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**The Role of Familism Pride in Maintaining Family Functioning  
for Latinx College Students**

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**Abstract**

Familism cultural values have been related to greater family cohesion and reduced conflict in Latinx adolescents and emerging adults. This study explores how emotional experiences related to familism may be associated with family functioning above and beyond familism values. We examined whether familism pride (i.e., the tendency to experience positive emotions when achieving on behalf of one's family) was related to family cohesion and parent-child conflict in a sample of 718 Latinx college students. Familism pride was related to higher student-reported family cohesion and less student-reported parent-child conflict when controlling for familism value endorsement. Moderation analyses suggested that familism values were associated with increased family cohesion only for those who endorsed familism pride at high levels and that the tendency to experience familism pride was particularly related to perceived family cohesion for Latinas.

*Keywords:* Familism values, familism pride, family cohesion, parent-child conflict, college students

**Abstracto**

Los valores culturales del familismo han sido relacionados con una mayor cohesión familiar y menor conflicto en adolescentes Latinxs y adultos jóvenes. Este estudio explora cómo las experiencias emocionales relacionadas con el familismo pueden estar asociadas con el funcionamiento familiar más allá de los valores del familismo. Examinamos si el orgullo basado en el familismo (es decir, la tendencia a experimentar emociones positivas cuando se cumple con obligaciones familiares y se logra el orgullo de la familia) estaba asociado con la cohesión familiar y el conflicto entre padres e hijos en una muestra de 718 estudiantes universitarios Latinxs. El orgullo basado en el familismo se relacionó con una mayor cohesión familiar y un

menor conflicto entre padres e hijxs mientras tomando en cuenta el valor del familismo. Los análisis de moderación sugirieron que los valores del familismo estaban asociados con una mayor cohesión familiar solo para aquellxs que tambien sientian el orgullo basado en familismo en niveles altos y que la tendencia a experimentar el orgullo basado en familismo estaba particularmente asociada con la cohesión familiar percibida para las latinas.

Public Significance Statement: Feeling pride when achieving on behalf of one's family is associated with higher family cohesion and less parent-child conflict in Latinx college students. Given this, providing opportunities for college students to celebrate their success with their families (e.g., through graduation ceremonies) may be particularly promotive of positive psychosocial outcomes for adolescents and emerging adults high in familism values.

## **The Role of Familism Pride in Maintaining Family Functioning for Latinx College Students**

For Latinxs in the United States, family represents a central and orienting pillar of daily life, and scholars have explored how these family-oriented values and behaviors relate to various psychosocial outcomes and positive developmental outcomes for youth, such as reduced internalizing symptoms (White & Roosa, 2012) and improved family functioning through higher family cohesion and less frequent conflict (Behnke et al., 2008). These benefits extend into emerging adulthood, with familism values intersecting with emotional and cultural processes to predict prosocial outcomes in college students (Davis et al., 2018; Stein et al., 2017). Despite the considerable depth and breadth of research on the topic, scholars have largely measured the construct of familism only through the endorsement of values and enactment of behaviors, and little is known about how the emotional and affective components of familism relate to family and psychological functioning. This lack of research is surprising given the expansive role of emotion in driving psychosocial outcomes, with emotions such as pride, shame, and joy having well-established links with outcomes from psychological functioning (Tugade et al., 2004) to physical health (Mack et al., 2015; Salovey et al., 2000). Given the importance of emotions in psychosocial functioning, it may be that the positive emotions that accompany high endorsement of familism values provide additional benefit beyond the values themselves. Indeed, a recent study found that familism pride uniquely predicted fewer depressive symptoms and more joy for Latinx college students when accounting for familism values (Stein et al., 2019). However, whether the positive benefits of familism pride extend to family functioning remains to be tested, despite work explicitly testing the role of familism values on family functioning (e.g., Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2012). This study extends our past work by examining whether familism pride is

uniquely associated with improved family functioning in a sample of Latinx college students.

### **The Role of Emotion in Familism**

The endorsement of familism values in Latinx families, such as supporting family, familial obligation, using family as a referent for decisions, and respect for elders (Knight et al., 2010) is associated with many beneficial associations, including positive family functioning across early childhood, adolescence (Stein et al., 2014), and emerging adulthood (Updegraff et al., 2018). Although studies focusing on mechanisms underpinning the positive associations of familism are sparse, Hernández and Bámaca-Colbert (2016) theorized the enactment of family-oriented behaviors (e.g., parental warmth and monitoring, youth prosocial behaviors) may partially explain relationships between familism values and positive psychosocial development. Also, functionalist and appraisal theories of emotions suggest that emotional maintenance and activation may help explain motivation towards family-oriented behaviors and the psychological outcomes of action (Nelissen et al., 2007). Despite this, the role of emotions as they relate to familism values has received little attention, particularly self-conscious emotions like pride.

Pride has been conceptualized as a pleasurable subjective emotion that serves important roles in both social and individual life, reinforcing prosocial behaviors and contributing to the development of self-esteem (Tracey & Robins, 2007). Although research has shown that culture moderates these socially bound emotions, the role of the positive self-conscious emotions have often been neglected in favor of negative emotions such as shame and guilt (e.g., Wong et al., 2014), leaving pride relatively understudied in the wider (Tracey & Robins, 2007) and cross-cultural emotion literature (Li & Fischer, 2007). Research designed to bridge these literatures has suggested the affective experiences of Latinx youth and families play a role in the antecedents and consequences of familism behaviors. For example, assisting family members was associated

with greater feelings of happiness and fulfillment in a daily diary study of adolescents from Latinx, Asian, and European backgrounds (Telzer & Fuligni, 2009). The emotional reward from family-oriented behaviors may be particularly salient for Latinx youth, with fMRI studies showing Latinx youth experienced more activation in the mesolimbic reward system compared to White youth when providing family assistance (Telzer et al., 2010). Prior work has also indicated emotions may partially explain the negative associations that sometimes accompany high levels of familism values. For example, research by Kuhlberg et al. (2010) suggested that failing to meet family expectations may be especially damaging for Latinas high in familism values due to experienced guilt, ultimately leading to increased depression and anxiety.

Our recent work articulated a new construct of “familism pride” (i.e., individuals experience positive emotions when they enact behaviors that align with their familism values; Stein et al., 2019). We found familism pride related to more joy and lower depression in Latinx emerging adults above and beyond the associations of familism value endorsement. Building on this work, this study tests whether familism pride is also associated with enhanced family functioning (i.e., higher family cohesion and less parent-child conflict) when controlling for familism value endorsement. Understanding the role of emotional activation is critical for understanding for whom, under what conditions, and to what extent familism values are associated with positive psychosocial development for Latinx youth and emerging adults. Familism pride could enhance family functioning as the experience of these positive emotions in the context of family may solidify bonds and decrease conflict. Additionally, the tendency to feel proud when enacting family-oriented behaviors likely serves to reinforce these prosocial actions that research suggests is promotive to family functioning. We propose that individuals who receive positive emotional rewards from “making their family proud” are more likely to be in

families with higher cohesion and less conflict, while those who similarly endorse filial obligations and values but fail to experience this emotional motivation and reward may not experience the same level of cohesion and may be at greater risk for conflict. In short, we hypothesize that familism values are most promotive when accompanied by positive emotions like familism pride, and that this pride provides unique benefits to family functioning.

### **Familism and Family Functioning**

Although past research has, at times, described family functioning as an indicator (rather than a correlate) of familism, other work has noted the important distinction between familism value endorsement and indicators of family functioning such as cohesion (Behnke et al., 2008; Hernández & Bámaca-Colbert, 2016). Based on modern conceptualizations and empirical literature, familism values and family functioning (e.g., cohesion, conflict) are indeed separate constructs (Marsiglia et al., 2009; Stein et al., 2014). Familism values are internalized beliefs and scripts about *how* family members should interact, including expectations around the provision of support and how members should behave towards their family, with family functioning conceptualized as the behaviors and family environment resulting from those beliefs and scripts.

Unsurprisingly, those who endorse these values typically behave accordingly by providing emotional support to family members, spending time with family, and choosing to live near their relatives (Calzada et al., 2010). These behaviors then translate to important aspects of family functioning, such as the emotional tenor of the relationship (Hernández & Bámaca-Colbert, 2016). For example, cross-sectional work has found associations between familism values and parental warmth in fathers (White & Roosa, 2012) and prosocial parenting practices in mothers (Calderón-Tena et al., 2011). Longitudinally, multiple studies show that parental familism values are related to improved family functioning over time, including greater parental

monitoring, more nurturing parenting practices, and reduced interparental conflict (Romero & Ruiz, 2007; Taylor et al., 2012). Family functioning was investigated in this study through self-reported family cohesion and parent-child conflict, which are negatively associated with each other (Juang & Alvarez, 2010) and have been used in prior work to characterize the family environment (Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2012; Peña et al., 2011).

### **Family Cohesion**

Youth in cohesive, connected families typically endorse greater familism values in late adolescence and emerging adulthood (Stein et al., 2014). As previously noted, family cohesion has sometimes been used as a proxy for familism values, leading to confusion in the literature (Hernández & Bámaca-Colbert, 2016). Yet, there is strong support that familism values and family cohesion are separate constructs that are associated with one another (Marsiglia et al., 2009; Stein et al., 2014). In a diverse sample of high school students, youth with greater familism values reported more closeness with parents and siblings, as well as enhanced parent-adolescent communication (Fuligni et al., 1999). Also, increased youth familism is associated with greater levels of sibling intimacy in middle and high school students from Mexican-origin families (Killoren et al., 2015). Importantly, familism values and family cohesion can lead to positive developmental cascades for Latinx youth, with familism values associated with concurrent increases in family cohesion and later decreases in depressive symptoms in a 3-year longitudinal study of Hispanic high school students in Southern California (Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2012).

### **Parent-Child Conflict**

Given that familism values can impact parent-child interactions where children show deference and respect to adults, greater familism values are typically associated with less parent-child conflict. Cross-sectional studies found that familism value endorsement was associated



with lower parent-adolescent conflict in a sample of Latinas (Kuhlberg et al., 2010) and that familism values buffer the negative relation between parent-child conflict and child depression (Li, 2014). Longitudinal research has demonstrated that adolescent familism values were related to lower parent-child conflict, which in turn was related to increased adolescent self-esteem and reduced internalizing symptoms (Smokowski et al., 2010). Also, parental familism values have been associated with decreased interparental conflict and increased parental warmth and monitoring in Mexican-origin families (Taylor et al., 2012). Taken together, familism values dictate more cohesive family functioning accompanied with less conflict (Hernández & Bámaca-Colbert, 2016), and the literature is clear that familism values are associated with better family functioning as indicated by self-reported family cohesion and parent-child conflict (Stein et al., 2014). Yet, research has not explored how the positive emotional experiences associated with the endorsement of familism values (i.e., familism pride) are associated with family functioning.

### **The Role of Gender**

Gender is often included as a salient moderator of familism values, and prior work has demonstrated how familism may function differently across genders (e.g., Davis et al., 2018; Fuligni et al., 1999; Killoren et al., 2015; Stein & Polo, 2014). In particular, research has suggested that familism values are particularly protective for girls in certain contexts (Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2012; Morcillo et al., 2011) and has highlighted the importance of gender roles in Latinx families, with girls facing more expectations related to taking care of family members and living close to home (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004; Stein et al., 2015). These differences in expectations may relate to emotions experienced by Latinas when enacting (or failing to enact) family-oriented behaviors (Kuhlberg et al., 2010), which aligns with research showing gender differences in self-conscious emotions broadly (Else-Quest et al., 2012).

### **Familism and College Students**

College represents a difficult developmental period for youth, and many college students report anxiety, depression, and stress (American College Health Association, 2019; LeViness et al., 2019). Latinx students in particular report that the transition to college is a difficult one, with familism values and obligations towards family motivating them to take on additional familial and financial responsibilities beyond their schoolwork (Sánchez et al., 2010). Also, Latinx college students are more likely to face expectations of parents to stay closer to home and provide other means of family support in comparison to their White peers (Ovink & Kalogrides, 2015). Family processes may be particularly vulnerable to the culturally relevant stressors related to the college transition, especially as the behaviors most responsible for family cohesion and harmony (e.g., living near family or providing daily support) are less able to be enacted by Latinx students. Given that research shows Latinx students with higher levels of perceived conflict at home are more likely to experience higher acculturative stress at college (Castillo et al., 2008), these processes can turn into a negative spiral that strips Latinx students of the protective benefits of familism values while exacerbating difficulties at school.

However, family obligations and educational attainment may also work in concert (rather than in conflict) in Latinx college students. The maintenance and endorsement of familism and obligations to family into later adolescence have been associated with improved educational attainment and emotional well-being (Esparza & Sánchez, 2008; Fuligni & Pedersen, 2002). Additionally, succeeding in college may evoke a family-oriented sense of achievement and pride which then reinforces both familism values and family cohesion for Latinx youth, especially as youth with high familism express higher educational aspirations on average (Fuligni et al., 1999). Given these unique challenges and cultural stressors associated with the college transition, this

time constitutes a critical developmental period for Latinx emerging adults.

### **Hypotheses**

Given research and theory on the emotional components of familism and the impact they may exert on psychosocial development for older adolescents, we examine whether familism pride is associated with aspects of family functioning (i.e., family cohesion and parent-child conflict) in a sample of Latinx college students. We hypothesize both familism values and familism pride will be associated with increased family cohesion and decreased parent-child conflict, with familism pride demonstrating unique associations over and above familism value endorsement alone. Also, we hypothesize familism pride will moderate the association between familism values and family cohesion and parent-child conflict, such that familism pride will strengthen both the positive association between familism values and family cohesion and the negative association between familism values and parent-child conflict. We also include exploratory analyses regarding the possible role of gender, although we propose no *a priori* hypotheses regarding these associations.

### **Method**

#### **Procedures**

Data from a larger study investigating family context and mental health for emerging young adults were used. Participants were recruited from a psychology subject pool at a comprehensive university designated as a Hispanic-Serving Institution in Southern California. To receive credit in a lower-division, general education, psychology course, students have the option of participating in research studies or completing an alternative assignment. Data were collected from 2015 to 2018. In 2015 and 2016, participants completed a self-report, paper-pencil survey in a classroom setting (10–20 students in a group) at a designated time and

location. Most completed the survey in 12–15 minutes. In 2017 and 2018, participants completed a longer online survey in a computer lab (10–24 students in a group), and most completed the survey in 32–37 minutes. In all data collections there were questions to check if they were reading the survey carefully (e.g., “Please leave this question blank to show you are reading”).

Students who missed more than one check question were excluded from the analyses.

Participation was voluntary, informed consent was required, and data were kept anonymous.

Trained research assistants collected the data and then engaged in a multi-step process to ensure accurate data, including coding, reviewing, entering, and verifying the data for accuracy.

### **Participants**

In this study, data were used from 718 Latinx first-year university students. We chose this sample to focus explicitly on the college transition, particularly as the desire to “make one’s family proud” may be particularly relevant for Latinx students leaving their homes for college. The majority of respondents identified as female (70.9%), and all participants identified as “Hispanic/Latina/Latino.” The ages ranged from 18 to 25 years of age ( $M = 19.0$ ,  $SD = 1.2$ ). Most (i.e., 69.6%) were from intact families, 17.8% single-mother families, 7.7% stepfather families, and 4.8% lived in other family forms. Mother birth countries follow: 54.5% Mexico, 16.9% United States, 15.0% El Salvador, 8.2% Guatemala, and 5.4% other countries. Father birth countries were similar: 56.1% Mexico, 13.9% United States, 13.5% El Salvador, 9.5% Guatemala, and 7.0% other countries. Generation status was determined from participants’ responses regarding their birth country and their parents’ birth countries: 13.1% were 1<sup>st</sup> generation (i.e., participant and both parents were foreign born), 66.0% were 2<sup>nd</sup> generation (i.e., participant was U.S. born with foreign born parents), 11.4% were 2.5 generation (i.e., participant and one parent U.S. born, one foreign born parent), and 9.5% were 3<sup>rd</sup> generation (i.e.,

participant and parents were U.S. born).

## **Measures**

### ***Familism Values***

A shortened-version of the Mexican-American Cultural Values Scale (MACVS; Knight et al., 2010) was used to assess participants' values and attitudes towards one's family. The scale generates four subscales (i.e., 6-item family support, 5-item family obligations, 5-item referent familism, and 8-item family respect). Respondents were asked to rate their agreement with various cultural values (e.g., "How much do you believe that no matter what, children should always treat their parents with respect"). The response choices follow: 1 = *not at all*, 2 = *a little*, 3 = *somewhat*, 4 = *very much*, and 5 = *completely*. The measure has been shown to be reliable and valid in Latinx college students (Morgan Consoli & Llamas, 2013), and the scales demonstrated adequate to good reliability. Cronbach's alphas for each subscale follow: .86 for family support, .80 for family obligations, .87 for referent familism, and .89 for family respect. Given evidence that these subscales comprise a single higher-order factor (Knight et al., 2010), a mean familism values score was created (e.g., Knight et al. 2015). The Cronbach alpha for the overall 24-item scale was .93.

### ***Familism Pride***

A recently developed 9-item familism pride measure (Stein et al., 2019) was used to assess the tendency to experience both family-based pride as a motivator and feelings of pride related to achievement on behalf of one's family. Items include statements such as "Making my family proud brings me happiness" and "I feel fulfilled when I achieve something that will make my family proud." Items were based on well-established trait-based pride measures, as well as familism-measures that contained affectively based items (i.e., Knight et al., 2010; Lugo Steidel

& Contreras, 2003; Sabogal et al., 1987; Tracy & Robins, 2007). The response choices follow: 1 = *strongly disagree*, 2 = *disagree*, 3 = *slightly disagree*, 4 = *neutral*, 5 = *slightly agree*, and 6 = *agree*, 7 = *strongly agree*. The items were used to create a single mean score, which has shown good reliability with Latinx college students (Stein et al., 2019) and likewise demonstrated good reliability in our sample ( $\alpha = .95$ ). Prior work supports the measure as a valid trait-based measure of emotion, with familism pride showing unique association with more joy in Latinx college students while being distinct from familism value endorsement (Stein et al., 2019).

### ***Familism Cohesion***

Family cohesion was assessed with a 9-item scale that measured the level of emotional bonding between family members (Bakhtiari et al., 2017). Two sample items follow: (1) “We have a feeling of togetherness,” and (2) “We avoid each other at home” (reverse coded). Response choices follow: 1 = *strongly disagree*, 2 = *disagree*, 3 = *agree*, and 4 = *strongly agree*. In a sample of Latinx university students, the measure displayed good reliability and validity, with Cronbach's alphas of .90 for men and .91 for women (Alpizar et al., 2018). In the current sample, an alpha of .90 was found.

### ***Parent-Child Conflict***

A 15-item scale was used to measure frequency of conflict with parents on various aspects of home life (e.g., family relationships, romantic relationships, money, physical appearance, culture, school; Bámaca-Colbert et al., 2012). Response choices follow: 1 = *never*, 2 = *rarely*, 3 = *sometimes*, 4 = *often*, and 5 = *most of the time*. Prior work demonstrated the scale's reliability and validity in a sample of Latinx adolescents ( $\alpha = .86$ ; Bámaca-Colbert et al., 2012) and Zoroastrian emerging adults ( $\alpha = .89$ ; Bakhtiari et al., 2017). In the current sample, an alpha of .89 was found.

## Results

As the low number of individuals who selected an option outside of “male” or “female” ( $n = 2$ ) precluded meaningful examination of non-binary gender identities, those cases were removed from analyses and were not included in the reported sample statistics. Preliminary analyses examining correlations among the study variables revealed gender was significantly correlated with several of the independent variables (see Table 1). Since age was associated with family cohesion and parent-child conflict, it was retained as a covariate in subsequent analyses. Mean familism value endorsement was 3.97, representing participants “very much” agreeing with typical familism values. Mean familism pride endorsement was likewise high (6.07), representing agreement with familism pride statements. The sample means were also at adaptive levels of family functioning, with participants “rarely” experiencing parent-child conflict (2.21) and expressing agreement with various family cohesion statements (3.24).

Two hierarchical linear regressions were estimated to examine the associations of familism values and familism pride on student-reported family cohesion and parent-child conflict. Familism values, age, and gender were entered in Step 1, familism pride was added in Step 2, and the interactions between familism pride and familism values and between familism pride and gender were added in Step 3. Continuous predictor variables were centered for all analyses (Aiken & West, 1991), and product terms were created for each moderator. We used a bootstrapping method (i.e., 5,000 times) with percentile-based bootstrap confidence intervals to (1) ensure the robustness of our parameter estimates given that several of the variables were skewed and/or kurtotic (Wright et al., 2011), and (2) to check the consistency of the coefficients and significance levels generated through repeated sampling of cases.

As shown in Table 2, the variables in Step 1 (i.e., familism values, age, and gender)

accounted for 17% of the variance in family cohesion ( $R^2 = .17, p < .001$ ). Both age ( $\beta = 0.07, p = .023$ ) and familism values ( $\beta = 0.41, p < .001$ ) were associated with higher self-reported family cohesion when controlling for the other variables in the model. With familism pride added, the model explained an additional 17% of the variance ( $R^2 = .34, p < .001$ ), with familism pride ( $\beta = 0.51, p < .001$ ) and familism values ( $\beta = 0.12, p = .003$ ) related to higher family cohesion scores when controlling for the other variables. Additionally, women reported lower family cohesion when controlling for familism values and familism pride ( $\beta = -0.09, p = .002$ ). When the interaction variables were added, the model explained an additional 3% of the variance ( $R^2 = .37, p < .001$ ). When controlling for the other independent variables, the interaction term of familism pride and familism values showed significant associations with higher family cohesion scores ( $\beta = 0.17, p < .001$ ). *Mplus* version 8.5 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2017) was used to plot the interaction (Figure 1) across the full-range of observed data of the moderator familism pride using the Johnson-Neyman method (Johnson & Neyman, 1936). Probing regions of significance revealed that the adjusted association of familism values on family cohesion was positive at values near or above the mean of familism pride, but negative at values of 2.14 standard deviations or more below the mean of familism pride. The interaction of gender and familism pride likewise showed significant associations with higher family cohesion ( $\beta = 0.22, p < .001$ ), with simple slopes tests (Figure 2) revealing that while familism pride was related to increased family cohesion for both men ( $p < .001$ ) and women ( $p < .001$ ), the association was stronger for women.

As shown in Table 3, familism values, gender, and age in Step 1 of the model accounted for only 2% of the variance in parent-child conflict ( $R^2 = .02, p = .004$ ). The addition of familism pride explained an additional 5% of the variance ( $R^2 = .07, p < .001$ ). Again, familism pride



showed the most robust significant association when controlling for the other independent variables and was negatively related to parent-child conflict ( $\beta = -0.28, p < .001$ ), with age likewise associated with less parent-child conflict ( $\beta = -0.07, p < .028$ ). Additionally, women reported greater parent-child conflict than men in Step 2 ( $\beta = 0.07, p = .041$ ) when controlling for the other independent variables. The addition of interaction terms in Step 3 (i.e., familism pride and familism values, familism pride and gender) did not significantly increase the variance explained, and the interactions were non-significant.

Taken together, results indicated familism pride was significantly associated with positive family functioning above and beyond familism value endorsement in Latinx college students for participant-reported family cohesion ( $\Delta R^2 = .17, p < .001$ ) and parent-child conflict ( $\Delta R^2 = .05, p < .001$ ). Both familism pride and gender moderated the relationship between familism values and family cohesion, with familism pride showing particularly robust associations with family functioning for female identified students.

### **Discussion**

The endorsement of familism values in Latinx families has been associated with high levels of family cohesion, decreased family conflict, and positive psychosocial adjustment in a numerous longitudinal and cross-sectional studies (Stein et al., 2014), and it has been theorized that the behaviors that accompany these values (e.g., living near family, providing emotional and physical support for family members) largely explain these beneficial associations (Hernández & Bámaca-Colbert, 2016). However, recent work suggests that in addition to these values and behaviors, the emotional experiences associated with familism also contribute to positive psychological functioning (Stein et al., 2019). The present study examined whether these affective experiences were likewise associated with salient family functioning variables. In line

with our hypotheses, the results of this study indicated familism pride was related to positive family functioning (namely increased family cohesion and decreased parent-child conflict) above and beyond endorsement of familism values in Latinx college students. The association was particularly robust in relation to family cohesion, with the inclusion of familism pride to the model explaining an additional 17% of the variance. As hypothesized, familism pride moderated the association between familism values and family cohesion in our model, although in contrast to our hypotheses it failed to moderate the relationship between familism values and parent-child conflict. Additionally, mean levels of the familism values and familism pride were uniformly high, affirming that the experience of familism pride was widely endorsed in our Latinx sample and displayed convergent validity with familism values while retaining unique associations with family functioning.

The finding that familism pride was associated with positive family functioning above and beyond familism values is conceptually in line with work suggesting that the promotive and protective effects of familism exert their influence through multiple dimensions, including values and behaviors (Hernández & Bámaca-Colbert, 2016). Beyond values and behavior, this study suggests that the emotional rewards and motivation that accompany these values and actions describe a unique aspect of familism associated with significant psychosocial benefit (Telzer & Fuligni, 2009), including family functioning. Regarding differences in the variance explained in each of the two models, feeling joy and pride when accomplishing something on behalf of one's family is likely broadly applicable to family processes such as cohesion, while individual relationships (i.e., parent-child conflict) may be explained by a larger range of factors. However, results still point to the association of familism pride and less parent-child conflict, suggesting the emotion associated with family-oriented pride is another factor to explore when considering

parent-child relationships.

Familism pride also moderated the relationship between familism values and family cohesion in our sample. The positive association between familism values and family cohesion was strongest at high levels of familism pride (i.e., average scores near or above mean-level endorsement, which was high in our sample), suggesting familism values may be particularly adaptive for individuals when they are accompanied by rewarding affective experiences that emerge when they enact their values. This is particularly critical as going to college can be a stressful time for Latinx students, and the behaviors involved may be seen as incongruent with their familism values. For example, Latinx college students are more likely to report “achievement guilt” derived from receiving opportunities in college that are not available to their other family members (Covarrubias & Fryberg, 2015). However, Latinx students with high levels of familism pride may see achieving on behalf of their family as an extension of their family obligations, providing them an avenue to enact their familism values even if behaviors such as providing daily assistance are less feasible. Additionally, from a family-based, acculturation standpoint, college students may experience pressure to adapt to a university culture that is in opposition to their family or heritage culture (Castillo et al., 2004), and research has suggested that Latinx families may respond to these widening cultural value gaps by distancing themselves as a form of social sanctioning (Castillo et al., 2008). It may be that Latinx college students who experience familism pride as a motivator and a reward of academic success are more equipped to harmonize the pressures of adapting to a host culture while maintaining ones’ heritage culture.

Interestingly, the association between familism values and family cohesion adjusted for the moderation of familism pride was negative at low levels of familism pride, suggesting that

familism values may not be protective, or even a risk factor, for family cohesion in the absence of familism pride. Notably, this level of endorsement represents familism pride scores 2.14 SDs or more below the mean, which only accounts for 3.2% ( $n = 23$ ) of our sample, limiting the generalizability of this finding. However, in addition to the unique pressures on Latinx college students described above, familism values have occasionally been associated with negative outcomes. For example, due to its emphasis on prioritizing group interests over individual interests, familism has been qualitatively linked to financial and social obligations which can contribute to stress, depression, and family conflict (Calzada et al., 2013). Moreover, high levels of familism strengthened the association between parent-child discord and threat appraisals in a sample of college students, suggesting that it may be a risk factor when expectations of family interconnectedness and support are unable to be maintained (Hernández et al., 2010). Thus, it may be that individuals who endorse familism values but fail to experience the affective rewards of supporting or achieving on behalf of family are particularly at risk for experiencing these negative correlates of familism, suggesting that the tendency to experience pride as a motivator may be especially important for Latinxs in the college environment.

Although we had no *a priori* hypotheses regarding the role of gender, the moderating role of gender on the relationship between familism pride and family cohesion is in line with prior work showing differences in experiences of familism across genders (Killoren et al., 2015), including among Latinx college students (Ovink, 2014). Given Latina college students reported significantly higher familism pride, and the positive association between familism pride and family cohesion was particularly robust for Latinas, it may be that feelings of pride are especially important for this group. For Latinas, pride related to achieving on behalf of one's family in the college environment or seeing one's family succeed may be a particularly important aspect of

familism's protective effects, fostering feelings of cohesion with one's family. It is important to note that without the addition of covariates, men and women in our sample had no significant mean-level differences in family functioning, and the associations of familism pride were robust across gender, meaning these interpretations may only be narrowly applicable.

Although increased family cohesion and decreased parent-child conflict may be conceptualized as an "outcome" of familism pride, family functioning is widely seen as highly interactive with and mutually enforcing of familism values (Peña et al., 2011). This is likely true of the affective components of familism. Specifically, individuals who get along and have a "feeling of togetherness" with their families may be especially likely to experience pride when members of their family accomplish something or see their own success as a family-based accomplishment. Similarly, the symmetry property of interactions means that familism values also moderate the association between familism pride and family cohesion (Hayes et al., 2012). Although we structured the relationship between variables in our model based on theory and prior work, future research should continue to disentangle how familism values, pride, and family functioning mutually reinforce and interact with each other over time, especially given that the emotions associated with the enactment of familism values likely serve as antecedents and consequences of behavior and lead to cascades across development.

Next, it should be noted that this experience of familism pride is likely connected to other, yet unexplored, family assistance values and behaviors beyond academic achievement. For example, language brokering (i.e., the process of translating for ones' parents) has been shown to be highly related to cultural values (Weisskirch et al., 2011) and is an emotionally laden experience, increasing the self-esteem of adolescents (Weisskirch, 2006), which may partly explain its association with prosocial development (Guan et al., 2014). As with language

brokering, investigating how familism pride relates to the wide range of familism values and assistance behaviors endorsed in Latinx and other immigrant youth constitutes an important avenue of future research (Fuligni et al., 1999). Future work should also seek to capture both trait-based tendencies (as in this study) and state-based emotional experiences, particularly given evidence that family-oriented behaviors increase daily happiness in adolescents (Telzer et al., 2010) and Latinxs (especially those who identify closely with their families) show increased neural reward activity when providing family assistance (Telzer & Fuligni, 2009). State-based pride induction has likewise been shown to increase perseverance on difficult tasks in undergraduates (Williams & DeSteno, 2008), providing further evidence for the motivational impact of momentary pride experiences.

### **Limitations and Recommendations**

In addition to its cross-sectional design and self-report design (which may introduce method biases, including acquiescence and social desirability), one of the most significant limitations (and opportunities for extension of this study) relates to the lack of behavioral familism measures. As familism values and familism behaviors are largely proposed to explain the positive associations of familism in Latinx families (Hernández & Bámaca-Colbert, 2016), it would be useful to see if affective experiences such as pride provide additional explanatory power above and beyond both value endorsement and behaviors rather than values alone. While the importance of emotions is intertwined with these processes (e.g., a motivator of prosocial behaviors), finding effective ways to measure these three dimensions of familism concurrently would help disentangle and describe these complex processes. Another limitation is the relative lack of research on the impact of familism values in Latinx college students, which is surprising given the overrepresentation of college student data in studies of psychological processes

(Henrich et al., 2010). Thus, our hypotheses were informed by research on children and adolescents, and more work is needed to further validate the unique impacts of these values on the college age period from a developmental perspective. Beyond pride, there is also evidence that shame moderated by culture (Wong & Tsai, 2007) plays an important role in the academic environment (Turner et al., 2002). Thus, more research is needed to understand how academic or family-oriented shame may interact with familism values alongside pride. Endorsement of familism pride was also positively skewed and kurtotic in our sample, and findings should be interpreted in consideration of this caution. Finally, although we see trait-based measures of emotions as having particular utility in cross-sectional studies, future work should seek to understand how state-based experiences of familism pride impact psychological functioning.

In light of this study, cultivating experiences for college students that allow their family to share in and celebrate their success (e.g., through graduation ceremonies, matriculation celebrations) may be particularly protective for Latinx college students, and results point to the potential role of familial emotional processes in supporting family functioning in this developmental stage. We appreciate past work that has pioneered how these emotional processes, particularly self-conscious emotions (e.g., pride, shame, guilt), may operate differently in collectivistically minded cultures, and urge researchers to continue to unpack how these processes operate in Latinx and immigrant youth. Ultimately, these findings indicate family-based pride may be an additional explanatory mechanism for the positive associations of familism, and that affective experiences may constitute a critical third dimension of the familism construct.

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**Table 1***Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations*

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Gender	1.000					
2. Age	-.075*	1.000				
3. Familism values	.007	.013	1.000			
4. Familism pride	.137**	.058	.565**	1.000		
5. Family cohesion	-.020	.079*	.406**	.566**	1.000	
6. Parent-child conflict	.040	-.095*	-.092*	-.238**	-.282**	1.000
<i>Skewness</i>	-0.92	1.56	-0.45	-1.64	-0.45	0.63
<i>Kurtosis</i>	-1.15	2.71	-0.02	3.30	0.02	0.11
<i>M</i>	0.71	18.97	3.97	6.07	3.24	2.21
<i>SD</i>	0.46	1.23	0.57	1.05	0.53	0.71

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

*Note:* *M* and *SD* are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively. For gender: 0 = men, 1 = women.

**Table 2**

*Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Family Cohesion (N = 718)*

Variable	Step 1				Step 2				Step 3			
	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	95% CI	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	95% CI	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	95% CI	<i>p</i>
Gender	-0.02	-0.02	[-0.09, 0.05]	.586	-0.09	-0.10	[-0.17, -0.03]	.002	-0.08	-0.10	[-0.16, -0.03]	.003
Age	0.07	0.03	[0.00, 0.06]	.023	0.04	0.02	[-0.01, 0.04]	.147	0.06	0.02	[0.00, 0.05]	.053
Fam. values	0.41	0.37	[0.31, 0.44]	<.001	0.12	0.11	[0.04, 0.18]	.003	0.12	0.11	[0.04, 0.18]	.002
Fam. pride					0.51	0.26	[0.22, 0.30]	<.001	0.41	0.21	[0.14, 0.27]	<.001
Values X pride									0.17	0.10	[0.06, 0.14]	<.001
Gender X pride									0.22	0.14	[0.07, 0.21]	<.001
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> change		.17	<.001			.17	<.001			.03		<.001
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> total		.17				.34				.37		

Bootstrap results are based on 5,000 bootstrap samples.

*Note:* For gender: 0 = men, 1 = women.

**Table 3**

*Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Parent-Child Conflict (N = 718)*

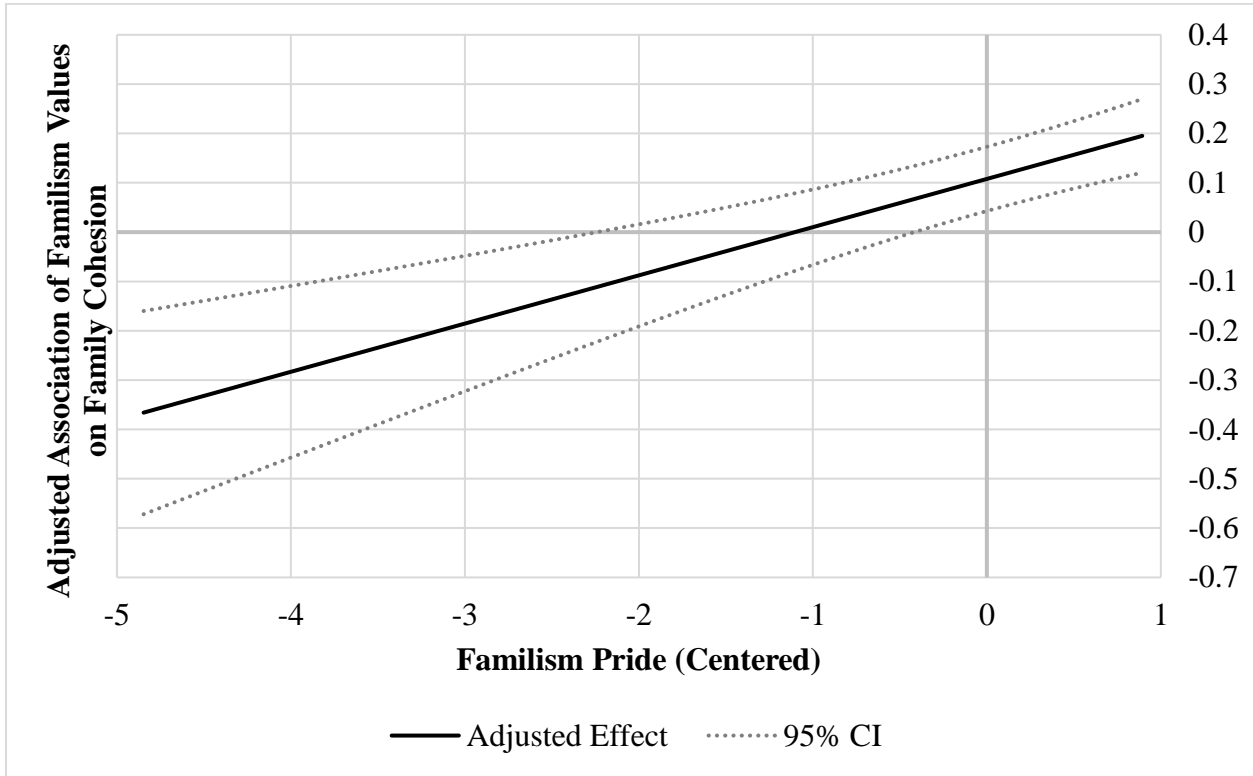
Variable	Step 1				Step 2				Step 3			
	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	95% CI	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	95% CI	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	95% CI	<i>p</i>
Gender	0.03	0.05	[-0.06, 0.16]	.350	0.07	0.11	[0.01, 0.22]	.041	0.08	0.12	[0.01, 0.23]	.033
Age	-0.09	-0.05	[-0.09, -0.01]	.009	-0.07	-0.04	[-0.08, 0.00]	.028	-0.07	-0.04	[-0.08, 0.00]	.028
Fam. values	-0.09	-0.11	[-0.21, -0.01]	.024	0.07	0.08	[-0.03, 0.19]	.142	0.07	0.08	[-0.03, 0.19]	.149
Fam. pride					-0.28	-0.19	[-0.25, -0.13]	<.001	-0.32	-0.21	[-0.31, -0.12]	<.001
Values X pride									-0.01	-0.01	[-0.08, 0.05]	.785
Gender X pride									0.03	0.03	[-0.08, 0.14]	.616
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> change			.02	.004			.05	<.001			.00	.841
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> total			.02				.07				.07	

Bootstrap results are based on 5,000 bootstrap samples.

*Note:* For gender: 0 = men, 1 = women.

**Figure 1**

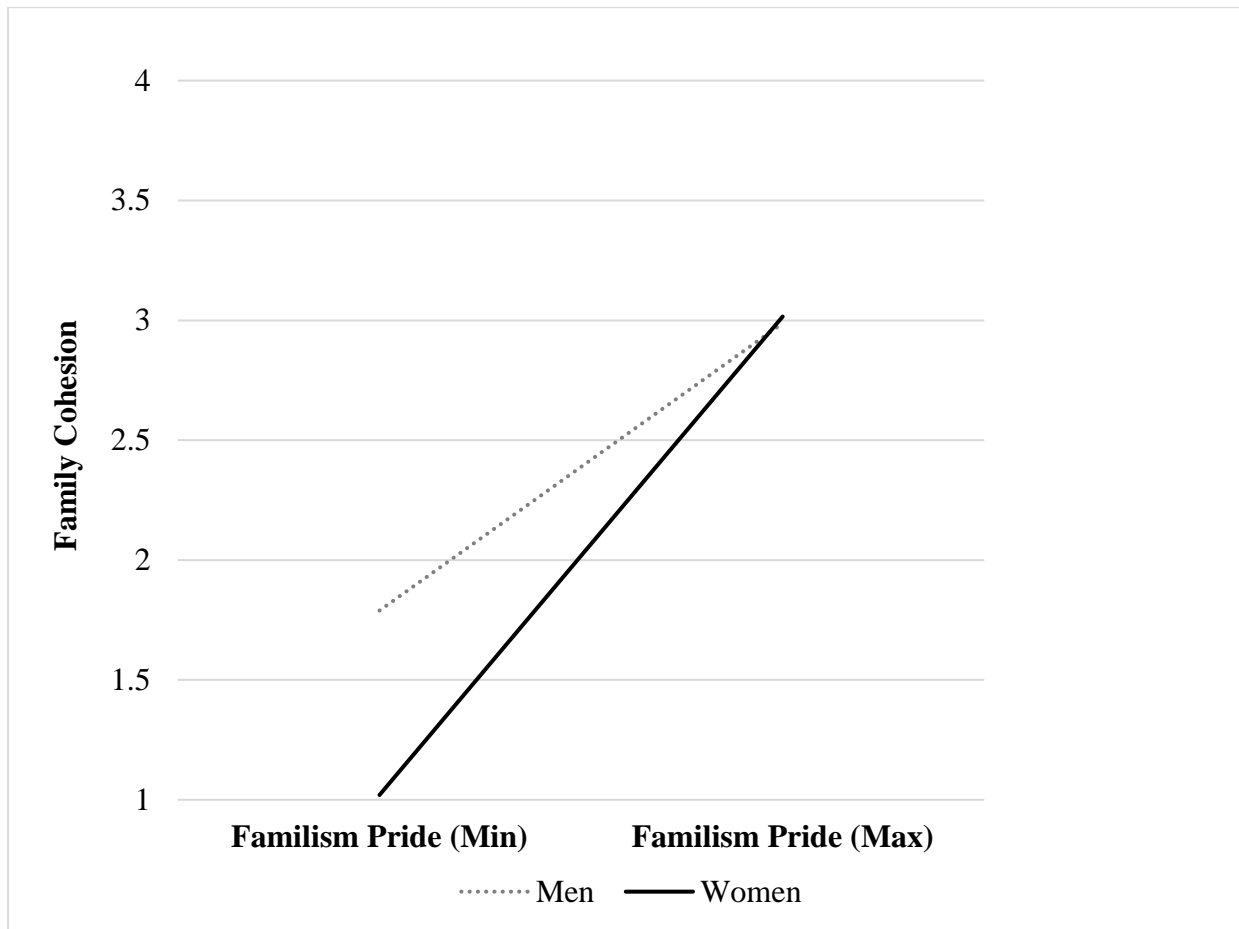
*Moderation of Familism Pride on the Association Between Familism Values and Family Cohesion*



*Note:* The plot contains the full range of available data and accounts for all variables in the model listed in *Table 3*. The adjusted association of Familism Values with Family Cohesion becomes significantly positive at a Familism Pride (centered) value of -0.42 and significantly negative at a Familism Pride (centered) value of -2.24. The adjusted association is not significantly different from zero at Familism Pride (centered) values between -2.24 and -0.42.

**Figure 2**

*Moderation of Gender on the Relationship Between Familism Pride and Family Cohesion*



*Note:* The slopes for both men and women were significant ( $p < .001$ ). This plot accounts for all variables in the model listed in Table 3.