high school dropout rate for Latinas/os was 15.0% (Lopez & Fry, 2013); 17.6% had earned bachelor's degrees, and 10.3% had earned graduate or professional degrees (Ugonwole et al., 2012). In studying disparities in educational attainment, researchers have documented that Latina/o students face many challenges, including increased levels of academic, financial, and

Melissa L. Morgan Consoli and Andrés J. Consoli, Department of Counseling, Clinical, and School Psychology, University of California, Santa Barbara; Jasmín Llamas, School of Education and Counseling Psychology, Santa Clara University. Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Melissa L. Morgan Consoli, Department of Counseling, Clinical, and School Psychology, Gevirtz Graduate School of Education, University of California, Santa Barbara, CA 93106 (e-mail: mmorgan@education.ucsb.edu).

© 2016 American Counseling Association. All rights reserved.

personal stress (Quintana, Vogel, & Ybarra, 1991); acculturative stress (Finch & Vega, 2003); discrimination (Finch, Hummer, Kolody, & Vega, 2001); and campus climate issues (Hurtado & Ponjuan, 2005). These factors can have a negative effect on academic performance, self-confidence, and college completion (Buriel, Perez, de Ment, Chavez, & Moran, 1998; Núñez, 2009; Rodriguez, Myers, Morris, & Cardoza, 2000).

Despite facing such adversities, many Latina/o college students thrive (Llamas & Morgan Consoli, 2012). Thriving is defined as an individual's ability to succeed after experiencing adversity and has been conceptualized as a process in which "the experience of adversity promotes the emergence of a quality that makes the person better off afterward than beforehand" (Carver, 1998, p. 247). Distinct from the process of resilience, which is continued normal development in the face of adversities (Rutter, 2012), this "better off" phenomenon actually encompasses gains by the individual following hardship. Whereas resilience has been related to college-going beliefs (Gonzalez, Stein, & Huq, 2013), traditional Latina/o values such as religion or spirituality (Farley, Galves, Dickinson, & de Jesus Diaz Perez, 2005; Llamas & Morgan Consoli, 2012; Morgan Consoli et al., 2011), and *familismo* (inclusive of family support; Zambrana, Scrimshaw, Collins, & Dunkel-Schetter, 1997), less research is available on Latina/o college students' ability to thrive (Carver, 1998; O'Leary & Ickovics, 1995).

Mexican American undergraduates are the largest group among Latina/o undergraduates in the United States. Because they often experience acculturation to the mainstream culture (Phinney & Flores, 2002), it could be expected that they would display mainstream values along with more traditional cultural values. Bicultural acculturation has sometimes been linked to better physical and mental health (Berry, 2005; Sarason & Sarason, 2009), but other findings on bicultural acculturation have been contradictory (Rogler, Cortes, & Malgady, 1991) and therefore raise questions (Padilla & Perez, 2003; Rudmin, 2003). The endorsement among Mexican/Mexican American college students of specific, perceived, U.S. mainstream cultural values (e.g., material success, independence, competition), as well as traditional Mexican/Mexican American cultural values, has not been studied extensively.

latina/o thriving and cultural values

There has been limited research examining thriving among Latinas/os, and even less with Mexicans/Mexican Americans or Mexican/Mexican American college students. However, it is known that despite facing many adversities, Latinas/os report high levels of perceived life satisfaction (Parra-Cardona, Bullock, Imig, Villarruel, & Gold, 2006). Cultural values have generally been posited as possible protective factors for individuals facing adversities (Kasser, 2011). Latina/o cultural values and the extent to which they have been researched in their relationship with resilience and thriving among Latinas/os are reviewed next.

Familismo, or the attitudes, beliefs, behaviors, and relational structures occurring within families (Coohey, 2001), has generally been linked to resilience in Latinas/os (Llamas & Morgan Consoli, 2012). Familismo has also been found to be a source of support and guidance in difficult times (Germán, Gonzalez, & Dumka, 2009). Research has shown that Latinas/os use religious beliefs as a method for coping with adversities more often than do non-Latina/o Whites (Abraído-Lanza, Vásquez, & Echeverría, 2004; Valle, 1994) and that religion is a source of hope and resilience among Mexican immigrants (Morgan Consoli et al., 2011). Specifically, Catholicism among Latinas/os has been identified as an important factor in overcoming difficulties (Kane, 2010). *Respeto*, which includes being respectful to elders and to those with whom one is in intimate relationships (Welland & Ribner, 2008), has not been specifically researched with regard to resilience or thriving. Similarly, traditional gender roles such as *machismo*, or men's feelings of responsibility toward family, and *marianismo*, or women's humility, spiritual superiority, and loyalty toward family (Kulis, Marsiglia, & Hurdle, 2003), have not been directly linked to resilience or thriving and deserve further study.

Some of the factors contributing to resilience in Latinas/os have also been found to contribute to thriving (e.g., family support, social support; Zambrana et al., 1997). Nevertheless, thriving seems to be a unique construct above and beyond resilience that is based on differential predictors, such as spirituality (Llamas & Morgan Consoli, 2012). Understanding such cultural values as factors that may help individuals to not only overcome but also excel in the face of adversity could provide guidance to better understand how to assist Mexican/Mexican American college students experiencing the hardships associated with a higher education and to do so through culturally relevant interventions specific to this population.

mainstream values

Perceptions of what might be construed as U.S. mainstream cultural values by ethnic minorities, particularly Mexicans/Mexican Americans, have recently been investigated (Knight et al., 2010). Mexican/Mexican American participants in focus groups ascribed three cultural values to the U.S. mainstream population: (a) the importance of achieving material success (i.e., the prioritization of the earning of money), (b) the importance of gaining independence and self-reliance (i.e., self-sufficiency), and (c) the importance of seeking to separate oneself from others through competition and personal achievement. These perceived U.S. mainstream cultural values dovetail, to some extent, with previous findings on U.S. values (Doran & Littrell, 2013; Spindler & Spindler, 1990). Specifically, self-direction has been endorsed by representative samples of the U.S. mainstream population and is akin to the values of independence, self-reliance, and self-sufficiency. Although achievement, particularly material success, figured prominently among Mexican/Mexican American perceived values characterizing U.S. mainstream culture and has

been hypothesized to be highly endorsed by members of the U.S. mainstream population, results have provided mixed support for this perception. On the one hand, achievement was not endorsed as highly as self-direction (or universalism and benevolence). On the other hand, achievement was found to be one of the two core values (the other being security) endorsed by a U.S. mainstream sample (Doran & Littrell, 2013).

Overall, material success, independence, and competition have been researched very little, particularly in regard to resilience and the Mexican/Mexican American population. In general, competition and the motivation for success have been linked with a lack of propensity for suicide in male adolescents and emerging adult men (Galligan, Barnett, Brennan, & Israel, 2010). Materialism has been linked to more negative outcomes, such as neuroticism (Mick, 1996), low self-esteem (Richins & Dawson, 1992), and dissatisfaction with life (Burroughs & Rindfleisch, 2002). These values, or the lack thereof, may contribute to positive outcomes—and possibly well-being in some way—but this has yet to be explored.

In the current study, we examined traditional Mexican/Mexican American and perceived U.S. mainstream cultural values as unique predictors of thriving. Previous studies have demonstrated that thriving and resilience are closely related (Morgan Consoli & Llamas, 2013; Morgan Consoli et al., 2011). However, ongoing research suggests that there may be unique predictors differentiating thriving and resilience, such as spirituality (Morgan Consoli, Llamas, Cabrera, Noriega, & Gonzalez, 2014). We sought to identify which cultural values serve as unique predictors of thriving when accounting for resilience. Specifically, we examined the traditional Mexican/Mexican American cultural values of family support, respect, religion, and traditional gender roles as well as the perceived U.S. mainstream cultural values of independence, competition, and material success. The following two research questions guided the study: (a) Which traditional Mexicans/Mexican American cultural values are the most significant predictors of thriving? and (b) Are perceived U.S. mainstream cultural values significant predictors of thriving for Mexicans/Mexican Americans? We hypothesized that both traditional Mexican/Mexican American and perceived U.S. mainstream cultural values would be significant predictors of thriving after controlling for resilience.

method

PARTICIPANTS

Participants were 124 (37 men, 87 women) self-identified Mexican/Mexican American college students attending a public university on the West Coast. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 47 years ($M = 21.02$, $SD = 3.89$). Of the participants, 12% were first generation (participants were born outside of the United States), 73% were second generation (participants' parents were born outside of the United States), 11% were third generation (participants' grandparents were born outside of the United States), 3% were fourth gen-

eration (participants' great-grandparents were born outside of the United States), and 1% were fifth generation (participants' great-great-grandparents were born outside of the United States). With regard to class standing, 21% were freshmen, 19% were sophomores, 24% were juniors, 25% were seniors, and 11% were graduate students.

PROCEDURE

We recruited participants using the university's campus-wide e-mail system. Recruitment e-mails described the research study and participants' rights and requested voluntary participation. Criteria for participation were as follows: (a) self-identifying as Mexican/Mexican American, (b) being 18 years or older, and (c) speaking English. Students indicated their consent to participate by following a link to access a secure website and begin the survey. The use of online data collection was selected to reach a large number of students using a medium that was familiar to them. All participants who completed the entire survey were entered into a raffle to win one of two \$50 gift cards. We obtained approval to conduct the study from the university's institutional review board.

INSTRUMENTS

Demographic questionnaire. We created a self-report questionnaire for the purposes of this study, which was used to obtain background information from the participants. Questions concerned personal characteristics of the participants, including age, gender, generation status, and class standing.

Resilience Scale. The Resilience Scale (RS; Wagnild & Young, 1993) is a 25-item measure designed to assess individuals' resilience as defined by positive personality characteristics that enhance individuals' adaptation and are shown to predict quality of life satisfaction. RS items are positively worded, and items are scored on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*agree*) to 7 (*disagree*). A sample item is "I can usually find something to laugh about." Scores range from 25 to 175. Scores greater than 145 indicate moderately high to high resilience, scores between 125 and 145 indicate moderately low to moderate levels of resilience, and scores less than 125 indicate low resilience. The RS has successfully been used with adolescent and young adult Mexican American women (Lindenberg et al., 2002), Latina/o college students (Llamas & Morgan Consoli, 2012), and Latina/o adolescents (Hunter & Chandler, 1999; Rew, Taylor-Seehafer, Thomas, & Yockey, 2001). Concurrent validity has been supported by significant correlations between RS scores and measures of morale, life satisfaction, and depression (Wagnild & Young, 1993). Test-retest correlations ranged from .67 to .84 ($p < .01$). Internal reliability estimates for the RS ranged from .73 to .91 (Wagnild & Young, 1993). In this study, the Cronbach's alpha for the RS was estimated to be .87.

Mexican American Cultural Values Scale. The Mexican American Cultural Values Scale (MACVS; Knight et al., 2010) is a 50-item measure that assesses nine themes. Six of these themes (i.e., familism support, familism

obligations, familism referents, respect, religion, and traditional gender roles) reflect values associated with Mexican/Mexican American beliefs, behaviors, and traditions, whereas the remaining three themes (i.e., material success, independence and self-reliance, and competition and personal achievement) reflect contemporary, U.S. mainstream cultural values as perceived by Mexicans/Mexican Americans. In line with our study's focus and hypotheses and to minimize possible participant attrition because of the length of involvement, we used an abbreviated version of the MACVS. Specifically, we included only the Familism Support, Respect, Religion, Traditional Gender Roles, and the U.S. mainstream cultural values subscales (i.e., Material Success, Independence and Self-Reliance, and Competition and Personal Achievement). With regard to the Mexican American cultural values subscales, the Familism Support subscale examines individuals' desire to maintain close relationships and has an internal reliability of .67 (Knight et al., 2010). The Respect subscale focuses on intergenerational behaviors and the importance of children's deference to parents both in demeanor and when making decisions; the subscale has an internal reliability ranging from .68 to .75 (Knight et al., 2010). The Religion subscale assesses individuals' spirituality and faith in a higher power and has an internal reliability ranging from .78 to .84 (Knight et al., 2010). Finally, the Traditional Gender Roles subscale focuses on differential expectations for men and women and has an internal reliability ranging from .78 to .84 (Knight et al., 2010). With regard to the U.S. mainstream cultural values subscales, the Material Success subscale focuses on the importance of achieving material success (i.e., the prioritization of earning money), the Independence and Self-Reliance subscale assesses the importance of gaining independence and self-reliance (i.e., self-sufficiency), and the Competition and Personal Achievement subscale examines the importance of seeking to separate oneself from others by competition and personal achievement. The internal reliability coefficients for these three subscales were .77, .53, and .59, respectively (Knight et al., 2010). See Table 1 for the Cronbach's alphas of the MACVS subscales used in this study.

Thriving Scale. The Thriving Scale (TS; Abraído-Lanza, Guier, & Colón, 1998) is a 20-item self-report measure that was originally developed to assess thriving among Latinas with chronic illnesses, but the instrument has been used to measure thriving in general. Because no other thriving assessments have been developed, we slightly modified the directions for the TS to allow participants to think of their own adversity when answering the questions. Each item (e.g., "I learned to look at things in a more positive way") is rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 0 (*not at all*) to 4 (*a great deal*). Scores on the total scale have a potential range of 0 to 80, with higher scores indicating greater levels of growth. Abraído-Lanza et al. (1998) reported an internal reliability coefficient of .92 for the TS. In this study, the Cronbach's alpha for the TS was estimated to be .91.

TABLE 1
Means, Standard Deviations, Reliabilities, and Intercorrelations
of the Study Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Age	—	-.06	-.18*	-.16	.02	-.03	.04	.16	-.03	-.06	-.08
2. Gen		—	.03	-.07	-.15	.00	-.05	.03	.06	-.09	-.05
3. Thriving ^a			—	.44**	.42**	.22*	.40**	.12	.01	-.13	.07
4. Resil ^b				—	.21*	.25**	.04	-.01	.18	.11	-.02
5. FS ^c					—	.60**	.48**	.20*	-.04	.10	.04
6. Respect ^d						—	.42**	.33**	.13	.28**	.16
7. Religion ^e							—	.46**	-.09	.00	.04
8. TGR ^f								—	-.03	.27**	.45**
9. Ind ^g									—	.34**	.16
10. Comp ^h										—	.43**
11. MS ⁱ											—
<i>M</i>	21.02	2.07	60.88	144.47	23.65	27.91	19.34	8.77	18.50	12.78	8.56
<i>SD</i>	3.89	0.65	13.47	15.30	4.32	5.86	9.57	3.85	3.52	3.51	3.73
Reliability (α)			.91	.87	.82	.86	.97	.77	.71	.75	.83

Note. *N* = 124. Gen = generation status; resil = resilience; FS = family support; TGR = traditional gender roles; ind = independence; comp = competition; MS = material success.

^aAs measured by the Thriving Scale. ^bAs measured by the Resilience Scale. ^cAs measured by the Mexican American Cultural Values Scale (MACVS) Familism Support subscale. ^dAs measured by the MACVS Respect subscale. ^eAs measured by the MACVS Religion subscale. ^fAs measured by the MACVS Traditional Gender Roles subscale. ^gAs measured by the MACVS Independence and Self-Reliance subscale. ^hAs measured by the MACVS Competition and Personal Achievement subscale. ⁱAs measured by the MACVS Material Success subscale.

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

results

Preliminary analyses found no violations of the assumptions (i.e., normality, linearity, and homoscedasticity) or outliers. We calculated the means, standard deviations, reliabilities, and intercorrelations for all of the study variables (see Table 1). Thriving was positively correlated with resilience, family support, respect, and religion, with greater levels of thriving being associated with greater reports of resilience, family support, and religion. Thriving was negatively correlated with age, with higher levels of thriving being associated with younger age. Thriving was not significantly related to traditional gender roles.

We used two simultaneous multiple regression analyses to determine the relative effect of traditional Mexican/Mexican American and perceived U.S. mainstream cultural values on thriving. Age was significantly related to thriving and was therefore included in the regression analyses.

The first regression analysis included age, resilience, and the following traditional Mexican/Mexican American cultural values: family support, respect, religion, and traditional gender roles. These predictor variables accounted for 41% of the total variance in thriving, $F(6, 117) = 13.68, p < .0001$. All of the variables except for traditional gender roles significantly predicted thriving

(see Table 2). We examined collinearity statistics and found that tolerance and variance inflation factor (VIF) values were in the acceptable range.

The second regression analysis included age, resilience, and the following perceived U.S. mainstream cultural values: independence, competition, and material success. These predictor variables accounted for 27% of the total variance in thriving, $F(5, 118) = 8.51, p < .0001$. Resilience, competition, and material success were significant predictors of thriving (see Table 3). We examined collinearity statistics and found that tolerance and VIF values were in the acceptable range.

discussion

The current study highlights Latina/o cultural values and perceived U.S. mainstream cultural values that predict thriving. Many findings from our study parallel those reported in previous research. As hypothesized, resilience significantly predicted thriving. Previous studies have suggested that they are related constructs (Morgan Consoli & Llamas, 2013; Morgan Consoli et al., 2011) but with some unique predictors differentiating them, such as spirituality (Morgan Consoli et al., 2014). This study contributes to the differentiation between resilience and thriving, a previously unexplored area in the scientific literature.

As hypothesized, traditional Mexican/Mexican American cultural values predicted thriving. Family support was a significant predictor of thriving. Family support and familismo have also been related to positive outcomes in studies with Latina/o youth (Carranza, 2007; Clauss-Ehlers & Wibrowski, 2007; Ong, Phinney, & Dennis, 2006; Parra-Cardona et al., 2006). Our finding is consistent with previous research that has linked family support and thriving (Llamas & Morgan Consoli, 2012; Morgan Consoli et al., 2011).

Religion significantly predicted thriving. For individuals to actually be better off after experiencing adversity, rather than simply continuing normal development, it suggests that additional belief systems or expectations may need to be in place beyond social and family support. Our finding is consistent

TABLE 2

Regression Analysis Summary for Age, Resilience, and Traditional Mexican/Mexican American Cultural Values Predicting Thriving

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>t</i>
Age	-.51	.25	-.15*	-0.14
Resilience	.34	.07	.39**	5.23
Family support	.94	.29	.30**	3.17
Respect	-.46	.21	-.20*	-2.13
Religion	.47	.12	.33**	3.71
Traditional gender roles	.00	.29	.00	0.02

Note. $N = 124$.

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

TABLE 3

Regression Analysis Summary for Age, Resilience, and Perceived U.S. Mainstream Cultural Values Predicting Thriving

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>t</i>
Age	-.40	.28	-.11	-1.43
Resilience	.40	.07	.46**	5.59
Independence	-.08	.33	.02	0.82
Competition	-.97	.35	-.25*	-2.76
Material success	.65	.32	.18*	2.04

Note. *N* = 124.

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

with literature suggesting that people who belong to religious groups, such as Latina/o Catholics, see their beliefs as an inspiration that helps them to successfully overcome adversities (Kane, 2010). Although Catholicism was not specifically queried in this study, in general, religion has been found to positively correlate with good mental health (Pargament, Smith, Koenig, & Perez, 1998). The term *positive religious coping* refers to the use of religion by individuals to help them deal with a loss of control, view difficult experiences from a growth point of view, and find solace in a higher power or life plan (Pargament et al., 1998).

Respect was found to be a significant negative predictor of thriving. Some research has suggested that respect among Mexicans/Mexican Americans can be equated with obedience (Arcia & Johnson, 1998). Attending college and moving away from home may be contrary to family or parent wishes and may even be viewed as being disobedient, thus possibly explaining why respect was a negative predictor of thriving among our participants. It is notable that in the correlation matrix, respect was found to positively associate with thriving, which suggests a more nuanced relationship between respect and thriving when one accounts for the additional traditional values.

Traditional gender roles did not predict thriving. Although past research has suggested that adherence to traditional gender roles serves as a source of resilience among Mexicans/Mexican Americans, specifically for women (Kulis et al., 2003), more recent research with Mexican/Mexican American college students has demonstrated contrary findings (Morgan Consoli et al., 2014). Past research has found that women who are more likely to adhere to traditional gender roles are also less likely to attend college (Cardoza, 1991). It has been suggested that, specifically for women, the act of attending college may demonstrate a behavior inconsistent with traditional gender role expectations (Morgan Consoli et al., 2014; Phinney & Flores, 2002).

In line with one of our hypotheses, perceived U.S. mainstream cultural values predicted thriving. Competition was a significant negative predictor of thriving. In their study of Mexican American children, Kagan and Romero (1977) found that less competitive Mexican American children are not at

a disadvantage with regard to academic achievement. Additional research examining developmental differences in play patterns found that Mexican American children tend to make more prosocial choices compared with Anglo American children, who often become increasingly competitive with age (de Guzman & Carlo, 2004; Singh, 1988). It has been suggested that the cultural emphasis on family (i.e., familismo) is a socialization process that allows Mexican/Mexican American youth to develop skills and tendencies that facilitate prosocial behaviors toward the family (e.g., helping family members), which, in turn, can be generalized toward others (Knight & Carlo, 2012). Independence, however, was not predictive of thriving, perhaps indicating that Mexican/Mexican American individuals do not experience self-reliance as directly or personally necessary. This finding is consistent with the values of collectivistic cultures such as the Latina/o culture, whose members tend to rely on family and others in times of need (Rinderle & Montoya, 2008).

It is interesting that material success, which has more frequently been connected to negative outcomes in the extant literature (Galligan et al., 2010), was a predictor of thriving in this study. Perhaps material success in this context could be connected to family values, such as wanting to do well financially to provide for one's family. Valuing economic achievement is likely reflective of the benefits it can bring, which may also be reflective of traditional cultural values. Future qualitative research could perhaps parse out the motivations behind the desire for material success.

Our results are in line with the literature contradicting findings indicating that bicultural acculturation is associated with the most positive psychological outcomes (Padilla & Perez, 2003; Rogler et al., 1991; Rudmin, 2003). This lack of association has been found among Latina/o immigrants; specifically, researchers have found more positive mental health outcomes among Latina/o immigrants than among later generation Latinas/os (Berkel et al., 2009; Coatsworth et al., 2002; Esparza & Sánchez, 2008; Knight et al., 2010; Romero & Ruiz, 2007; Taningco, 2007). This lack of association has been further demonstrated among Mexican immigrants, who were found to have a lower lifetime risk for developing psychiatric disorders compared with U.S.-born Mexican Americans (Alegria, Canino, Stinson, & Grant, 2006). These findings are related to the paradox in which Latina/o immigrants to the United States fare better in the first and second generations than they do subsequently, possibly because of the proximity to the protective factor of these individuals' home country's cultural values (Escobar & Vega, 2000). Thus, our findings seem to corroborate the idea that perceived U.S. mainstream cultural values are not as helpful as traditional Mexican/Mexican American cultural values to the psychological well-being of Mexicans/Mexican Americans and their overall positive mental health outcomes.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Although our study contributes uniquely to the literature, it is not without limitations. First, our sample was predominantly composed of second-generation Mexican/Mexican American women who were English speakers. A more

equal gender ratio and a greater diversity of generation statuses, including a larger number of first-generation participants, would have been desirable. To achieve the latter, future researchers could make recruitment materials available in Spanish, together with a Spanish version of the research protocol, to accommodate first-generation participants whose preferred language may be Spanish rather than English. Second, the U.S. mainstream cultural values in the MACVS are actually perceived values, given that they were derived from the perceptions of Mexican/Mexican American participants and what values they believed are held by the U.S. mainstream culture (Knight et al., 2010). Nonetheless, these perceived values do overlap to some extent with those values found in representative U.S. mainstream samples from other research (Doran & Littrell, 2013; Spindler & Spindler, 1990). Third, acculturation was not directly measured in this study, but it likely had an impact on how much adherence there was to each of the values. Knowing participants' levels of acculturation might help to assess the balance of traditional and mainstream values more fully. Fourth, it could be instructive to study religion as a variable more closely by asking participants about the types of religious beliefs that helped them with coping with adversity. Finally, although our study indicated which values predicted thriving, it did not address why these values were predictive. A future qualitative or mixed-methods study exploring this question would be a valuable, prospective direction.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

The findings of this study may have several implications for mental health clinicians, student service personnel, and educators who are working with Mexican/Mexican American college students. Our study provides empirical data that suggest that it is important not to assume strict adherence to either traditional Mexican/Mexican American or perceived U.S. mainstream cultural values. These students likely have a mix of values that are informed by one another (as in the case of material success for the family). Among those values that were significant, family support stood out as important. This finding suggests that working with Mexican/Mexican American college students may involve their families—or at least consideration of family—in a way that may not be the case for other students. It is not unusual for Mexican/Mexican American college students to consider the needs of their families highly, sometimes even above their own needs (Morgan Consoli & Llamas, 2013; Ojeda, Navarro, & Morales, 2011). Rather than encouraging the more autonomous, individualistic view of uninterrupted, highly prioritized education at all costs, perhaps administrators could demonstrate flexibility by taking into account cultural priorities. For example, perhaps there are times when a more holistic view of education could be taken, in that a pause in course work because of a significant life event is not viewed as detrimental. Religious or spiritual beliefs also emerged as something that should be explored as potential supports for Mexican/Mexican American college students.

Our findings also highlight that it is important to consider the possible impact of perceived U.S. mainstream cultural values (particularly material

success) on Mexican/Mexican American college students' lives. Given the fact that these students are attending college, it is likely that acculturation to the mainstream culture has occurred to at least some degree (Phinney & Flores, 2002). It is also possible that their very reasons for pursuing a university degree have to do with these values.

Finally, the existence of two levels of well-being, namely, resilience and thriving, is interesting information for those who seek to understand and support the achievement of Mexican/Mexican American college students. Knowing that there is the possibility of being better off after adversity and that some values and practices may lend themselves to this outcome is important, relevant information. Service providers who work with Mexican/Mexican American college students may choose to highlight these areas in their interventions. In summary, it is recommended that these findings be used as guidelines, which may be considered during the careful assessment of all students' cultural values and how these values affect students' abilities to overcome adversities and profit from their educational opportunities.

references

- Abraído-Lanza, A. F., Guier, C., & Colón, R. M. (1998). Psychological thriving among Latinas with chronic illness. *Journal of Social Issues, 54*, 405–424. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4560.1998.tb01227.x
- Abraído-Lanza, A. F., Vásquez, E., & Echeverría, S. E. (2004). En las manos de Dios [In God's hands]: Religious and other forms of coping among Latinos with arthritis. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 72*, 91–102. doi:10.1037/0022-006X.72.1.91
- Alegria, M., Canino, G., Stinson, F. S., & Grant, B. F. (2006). Nativity and DSM-IV psychiatric disorders among Puerto Ricans, Cuban Americans, and non-Latino Whites in the United States: Results from the National Epidemiologic Survey on Alcohol and Related Conditions. *Journal of Clinical Psychiatry, 67*, 56–65. doi:10.4088/JCP.v67n0109
- Arcia, E., & Johnson, A. (1998). When respect means to obey: Immigrant Mexican mothers' values for their children. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 7*, 79–95. doi:10.1023/A:1022964114251
- Berkel, C., Murry, V. M., Hurt, T. R., Chen, Y., Brody, G. H., Simons, R. L., . . . Gibbons, F. X. (2009). It takes a village: Protecting rural African American youth in the context of racism. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 38*, 175–188. doi:10.1007/s10964-008-9346-z
- Berry, J. W. (2005). Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 29*, 697–712. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2005.07.013
- Buriel, R., Perez, W., de Ment, T. L., Chavez, D. V., & Moran, V. R. (1998). The relationship of language brokering to academic performance, biculturalism, and self-efficacy among Latino adolescents. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 20*, 283–297. doi:10.1177/07399863980203001
- Burroughs, J. E., & Rindfleisch, A. (2002). Materialism and well-being: A conflicting values perspective. *Journal of Consumer Research, 29*, 348–370. doi:10.1086/344429
- Cardoza, D. (1991). College attendance and persistence among Hispanic women: An examination of some contributing factors. *Sex Roles, 24*, 133–147. doi:10.1007/BF00288887

- Carranza, M. E. (2007). Building resilience and resistance against racism and discrimination among Salvadorian female youth in Canada. *Child & Family Social Work, 12*, 390–398. doi:10.1111/j.1365-2206.2007.00492.x
- Carver, C. S. (1998). Resilience and thriving: Issues, models, and linkages. *Journal of Social Issues, 54*, 245–266. doi:10.1111/0022-4537.641998064
- Clauss-Ehlers, C. S., & Wibrowski, C. R. (2007). Building educational resilience and social support: The effects of the Educational Opportunity Fund program among first- and second-generation college students. *Journal of College Student Development, 48*, 574–584. doi:10.1353/csd.2007.0051
- Coatsworth, J. D., Pantin, H., McBride, C., Briones, E., Kurtines, W., & Szapocznik, J. (2002). Ecodevelopmental correlates of behavior problems in young Hispanic females. *Applied Developmental Science, 6*, 126–143. doi:10.1207/S1532480XADS0603_3
- Coohey, C. (2001). The relationship between familism and child maltreatment in Latino and Anglo families. *Child Maltreatment, 6*, 130–142. doi:10.1177/1077559501006002005
- de Guzman, M. R. T., & Carlo, G. (2004). Family, peer, and acculturative correlates of prosocial development among Latinos. *Great Plains Research, 14*, 185–202. Retrieved from <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/greatplainsresearch/718/>
- Doran, C. J., & Littrell, R. F. (2013). Measuring mainstream US cultural values. *Journal of Business Ethics, 117*, 261–280. doi:10.1007/s10551-012-1515-z
- Escobar, J. I., & Vega, W. A. (2000). Mental health and immigration's AAAs: Where are we and where do we go from here? *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 188*, 736–740.
- Esparza, P., & Sánchez, B. (2008). The role of attitudinal familism in academic outcomes: A study of urban, Latino high school seniors. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 14*, 193–200. doi:10.1037/1099-9809.14.3.193
- Farley, T., Galves, A., Dickinson, L. M., & de Jesus Diaz Perez, M. (2005). Stress, coping, and health: A comparison of Mexican immigrants, Mexican-Americans, and non-Hispanic Whites. *Journal of Immigrant Health, 7*, 213–220. doi:10.1007/s10903-005-3678-5
- Finch, B. K., Hummer, R. A., Kolody, B., & Vega, W. A. (2001). The role of discrimination and acculturative stress in the physical health of Mexican-origin adults. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 23*, 399–429. doi:10.1177/0739986301234004
- Finch, B. K., & Vega, W. A. (2003). Acculturation stress, social support, and self-rated health among Latinos in California. *Journal of Immigrant Health, 5*, 109–117. doi:10.1023/A:1023987717921
- Galligan, S. B., Barnett, R. V., Brennan, M. A., & Israel, G. D. (2010). Understanding the link between gender role conflict, resilience, and propensity for suicide in adolescent and emerging adult males. *International Journal of Men's Health, 9*, 201–210. doi:10.3149/jmh.0903.201
- Germán, M., Gonzalez, N. A., & Dumka, L. (2009). Familism values as a protective factor for Mexican-origin adolescents exposed to deviant peers. *The Journal of Early Adolescence, 29*, 16–42. doi:10.1177/0272431608324475
- Gonzalez, L. M., Stein, G. L., & Huq, N. (2013). The influence of cultural identity and perceived barriers on college-going beliefs and aspirations of Latino youth in emerging immigrant communities. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 35*, 103–120. doi:10.1177/0739986312463002

- Hunter, A. J., & Chandler, G. E. (1999). Adolescent resilience. *IMAGE: The Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, 31, 243–247. doi:10.1111/j.1547-5069.1999.tb00488.x
- Hurtado, S., & Ponjuan, L. (2005). Latino educational outcomes and the campus climate. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, 4, 235–251. doi:10.1177/1538192705276548
- Kagan, S., & Romero, C. (1977). Non-adaptive assertiveness of Anglo American and Mexican American children of two ages. *Revista Interamericana de Psicología*, 11, 27–32.
- Kane, M. N. (2010). Empowerment in the religious stories and art of the Virgin Mary. *Social Work & Christianity*, 37, 45–64.
- Kasser, T. (2011). Cultural values and the well-being of future generations: A cross-national study. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 42, 206–215. doi:10.1177/0022022110396865
- Knight, G. P., & Carlo, G. (2012). Prosocial development among Mexican American youth. *Child Development Perspectives*, 6, 258–263. doi:10.1111/j.1750-8606.2012.00233.x
- Knight, G. P., Gonzalez, N. A., Saenz, D. S., Bonds, D. D., Germán, M., Deardorff, J., . . . Updegraff, K. A. (2010). The Mexican American Cultural Values Scale for adolescents and adults. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, 30, 444–481. doi:10.1177/0272431609338178
- Kulis, S., Marsiglia, F. F., & Hurdle, D. (2003). Gender identity, ethnicity, acculturation, and drug use: Exploring differences among adolescents in the Southwest. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 31, 167–188. doi:10.1002/jcop.10041
- Lindenberg, C. S., Solorzano, R. M., Bear, C. S., Strickland, O., Galvis, C., & Pittman, K. (2002). Reducing substance use and risky sexual behavior among young, low-income, Mexican-American women: Comparison of two interventions. *Applied Nursing Research*, 15, 137–148. doi:10.1053/apnr.2002.34141
- Llamas, J. D., & Morgan Consoli, M. (2012). The importance of familia for Latina/o college students: Examining the role of familial support in intragroup marginalization. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 18, 395–403. doi:10.1037/a0029756
- Lopez, M. H., & Fry, R. (2013). *Among recent high school grads, Hispanic college enrollment surpasses that of Whites*. Retrieved from <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/09/04/hispanic-college-enrollment-rate-surpasses-whites-for-the-first-time/>
- Mick, D. G. (1996). Are studies of dark side variables confounded by socially desirable responding? The case of materialism. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 23, 106–119. doi:10.1086/209470
- Morgan Consoli, M. L., & Llamas, J. D. (2013). The relationship between Mexican American cultural values and resilience among Mexican American college students: A mixed methods study. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 60, 617–624. doi:10.1037/a0033998
- Morgan Consoli, M. L., Llamas, J. D., Cabrera, A. P., Noriega, E., & Gonzalez, N. (2014). An exploratory study of thriving in Latina/o undergraduate students in the U.S. *Revista Interamericana de Psicología*, 48, 106–118. Retrieved from <http://journals.fcla.edu/ijp/article/view/82244>
- Morgan Consoli, M. L., López, S. A., Gonzales, N., Cabrera, A. P., Llamas, J., & Ortega, S. (2011). Resilience and thriving in the Latino/a population: Intersections and discrepancies. *Revista Interamericana de Psicología*, 45, 351–362. Retrieved from <http://journals.fcla.edu/ijp/article/view/76396>
- Núñez, A.-M. (2009). Modeling the effects of diversity experiences and multiple capitals on Latina/o students' academic self-confidence. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, 8, 179–196. doi:10.1177/1538192708326391

- Ojeda, L., Navarro, R. L., & Morales, A. (2011). The role of *la familia* on Mexican American men's college persistence intentions. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 12*, 216–229. doi:10.1037/a0020091
- O'Leary, V. E., & Ickovics, J. R. (1995). Resilience and thriving in response to challenge: An opportunity for a paradigm shift in women's health. *Women's Health, 1*, 121–142.
- Ong, A. D., Phinney, J. S., & Dennis, J. (2006). Competence under challenge: Exploring the protective influence of parental support and ethnic identity in Latino college students. *Journal of Adolescence, 29*, 961–979. doi:10.1016/j.adolescence.2006.04.010
- Padilla, A. M., & Perez, W. (2003). Acculturation, social identity, and social cognition: A new perspective. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 25*, 35–55. doi:10.1177/0739986303251694
- Pargament, K. I., Smith, B. W., Koenig, H. G., & Perez, L. (1998). Patterns of positive and negative religious coping with major life stressors. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 37*, 710–724. doi:10.2307/1388152
- Parra-Cardona, J. R., Bullock, L. A., Imig, D. R., Villarruel, F. A., & Gold, S. J. (2006). “Trabajando duro todos los días”: Learning from the life experiences of Mexican-origin migrant families. *Family Relations, 55*, 361–375. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3729.2006.00409.x
- Phinney, J. S., & Flores, J. (2002). “Unpackaging” acculturation: Aspects of acculturation as predictors of traditional sex role attitudes. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 33*, 320–331. doi:10.1177/0022022102033003007
- Quintana, S. M., Vogel, M. C., & Ybarra, V. C. (1991). Meta-analysis of Latino students' adjustment in higher education. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 13*, 155–168. doi:10.1177/07399863910132003
- Rew, L., Taylor-Seehafer, M., Thomas, N. Y., & Yockey, R. D. (2001). Correlates of resilience in homeless adolescents. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship, 33*, 33–40. doi:10.1111/j.1547-5069.2001.00033.x
- Richins, M. L., & Dawson, S. (1992). A consumer values orientation for materialism and its measurement: Scale development and validation. *Journal of Consumer Research, 19*, 303–316. doi:10.1086/209304
- Rinderle, S., & Montoya, D. (2008). Hispanic/Latino identity labels: An examination of cultural values and personal experiences. *Howard Journal of Communications, 19*, 144–164. doi:10.1080/10646170801990953
- Rodriguez, N., Myers, H. F., Morris, J. K., & Cardoza, D. (2000). Latino college student adjustment: Does an increased presence offset minority-status and acculturative stresses? *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 30*, 1523–1550. doi:10.1111/j.1559-1816.2000.tb02534.x
- Rogler, L. H., Cortes, D. E., & Malgady, R. G. (1991). Acculturation and mental health status among Hispanics: Convergence and new directions for research. *American Psychologist, 46*, 585–597. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.46.6.585
- Romero, A. J., & Ruiz, M. (2007). Does familism lead to increased parental monitoring? Protective factors for coping with risky behaviors. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 16*, 143–154. doi:10.1007/s10826-006-9074-5
- Rudmin, F. W. (2003). Critical history of the acculturation psychology of assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization. *Review of General Psychology, 7*, 3–37. doi:10.1037/1089-2680.7.1.3
- Rutter, M. (2012). Resilience as a dynamic concept. *Development and Psychopathology, 24*, 335–344. doi:10.1017/S0954579412000028

- Sarason, I. G., & Sarason, B. R. (2009). Social support: Mapping the construct. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, *26*, 113–120. doi:10.1177/0265407509105526
- Singh, B. R. (1988). Cognitive styles, cultural pluralism and effective teaching and learning. *International Review of Education*, *34*, 355–370. doi:10.1007/BF00598221
- Snyder, T. D., & Dillow, S. A. (2013). *Digest of education statistics 2012* (NCES Publication No. 2014-015). Retrieved from National Center for Education Statistics website: <http://nces.ed.gov/pubsw2014/2014015.pdf>
- Spindler, G., & Spindler, L. (with Trueba, H., & Williams, M. D.). (1990). *The American cultural dialogue and its transmission*. London, England: Routledge.
- Taningco, M. T. V. (2007). *Revisiting the Latino health paradox*. Retrieved from Tomás Rivera Policy Institute website: <http://trpi.org/wp-content/uploads/archives/Latino%20Paradox%20Aug%202007%20PDF.pdf>
- Ugonwole, S. U., Drewery, M. P., Jr., & Rios-Vargas, M. (2012). *The population with a bachelor's degree or higher by race and Hispanic origin: 2006–2010* (ACSBR/10-19). Retrieved from U.S. Census Bureau website: <https://www.census.gov/prod/2012pubs/acsbr10-19.pdf>
- U.S. Census Bureau. (n.d.). *The 18–23 year old population: Demographic trends*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Valle, R. (1994). Culture-fair behavioral symptom differential assessment and intervention in dementing illness. *Alzheimer Disease & Associated Disorders*, *8*(Suppl. 3), 21–45.
- Wagnild, G. M., & Young, H. M. (1993). Development and psychometric evaluation of the Resilience Scale. *Journal of Nursing Measurement*, *1*, 165–178.
- Welland, C., & Ribner, N. (2008). *Healing from violence: Latino men's journey to a new masculinity*. New York, NY: Springer.
- Zambrana, R. E., Scrimshaw, S. C., Collins, N., & Dunkel-Schetter, C. (1997). Prenatal health behaviors and psychosocial risk factors in pregnant women of Mexican origin: The role of acculturation. *American Journal of Public Health*, *87*, 1022–1026. doi:10.2105/AJPH.87.6.1022