Parental Socialization Profiles in Mexican-Origin Families: Considering Cultural Socialization and General Parenting Practices

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Su Yeong Kim, Shanting Chen, and Yang Hou
The University of Texas at Austin

Katharine H. Zeiders
University of Arizona

Esther J. Calzada
The University of Texas at Austin

Objectives: Recognizing that immigrant parents socialize their children in specific ways, the current study examines Mexican-origin families' parental socialization profiles using both parental cultural socialization and general parenting dimensions. We seek to understand how these dimensions interact to form culturally grounded parental socialization profiles in a sample of Mexican-origin parents and adolescents. *Method:* There were 604 adolescents, 595 mothers, and 293 fathers within Mexican-origin families self-reporting on 2 cultural socialization dimensions (*respeto*, independence) and 4 general parenting dimensions (warmth, hostility, monitoring, reasoning). Adolescent outcomes were assessed 1 year later. *Results:* Latent profile analysis revealed eight parental socialization profiles representing distinct combinations of cultural socialization and parenting dimensions. Relative to other profiles, the Integrative-Authoritative profile (high on socialization toward *respeto* and independence; high on warmth, monitoring, and reasoning; and relatively low on hostility) was the most common parenting pattern and was also associated with more optimal adolescent outcomes. *Conclusion:* Examining cultural socialization alongside general parenting dimensions can better capture parental socialization strategies among Mexican-origin parents. The various parental socialization profiles that characterize Mexican-origin parents have important implications for adolescent outcomes.

Keywords: parenting profiles, Mexican-origin parents, cultural socialization, parenting practices, adolescent adjustment

To understand child development in Mexican-origin families, it is important to consider not only general parenting practices (e.g., monitoring and warmth), but also practices that are culturally relevant (e.g., cultural socialization, Ceballo, Kennedy, Bregman, & Epstein-Ngo, 2012; Varela et al., 2004). The integrative model of parenting suggests that the consequences of specific parenting practices vary depending on the broader parenting context (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Cultural socialization practices in families of Mexican origin may be better understood when considered in tandem with general parenting practices (Calzada, Fernandez, & Cortes, 2010; Carlo & de Guzman, 2009). For example, one study found that when cultural socialization occurred in the context of warm and supportive parenting practices, the positive effects on adolescents' school engagement were greater (Smalls, 2009).

However, several previous studies in this area have used a variable-centered approach, examining different cultural socialization strategies while holding general parenting practices constant, or the other way around (Calzada, Huang, Anicama, Fernandez, & Brotman, 2012; White, Zeiders, Gonzales, Tein, & Roosa, 2013). This approach does not capture the ways in which Mexican-origin parents' parenting practices are enacted, and the various ways in which cultural socialization may combine with general parenting practices. Thus, the current study used a person-centered approach to identify Mexican-origin parents' parental socialization profiles, incorporating both cultural socialization and general parenting practices. We also examined how parent and adolescent characteristics related to each emerging parenting profile, and how each profile related to later adolescent outcomes.

Cultural Socialization in Mexican-Origin Families

Growing evidence suggests that Mexican-origin parents' parenting is shaped by cultural values and practices (Knight, Carlo,

Streit, & White, 2017). One important cultural influence is *cultural socialization*, which refers to parenting practices that teach children about their heritage culture and foster a sense of belonging (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). Although previous studies on cultural socialization have focused mainly on socialization toward the heritage culture (Ayón, Williams, Marsiglia, Ayers, & Kiehne, 2015; White et al., 2013), parental socialization toward the U.S. mainstream culture is also a salient socialization process (Calzada, Huang, Covas, Ramirez, & Brotman, 2016). Indeed, past evidence suggests that many immigrant parents intentionally socialize their children to both cultures to enhance their children's future prospects in a bicultural setting (Kim & Hou, 2016; Lieber, Nihira, & Mink, 2004). However, parents vary in the extent to which they emphasize one culture relative to the other (Calzada et al., 2012; Kim & Hou, 2016). For example, Calzada et al. (2012) found that Mexican-origin parents vary in their socialization toward *respeto* (i.e., a traditional Latino cultural value that emphasizes obedience to authority and respect toward elders) and independence (i.e., a typical U.S. American cultural value that encourages exploration, communication, and negotiation).

As with models of acculturation (Berry, 2005), parental socialization profiles may be characterized as *separated* (high in socialization for *respeto* but relatively low in socialization for independence); *assimilated* (high in socialization for independence but low in socialization for *respeto*); *integrated* (high in socialization for both *respeto* and independence); or *marginalized* (low in socialization for both *respeto* and independence). Past acculturation studies have found that integrated adolescents tend to exhibit better academic achievement, psychological adjustment and behavioral competence (Mistry, Contreras, & Pufall-Jones, 2014; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013), whereas marginalized adolescents have more negative outcomes (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). Thus, it is possible that integrated cultural socialization may also be associated with better adolescent outcomes and marginalized cultural socialization may be associated with worse outcomes. A few studies have found that socialization toward the heritage culture (Hughes et al., 2006) and mainstream culture (Marks, Godoy, & García Coll, 2014) separately are associated with adolescents' optimal outcomes. However, these studies did not examine parental cultural socialization toward both cultures simultaneously. Thus, it is still unknown whether *integrated* cultural socialization would lead to better adolescent outcomes.

Parenting Practices in Mexican-origin Families

Based on research with European American children, the two dimensions of parental warmth and control have been used to derive the four classic parenting styles described in the literature: authoritative (high warmth and high control), authoritarian (low warmth and high control), indulgent (high warmth and low control), and neglectful (low warmth and low control; Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Some empirical evidence suggests that these styles emerge among Mexican-origin parents as well, but there is also evidence of unique parenting styles in this population that are not captured by this classic parenting typology (Ceballo et al., 2012; Domenech Rodríguez, Donovick, & Crowley, 2009; White et al., 2013).

Past studies have examined more nuanced forms of warmth and parental control in Mexican-origin families. Specifically, recent research has expanded the classic dimension of warmth to include both positive (parental warmth) and negative (parental hostility) dimensions to differentiate the presence of hostility from an absence of warmth (Hou, Kim, & Benner, 2017; Kim, Wang, Orozco-Lapray, Shen, & Murtuza, 2013). The dimension of parental control has also been expanded to include multiple aspects (Halgunseth, Ispa, & Rudy, 2006) such as monitoring and inductive reasoning. *Monitoring* is parental supervision and knowledge of children's whereabouts and activities (Le et al., 2008). It is a prevalent parenting practice among Mexican-origin parents, which has been found to relate to positive adolescent outcomes (Halgunseth et al., 2006). *Inductive reasoning* refers to the level of reasoning and explanation that parents use in disciplining their children, and it is another important parenting dimension in Mexican-origin families (Hou et al., 2017; Taylor, Larsen-Rife, Conger, & Widaman, 2012). With this more nuanced parenting measure, studies have identified unique parenting styles among Mexican-origin parents, such as no-nonsense parenting, characterized by high levels of warmth along with high levels of harshness and high levels of control (White et al., 2013).

Different parenting styles are found to relate to adolescent outcomes in distinct ways. Previous studies have found that authoritative parenting among Mexican-origin parents is related to more positive adolescent outcomes, such as better academic outcomes (Carlo, White, Streit, Knight, & Zeiders, 2018), whereas neglectful parenting is associated with more negative adolescent outcomes, such as delinquent behaviors (Roche, Ensminger, & Cherlin, 2007). Initial evidence suggests that no-nonsense parenting is beneficial in reducing Mexican-origin adolescents' problem behaviors (i.e., internalizing problems, White, Liu, Gonzales, Knight, & Tein, 2016). No-nonsense parenting has been found to relate to child competence in African American children (Brody & Flor, 1998), but it is still unknown whether this parenting style can promote positive development among Mexican-origin adolescents.

Parental Socialization Profiles Based on Cultural Socialization and General Parenting Practices

According to the integrative model of parenting (Darling & Steinberg, 1993), children's receptiveness to specific parenting practices (e.g., parental cultural socialization) varies depending on the broader parenting context. For example, Hernández and colleagues (2014) found that the association between parental ethnic socialization and Mexican-origin adolescents' ethnic pride was stronger when parents socialized children in a warm and supportive family environment. Further, Calzada and colleagues' study (2016) produced initial evidence for the relation between cultural socialization and general parenting practices. Specifically, they found that parental emphasis on cultural socialization toward *respeto* was associated with authoritarian parenting, whereas parental emphasis on cultural socialization toward independence was associated with authoritative parenting (Calzada et al., 2016). Although this work suggests that parenting constructs may co-occur, its variable-centered approach precludes an examination of broad parental socialization profiles that account simultaneously for cultural socialization and general parenting practices among Mexican-origin families.

Mexican-origin parenting may be reconceptualized by using a person-centered approach that can capture the ways in which

cultural socialization and general parenting practices co-occur. It is possible that cultural socialization strategies (i.e., assimilated, separated, integrated, marginalized) can pair up in predictable ways with parenting styles (i.e., authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent, neglectful, no-nonsense), resulting in broad parental socialization profiles. Specifically, an integrative–authoritative parenting profile might emerge, given that the integrated strategy and the authoritative style are both related to the most optimal child outcomes; the emergence of a marginalized–harsh parenting profile is also possible, as both marginalized socialization and harsh parenting are associated with worse child outcomes. There might also be other combinations of parental socialization strategies and general parenting practices that emerge from the data. A person-centered approach is advantageous, as it allows us to capture cultural nuances in parenting, paints a more comprehensive picture of the parenting contexts in which parenting behaviors occur, and ultimately advances our understanding of the link between parenting and adolescent development in Mexican-origin families.

Parental Socialization Correlates

Several factors may relate to parenting socialization profiles, including family income, parental education level, parental depressive symptoms, and adolescent gender. Parental socialization practices and styles have been found to vary across different levels of these factors. For example, compared with high-income families, low-income families tend to emphasize more obedience and conformity, and place more restrictions on children (Hill, Bush, & Roosa, 2003). More educated parents tend to engage in more authoritative parenting practices (Hoff, Laursen, Tardif, & Bornstein, 2002). Parents from more advantaged socioeconomic backgrounds are more likely to socialize their children in their racial background and heritage culture (Hughes et al., 2006). Parental depression is associated with higher levels of hostility and harshness in parenting as well as higher levels of marginalization (Cabrera, Shannon, West, & Brooks-Gunn, 2006; Kim, Gonzales, Stroh, & Wang, 2006). Parents tend to be more authoritarian toward boys than girls (Varela et al., 2004).

Parental socialization profiles may also relate to various adolescent outcomes (Hill et al., 2003; White, Roosa, Weaver, & Nair, 2009). The current study examines multiple adolescent outcomes in three key domains: behavioral (delinquent behavior), academic (grades), and psychological (sense of life meaning). In particular, "sense of life meaning," which refers to having a clear sense of purpose in life, has been considered an important aspect of individual psychological well-being (Steger, Frazier, Oishi, & Kaler, 2006). By including these key adolescent outcomes, we may be able to provide a more comprehensive understanding of how parental socialization profiles relate to different adolescent outcomes. Given initial evidence from prior studies that have examined separately the influence of parental cultural socialization and the influence of general parenting practices on adolescent outcomes (Hughes et al., 2006; Marks et al., 2014; White et al., 2016), it is possible that an integrated–authoritative socialization strategy will be associated with the most optimal adolescent outcomes, whereas a marginalized–harsh socialization strategy will be associated with the least optimal adolescent outcomes.

Current Study

The current study of parental socialization profiles in families of Mexican origin has three major aims. First, we aim to identify parental socialization profiles that incorporate cultural socialization practices along with general parenting practices. We expect that cultural socialization toward *respeto* and independence will co-occur to create assimilated, separated, integrated, or marginalized profiles; we also expect that general parenting practices of warmth, hostility, monitoring, and reasoning will co-occur to create authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent, neglectful, and no-nonsense parenting styles. Moreover, we expect that authoritative parenting will co-occur with an integrated cultural socialization approach, and harsh parenting will co-occur with a marginalized cultural socialization approach. Given the relative novelty of our approach, we expect additional combinations to emerge from the data. Second, we examine how parental socialization profiles are correlated with parental and adolescent characteristics (i.e., family income, parental education, parents' depressive symptoms, and adolescent gender). Third, we examine how parental socialization profiles relate to specific adolescent outcomes (i.e., delinquent behavior, academic achievement, and sense of life meaning). In addition, we examine parental socialization profiles separately for multiple informants (mother, father, and child within each family) because different informants may vary substantially in their reports of family processes and child outcomes (De Los Reyes et al., 2015; Korelitz & Garber, 2016).

Method

Participants

There were 604 adolescents, 595 mothers, and 293 fathers in Mexican-origin families participating in Wave 1 (W1). Among the families participating in W1, 80% participated in Wave 2 (W2) the following year. Slightly over half of the adolescents were female ($N = 328$, 54%) with ages ranging from 11 to 15 ($M = 12.41$, $SD = 0.97$) at W1. Almost all the parents (99%) were born in Mexico, whereas 75% adolescents were born in the United States. The mean and median family income was in the range of $20,001 to $30,000. For both fathers ($M_{age} = 41$, $SD = 6.71$) and mothers ($M_{age} = 38$, $SD = 5.74$), the median parental education level was finished middle school. Most of the fathers (87%) and about half of mothers (46%) were employed at least part-time, and most of the parents' occupations were unskilled (e.g., construction worker, truck driver, mover, restaurant server).

Procedure

Participants were recruited in and around a metropolitan city in central Texas from 2012 to 2015 through public records, school presentations, and community recruitment events. Because the larger research project, from which the current data are taken, focuses on adolescent language brokers in Mexican-origin immigrant families, families qualified to participate if parents were of Mexican origin, with a child in middle school who had the responsibility of translating from English to Spanish for at least one parent. Family consent (for parents) and assent (for children) were acquired during an acquaintance visit if the family elected to

participate in the project. Around 49% of eligible families who were screened by phone agreed to the acquaintance visit, and 78% of successful acquaintance visits resulted in surveys being completed by at least one parent and target child in the family at W1. Participating families received $60 as compensation at W1. Approximately 1 year after the initial visit, families were asked to participate in the second wave to assess adolescent outcomes, with a compensation of $90. Questionnaires were prepared in both English and Spanish. The questionnaires were first translated to Spanish and then back-translated to English, and any inconsistencies in the translation were resolved by bilingual research assistants.

Recognizing the low participation rate of fathers, we conducted an independent sample t test to examine the differences in demographic variables between families with a father who participated and families without a father participating at W1. We did not find significant differences between these two groups except that families with a father who participated had higher incomes, $t(492) = -2.08$, $p < .05$. We also conducted attrition analyses to examine potential differences in W1 study variables between participants who did and did not continue to participate at W2. We found only one significant difference between groups: families who continued participating had higher levels of parental education, $t(291) = 3.09$, $p < .01$. Therefore, we included parental education as a covariate in our analysis of how parental socialization profiles at W1 related to adolescent outcomes at W2.

Measures

Cultural socialization dimensions for parental socialization profiles. Measures of parental cultural socialization toward *respeto* and independence were derived from Calzada, Fernandez, and Cortes' (2010) qualitative study on Latino parenting. Socialization toward *respeto* was assessed with two items: (a) "I teach children to show respect to elders by addressing them formally," and (b) "I teach children to have good manners." Socialization toward independence was also assessed with two items: (a) "I teach my child to share his/her own ideas and opinions," and (b) "I teach my child to solve his/her problems on his/her own whenever possible." Mothers, fathers, and adolescents reported on parallel measures separately at W1 on a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Spearman-Brown coefficients were used to test the reliability of the two-item scales (Eisinga, Grotenhuis, & Pelzer, 2013). The Spearman-Brown coefficient ranged from .72 to .84 for the *respeto* scale and .64 to .71 for the measure of independence across reporters.

Parenting dimensions for parental socialization profiles. Adolescents, mothers, and fathers responded to questions on four general parenting practices, including hostility, warmth, monitoring, and inductive reasoning at W1. These four dimensions were assessed using measures from the Iowa Youth and Families Project (Conger, Patterson, & Ge, 1995; Ge, Best, Conger, & Simons, 1996), which is validated for use with Mexican immigrant families (Hou et al., 2017). Using a scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 7 (*always*), parental warmth was assessed with seven items (e.g., "listen carefully"), and parental hostility was assessed with six items (e.g., "shout or yell"). Using a scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*always),* parental monitoring was assessed with four items (e.g., "know whereabouts of the target child"), and inductive

reasoning was also assessed with four items (e.g., "give reasons for decisions"). The internal consistency of each general parenting dimension was generally good across informants (a range = .72 to .90), except for the relatively lower (but still acceptable) internal consistency for mother-reported monitoring (a = .64) and inductive reasoning (a = .67).

Adolescent outcomes. Adolescent delinquency, self-reported grade point average (GPA), and life meaning were assessed at W2. Adolescent delinquency was assessed using a 14-item "rule-breaking behaviors" subscale of the Youth Self-Report (Achenbach, 2001). Parents and adolescents rated adolescent delinquent behaviors (e.g., "I lie or cheat") on a three-point scale. One item ("feel guilty after doing something I should not do") was dropped due to low factor loading in factor analysis. In light of the low frequency of delinquent behaviors, each delinquent behavior was dichotomized, such that a 0 rating was retained and 1 represented any endorsement of delinquent behaviors. Adolescent-reported GPA ranged from 1 (*A+*) to 13 (*F*). These grades were then reverse coded, with higher scores indicating better academic performance. Life meaning was measured using three items from the meaning in life questionnaire (Steger et al., 2006). Adolescents rated their sense of life meaning (e.g., "My life has a clear sense of purpose") on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*), with higher scores reflecting higher levels of life meaning (a = .92).

Parental socialization correlates. Potential correlates of parental socialization strategies were assessed at W1, including adolescent gender, family income, parental education, and paternal and maternal depressive symptoms. Fathers and mothers reported their family income in the past year using a scale ranging from 0 (*less than $10,000*) to 11 (*more than $110,000*), and their highest level of education attained using a scale ranging from 1 (*no formal schooling*) to 11 (*finished graduate degree*). Fathers' and mothers' reports were averaged to indicate family income and parental education. Depressive symptoms were assessed using the 20-item Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression (CES-D) scale (Radloff, 1977). Fathers and mothers self-reported on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (*rarely or none of the time*) to 4 (*most or all of the time*; a = .81 to .88).

Analysis Plan

To address our first goal of evaluating how parental cultural socialization practices and general parenting practices co-occur in Mexican-origin families, we conducted latent profile analysis in Mplus 7.2 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2014). Missing data were handled by full information maximum likelihood estimation in Mplus, which allows the full usage of the available information in model estimation. A series of models were specified (i.e., 1 to 5 classes). In line with recommendations (Nylund, Asparouhov, & Muthen, 2007), the best-fitting solution was determined by examining the Bayesian information criteria (BIC) and the adjusted Bayesian information criteria (ABIC), performing the Lo-Mendell-Rubin (LMR) test, and evaluating each solution from a substantive viewpoint. Specifically, smaller values on the BIC and ABIC are indicative of a better-fitting model, and a significant p value on the LMR indicates that a model with k classes had a better fit to the data than a model with K–1 classes. We conducted four sets of latent profile analysis models, two for fathers' and adolescents' reports of

paternal socialization, and two for mothers' and adolescents' reports of maternal socialization separately.

For our second goal, we compared W1 parental socialization correlates (parental education, income, and depressive symptoms; and adolescent gender) across maternal and paternal socialization profiles. Specifically, for W1 parental socialization correlates, we used chi-square tests for categorical variables (i.e., adolescent gender) and analyses of variance for continuous variables. For our third goal, we compared W2 adolescent outcomes (delinquency, grades, and life meaning) across maternal and paternal socialization profiles. Specifically, for W2 outcomes, analyses of covariance were conducted. Covariates for W2 outcomes included adolescent age, and gender, and nativity; and family income and parental educational level. When there was a significant difference among profiles ($p < .05$), post hoc multiple comparisons were conducted. For multiple comparisons, we report results that were significant at $a = .01$ level ($p < .01$).

Results

Descriptive Statistics

The correlations of the parental socialization variables across reporters are presented in Table 1. The correlation between parents' and adolescents' reports on the same study construct ranged from 0.02 to 0.22, indicating generally low levels of correspondence between parent and child reports. Paired-sample t tests comparing parent and adolescent reports on the same study construct showed that both fathers and mothers reported higher levels of warmth, monitoring, reasoning, and socialization toward independence, and lower levels of hostility, than did adolescents. Compared to adolescents, mothers (but not fathers) also reported higher levels of socialization toward *respeto*. These results suggest the need to evaluate parenting using multiple reporters, as each reporter may provide a unique perspective.

Parental Socialization Profiles

Model fit indices of latent profile analyses are presented in Table 2. We found that the optimal solution for father-reported

Table 2
Latent Profile Analysis Fit Indices and Statistics

Number of profiles	BIC	ABIC	Entropy	LMRT p value
Father socialization (father report), $n = 293$				
1	4,041.36	4,003.30	1.00	—
2	**3,725.00**	**3,664.74**	**.83**	**.00**
3	3,644.84	3,562.39	.88	.19
4	3,604.94	3,500.29	.88	.31
5	3,551.66	3,424.81	.93	.20
Father socialization (adolescent report), $n = 570$				
1	9,686.12	9,648.02	1.00	—
2	8,837.98	8,777.67	.84	.00
3	8,562.22	8,479.68	.82	.15
4	**8,457.76**	**8,353.00**	**.85**	**.01**
5	8,444.82	8,317.84	.86	.24
Mother socialization (mother report), $n = 595$				
1	7,226.58	7,188.48	1.00	—
2	6,627.47	6,567.15	.92	.00
3	6,394.91	6,312.37	.89	.02
4	**6,249.84**	**6,145.08**	**.88**	**.03**
5	5,101.27	4,974.28	.96	.03
Mother socialization (adolescent report), $n = 604$				
1	9,553.94	9,515.84	1.00	—
2	8,829.93	8,769.61	.84	.00
3	8,694.08	8,611.54	.83	.42
4	**8,630.85**	**8,526.08**	**.78**	**.01**
5	8,604.91	8,477.92	.81	.63

Note. BIC = Bayesian information criterion; ABIC = Adjusted Bayesian information criterion; LMRT = Lo-Mendell-Rubin test. Bolded text indicates the best-fitting solution.

paternal socialization was the two-profile solution, with ABIC and BIC values close to the three-profile solution and an LMR p value smaller than 0.05; for mother-reported maternal socialization and adolescent-reported paternal and maternal socialization, the optimal solution was the four-profile solution, with ABIC and BIC values starting to level off after the four-profile solution and an LMR p value smaller than 0.05, considering also the substantive meaning of profiles. The means of each group and analysis of variance results of mean differences on the specific indicators by group membership are shown in Table 3. Figure 1 presents a

Table 1
Correlations and Test Statistics of Parental Socialization Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	N	M (SD)	t values (df = 594)
1. Warmth (PR)	—	.22	−.27	−.10	.43	.09	.55	.07	.32	.07	.33	.11	595	6.07 (.78)	16.1
2. Warmth (AR)	.18	—	−.18	−.28	.15	.58	.08	.64	.01	.40	.05	.44	604	5.18 (1.27)	
3. Hostility (PR)	−.23	−.07	—	.22	−.11	−.14	−.12	−.11	−.01	−.06	−.09	−.11	595	2.57 (1.07)	−3.53
4. Hostility (AR)	−.08	−.22	.17	—	−.02	−.24	−.02	−.20	.00	−.08	−.09	−.22	604	2.76 (1.12)	
5. Monitoring (PR)	.48	.07	−.19	.01	—	.16	.48	.01	.18	.07	.19	.09	595	4.27 (.70)	15.59
6. Monitoring (AR)	.10	.67	.02	−.12	.07	—	.09	.55	.04	.35	.07	.29	604	4.08 (.82)	
7. Reasoning (PR)	.57	.05	.00	−.02	.56	.04	—	.01	.23	.00	.34	.03	595	4.27 (.70)	9.18
8. Reasoning (AR)	.07	.74	−.05	−.14	.00	.63	.03	—	.01	.41	.04	.36	604	3.82 (.93)	
9. Respeto (PR)	.35	.06	.00	−.02	.21	.03	.33	.01	—	.05	.44	.01	595	4.48 (.50)	3.34
10. Respeto (AR)	.11	.49	.01	−.13	.05	.41	.03	.46	.07	—	.13	.35	604	4.37 (.62)	
11. Independ (PR)	.50	.09	−.08	−.02	.36	.08	.43	.06	.53	.03	—	.07	594	4.16 (.56)	14.53
12. Independ (AR)	.05	.56	−.08	−.12	−.01	.41	.04	.50	.06	.50	.04	—	604	3.61 (.77)	
N	293	558	293	559	293	561	293	560	289	567	289	567			
M (SD)	5.79 (.93)	4.95 (1.47)	2.12 (.92)	2.31 (1.04)	4.43 (.70)	3.63 (1.08)	3.90 (.90)	3.54 (1.06)	4.32 (.57)	4.29 (.75)	4.08 (.60)	3.64 (.81)			
t values (df = 292)	6.96		−4.277		8.55		2.39		−1.21		5.46				

Note. PR = parent report; AR = adolescent report; Independ = Independence. Correlations and test statistics for maternal socialization variables were above the diagonal. Correlations and test statistics for paternal socialization variables were below the diagonal. The total possible sample for adolescent-report is 604, for mother-report is 595, for father-report is 293. The number of samples varied slightly across variables due to missing data.
$p < .05$. $p < .01$. $p < .001$.

Table 3
Mean-Level Differences Across Profiles on Indicators

Profile	Integrated-authoritative	Moderately integrated-no-nonsense	Moderately integrated-indulgent	Moderately integrated-harsh	Moderately integrated-no-nonsense	Moderately integrated-authoritative	Marginalized-neglectful	Marginalized-harsh	Separated-no-nonsense	F	p
Father parenting (FR)											
n (%)	203 (69%)	90 (31%)									
Warmth	6.22	4.82								$F(1, 291) = 266.61$	<.001
Hostility	2.01	2.36								$F(1, 291) = 9.11$	.003
Monitoring	4.75	3.70								$F(1, 291) = 263.95$	<.001
Reasoning	4.30	2.98								$F(1, 291) = 251.16$	<.001
Respeto	4.46	4.01								$F(1, 287) = 44.46$	<.001
Independence	4.27	3.65								$F(1, 287) = 85.65$	<.001
Father parenting (AR)											
n (%)	212 (37%)	235 (41%)		104 (18%)			17 (3%)				
Warmth	6.30_a	4.80_b		3.06_c			1.58_d			$F(3, 554) = 678.13$	<.001
Hostility	1.93_a	2.54_b		2.62_b			2.10_{ab}			$F(3, 555) = 17.95$	<.001
Monitoring	4.46_a	3.52_b		2.49_c			1.63_d			$F(3, 557) = 211.92$	<.001
Reasoning	4.47_a	3.39_b		2.33_c			1.43_d			$F(3, 556) = 348.46$	<.001
Respeto	4.68_a	4.33_b		3.77_c			2.17_d			$F(3, 563) = 153.73$	<.001
Independence	4.13_a	3.62_b		3.00_c			1.82_d			$F(3, 563) = 130.03$	<.001
Mother parenting (MR)											
n (%)	252 (42%)		83 (14%)			217 (37%)			43 (7%)		
Warmth	6.48_a		5.02_b			6.16_c			5.25_b	$F(3, 591) = 164.30$	<.001
Hostility	2.45_a		2.61_a			2.56_a			3.19_b	$F(3, 591) = 6.13$	<.001
Monitoring	4.83_a		4.06_b			4.77_a			4.16_b	$F(3, 591) = 100.32$	<.001
Reasoning	4.61_a		3.31_b			4.43_c			3.30_b	$F(3, 591) = 208.73$	<.001
Respeto	4.96_a		3.98_b			4.04_b			4.83_c	$F(3, 591) = 1116.85$	<.001
Independence	4.54_a		3.81_b			3.93_b			3.76_b	$F(3, 590) = 107.36$	<.001
Mother parenting (AR)											
n (%)	238 (37%)		233 (36%)			21 (3%)					
Warmth	6.28_a		4.98_b	3.84_c		2.07_d				$F(3, 600) = 525.22$	<.001
Hostility	2.34_a		2.89_b	3.23_c		3.63_c				$F(3, 600) = 25.82$	<.001
Monitoring	4.62_a		4.16_b	3.04_c		2.68_d				$F(3, 600) = 264.79$	<.001
Reasoning	4.55_a		3.72_b	2.86_c		1.81_d				$F(3, 600) = 304.40$	<.001
Respeto	4.66_a		4.34_b	4.01_c		3.29_d				$F(3, 600) = 70.42$	<.001
Independence	4.00_a		3.46_b	3.36_b		2.07_c				$F(3, 600) = 77.00$	<.001

Note. FR = Father report; MR = Mother report; AR = Adolescent report. Means that do not share a subscript within a row are significantly different from one another, $p < .01$. Significant statistics are bolded.

graphical summary of the identified paternal and maternal socialization profiles for each informant. We labeled the profiles based on each group's scores on profile indicators relative to sample means rather than to the actual rating scale. Because participants tend to report high scores on positive parenting indicators (i.e., parental monitoring and reasoning, see Table 1), a score that is considered low relative to the sample mean could actually be fairly high on the rating scale (e.g., a 4 on the 1–5 rating scale).

Paternal socialization profiles. For paternal socialization, two profiles emerged from fathers' self-reports. The majority of fathers (labeled *integrated–authoritative*, 69%) were high in cultural socialization toward both *respeto* and independence; high on warmth, monitoring, and inductive reasoning; and low on hostility relative to the other group. The remaining fathers (labeled *moderately integrated–no-nonsense,* 31%) had moderate scores in cultural socialization toward both *respeto* and independence; moderate scores in warmth, monitoring, and reasoning; and high scores in hostility relative to the other group. In assessing adolescents' reports of fathers' behaviors, besides the two profiles already identified using fathers' reports (i.e., *integrated–authoritative,* 37%; *moderately integrated–no-nonsense,* 41%), we found two additional profiles. Specifically, 18% of adolescents reported their fathers as being moderate in cultural socialization toward *respeto* and independence; relatively low in warmth, monitoring, and inductive reasoning; and relatively high in hostility (labeled *moderately integrated–harsh*). And 3% of adolescents reported their

fathers as being very low on all indicators (labeled *marginalized–neglectful*).

Maternal socialization profiles. We found two maternal socialization profiles that were the same as paternal socialization profiles: the integrated–authoritative profile (mother-reported, 42%; adolescent-reported, 37%) and the moderately integrated–no-nonsense profile (adolescent-reported, 17%) both emerged. We also identified four additional profiles for maternal socialization. We found a moderately integrated–indulgent group in assessing both mothers' (14%) and adolescents' (36%) reports. This profile was characterized by moderate scores in socialization toward *respeto* and independence; moderate scores in monitoring, reasoning, and warmth; and relatively low scores in hostility. According to mothers' reports, 37% of mothers had moderate scores in socialization toward *respeto* and independence; relatively high scores in monitoring, reasoning, and warmth; and relatively low scores in hostility (moderately integrated–authoritative). Another 7% of mothers reported a relatively large discrepancy between socialization toward *respeto* versus independence (high in socialization toward *respeto*, but relatively low in socialization toward independence); moderate scores on warmth, monitoring, and reasoning; and relatively high scores in hostility (separated–no-nonsense). According to adolescents' reports, there was a small group of mothers (3%) who scored low on cultural socialization toward both *respeto* and independence; low on warmth, monitor-
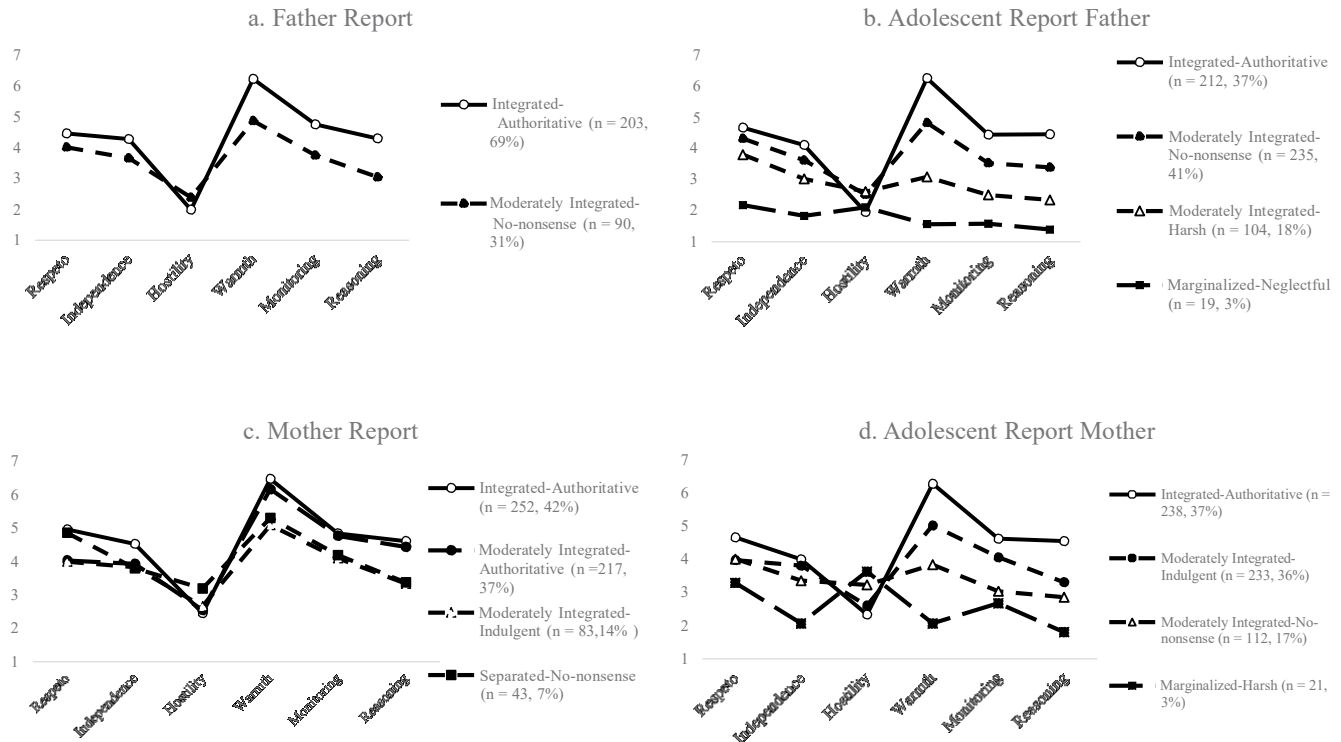
Figure 1. Parenting profiles estimated from parents' and adolescents' reports. Hostility and warmth ranged from 1 to 7, and other indicators ranged from 1 to 5.

ing, and reasoning; and relatively high on hostility (marginalized–harsh).

In summary, we found similarities in the parental socialization profiles that emerged across parent gender (mothers vs. fathers) and across reporters (parent vs. adolescent reports). Notably, integrated–authoritative emerged as the most common profile for both maternal and paternal socialization profiles and across parent and adolescent reports. However, notable variations across parent gender and across reporters also occurred.

Correlates and Adolescent Outcomes of Parental Socialization Profiles

Correlates of parental socialization profiles. As shown in Tables 4 and 5, parental education and depressive symptoms were significantly different among father-reported paternal profiles and mother-reported maternal profiles but were not different among adolescent-reported profiles. Specifically, for father-reported profiles, fathers in the integrated–authoritative (vs. moderately integrated–nonsense) profile reported higher levels of education and fewer depressive symptoms. For mother-reported profiles, mothers in the integrated–authoritative profile reported higher levels of education than mothers in the moderately integrated–indulgent profile. In addition, mothers in the integrated–authoritative and moderately integrated–authoritative profiles reported lower levels of depressive symptoms compared to mothers in the separated–no-nonsense profile. Thus, it seems that parents with higher levels of education and fewer depressive symptoms are more likely to report an integrated–authoritative socialization strategy.

Adolescent outcomes and parental socialization profiles. Across adolescent-reported paternal profiles, there were differences on W2 adolescent-reported delinquency, school grades, and adolescent life meaning (see Table 4). Specifically, adolescents of fathers with an integrated–authoritative profile reported lower levels of delinquency compared to other adolescents. Adolescents of fathers with an integrated–authoritative profile also reported higher grades compared to adolescents of fathers with the moderately integrated–harsh profile. Finally, adolescents of fathers with integrated–authoritative and moderately integrated–no-nonsense profiles reported having a greater sense of life meaning than those with fathers who were moderately integrated–harsh.

Across adolescent-reported maternal profiles, there were also differences on W2 adolescent-reported delinquency, school grades, and life meaning (see Table 5). Specifically, adolescents of mothers with an integrated–authoritative profile reported lower levels of delinquency than those with a mother in one of the other three profiles; adolescents of mothers with a moderately integrated–indulgent profile also reported lower levels of delinquency compared with the adolescents of mothers with a moderately integrated–no-nonsense profile or a marginalized–harsh profile. Adolescents of mothers with an integrated–authoritative profile had higher grades than adolescents of mothers with a moderately integrated–no-nonsense profile. As for life meaning, adolescents of integrated–authoritative and moderately integrated–indulgent mothers reported higher levels of life meaning than those with marginalized–harsh mothers; adolescents of integrated–authoritative mothers also reported higher levels of life meaning than those with moderately integrated–no-nonsense mothers.

Table 4

Parenting Correlates and Adolescent Outcomes Across Adolescent-Reported and Father-Reported Paternal Parenting Profiles

	Adolescent-reported paternal parenting					Father-reported paternal parenting		
	Int-Autive	MoInt-No	MoInt-Harsh	Marg-Negl	F statistic	Int-Autive	MoInt-No	F statistic
Variable	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	F	M (SD)	M	F
Parenting correlates								
Female (AR)[1]	55%	55%	48%	58%	X²(3) = 1.79	45%	51%	X²(1) = .84
Income (FR) W1	2.65 (1.43)	2.76 (1.88)	3.06 (2.29)	2.33 (.58)	F(3, 271) = .55	2.79 (1.78)	2.65 (1.69)	F(1, 273) = .35
Educ (FR) W1	4.44 (2.4)	4.86 (2.15)	4.71 (2.39)	5 (2.45)	F(3, 289) = .74	4.96 (2.28)	4 (2.2)	**F(1, 291) = 11.21**
Depr (FR) W1	1.35 (.32)	1.42 (.34)	1.38 (.3)	1.39 (.31)	F(3, 289) = .94	1.35 (.3)	1.45 (.36)	**F(1, 291) = 5.15**
Adolescent outcomes[2]								
Delin (FR) W2	.1 (.15)	.09 (.09)	.11 (.12)	.15 (0)	F(3, 180) = .38	.08 (.12)	.13 (.12)	**F(1, 171) = 4.43**
Delin (AR) W2	.18 (.15)a	.23 (.16)b	.29 (.17)b	.3 (.16)b	**F(3, 409) = 9.30**	.22 (.16)	.21 (.17)	F(1, 218) = .21
Grades (AR) W2	10.21 (2)a	10.17 (1.66)a	9.47 (2.11)b	9.29 (1.96)ab	**F(3, 409) = 3.82**	10.24 (1.72)	10 (2.24)	F(1, 219) = .74
Life (AR) W2	3.84 (.89)a	3.72 (.70)a	3.41 (.74)b	3.41 (.92)ab	**F(3, 410) = 5.92**	3.81 (.79)	3.63 (.79)	F(1, 219) = 2.40

Note. Int-Autive = Integrated-Authoritative; MoInt- No = Moderately Integrated-No-nonsense; MoInt- Harsh = Moderately Integrated-Harsh; Marg-Negl = Marginalized-Neglectful; MoInt- No = Moderately Integrated-No-nonsense; W1 = Wave 1; W2 = Wave 2; AR = Adolescent Report; FR = Father Report; Educ = Education Level; Depr = Depressive Symptoms; Delin = Adolescent Delinquency; Life = Life Meaning. Means that do not share a subscript within a row are significantly different from one another, $p < .01$. Significant statistics are bolded.
[1] For categorical variables, the chi-square test is used.   [2] The analysis controlled for the following covariates: adolescent age, gender, and nativity; parental income and education level.
$p < .05$. $p < .01$. $p < .001$.

For parent-reported socialization profiles, only parent-reported adolescent delinquent behaviors at W2 differed significantly across groups. Specifically, fathers in the integrated–authoritative (vs. moderately integrated–indulgent) profile reported their adolescents as being less delinquent. Similarly, mothers with an integrated–authoritative profile reported their adolescents as less delinquent compared to mothers in the moderately integrated–indulgent and separated–no-nonsense profiles.

Discussion

Studying parental socialization is critical for understanding the developmental outcomes of children. In the case of Mexican-origin parents, it is important to consider unique aspects of parental socialization that reflect the family's cultural background (Ceballo et al., 2012). Guided by Darling and Steinberg's (1993) integrative model of parenting, and extending previous work examining profiles of parenting (White et al., 2013), the current study examined parental socialization profiles based on both cultural socialization practices and general parenting practices among Mexican-origin families. We found that an integrated–authoritative profile emerged as the most common and generally most adaptive profile. Our results suggest that Mexican-origin parents exert a wide variety of strategies to socialize their children and that, indeed, cultural values co-occur with general aspects of parenting to affect adolescent well-being. There were some variations in the results depending on who reported on study variables (adolescents, moth-

Table 5

Parenting Correlates and Adolescent Outcomes Across Adolescent-Reported and Mother Reported Maternal Parenting Profiles

	Adolescent-reported maternal parenting					Mother-reported maternal parenting				
	Int- Autive	MoInt-Indu	MoInt-No	Marg-Harsh	F statistic	Int-Autive	MoInt-Indu	MoInt-Autive	Sepa-No	F statistic
Variable	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	F	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	F
Parenting correlates										
Female (AR)[1]	60%	52%	48%	43%	X²(3) = 7.00	52%	55%	55%	56%	X²(3) = .53
Income (MR) W1	2.17 (1.46)	2.21 (1.54)	2.45 (1.81)	2.15 (1.5)	F(3, 490) = .69	2.13 (1.56)	2.2 (1.5)	2.34 (1.57)	2.39 (1.55)	F(3, 490) = .74
Educ (MR) W1	4.75 (2.17)	4.86 (2.24)	4.94 (2.26)	4.35 (1.81)	F(3, 589) = .51	5.04 (2.15)a	4.23 (2.24)b	4.87 (2.23)ab	4.37 (1.99)ab	**F(3, 588) = 3.45**
Depr (MR) W1	1.45 (.41)	1.48 (.41)	1.48 (.46)	1.51 (.51)	F(3, 591) = .38	1.42 (.42)a	1.52 (.37)ab	1.47 (.42)a	1.66 (.49)b	**F(3, 591) = 4.29**
Adolescent outcomes[2]										
Delin (MR) W2	.07 (.12)	.08 (.1)	.09 (.11)	.13 (.12)	F(3, 433) = 1.42	.06 (.08)a	.11 (.12)b	.08 (.12)ab	.13 (.12)b	**F(3, 428) = 6.04**
Delin (AR) W2	.18 (.15)a	.24 (.16)b	.30 (.19)b	.34 (.2)c	**F(3, 435) = 13.25**	.22 (.17)	.26 (.18)	.21 (.16)	.30 (.21)	F(3, 428) = 2.85
Grades (AR) W2	10.32 (1.86)a	9.95 (1.81)ab	9.47 (2.08)b	9.95 (1.81)ab	**F(3, 435) = 3.76**	10.02 (1.98)	9.74 (1.83)	10.17 (1.73)	9.45 (2.20)	F(3, 428) = 1.68
Life (AR) W2	3.89 (.84)a	3.68 (.72)ac	3.46 (.69)bc	2.95 (.7)b	**F(3, 436) = 12.28**	3.68 (.84)	3.52 (.86)	3.79 (.74)	3.66 (.62)	F(3, 429) = 1.69

Note. Int- Autive = Integrated-Authoritative; MoInt-Indu = Moderately Integrated- Indulgent; MoInt-No = Moderately Integrated-No-nonsense; Marg-Harsh = Marginalized-Harsh; MoInt-Autive = Moderately Integrated-Authoritative; Sepa-No = Separated-No-nonsense; W1 = Wave 1; W2 = Wave 2; AR = Adolescent Report; MR = Mother Report; Educ = Education Level; Depr = Depressive Symptoms; Delin = Adolescent Delinquency; Life = Life Meaning. Means that do not share a subscript within a row are significantly different from one another, $p < .01$. Significant statistics are bolded.
[1] For categorical variables, the chi-square test is used.   [2] The analysis controlled for the following covariates: adolescent age, gender, and nativity; parental income and education level.
$p < .05$. $p < .01$. $p < .001$.

ers, or fathers). In the following, we first discuss general patterns of results, focusing more on adolescent reports given that adolescent-reported profiles were more predictive of adolescent outcomes; then, we highlight some key differences across reporters.

Our study extends the literature on parental socialization, which has mainly focused on socialization toward the heritage culture (Ayón et al., 2015; White et al., 2013), by including parental socialization of adolescents toward both heritage and U.S. American cultures. In line with the bidimensional model of acculturation that has been used to describe acculturation strategies of immigrants (Berry, 2005), we found that the cultural socialization practices of immigrant parents were either integrated or moderately integrated (parents teach adolescents both heritage and host cultural values to a high or moderate degree), separated (parents are more likely to teach adolescents heritage cultural values than host cultural values), or marginalized (parents teach adolescents neither the heritage nor the host cultural values). However, we did not find evidence for an assimilated cultural socialization profile (parents teach adolescents host cultural values more than heritage values), even though such a profile would be expected based on acculturation theory (Berry, 2005). The absence of an assimilated cultural socialization profile may be because parents in our sample had limited English proficiency and thus may remain more attached to Mexican culture at the expense of becoming involved in U.S. culture. This profile may emerge in future studies using more diverse samples of Mexican-origin families. The current study also extended the bidimensional model of acculturation (Berry, 2005), by demonstrating that it can be used to understand cultural socialization strategies within immigrant families.

The current study identified five general parenting profiles by extending the classical parenting dimensions to include warmth, hostility, monitoring, and reasoning. Consistent with prior studies using more nuanced measures (Domenech Rodríguez et al., 2009; Driscoll, Russell, & Crockett, 2008; White et al., 2013), we found evidence of the classic parenting styles (i.e., authoritative, indulgent, and neglectful), along with two more culturally specific parenting profiles: harsh and no-nonsense parenting. Harsh parenting was characterized by high levels of hostility accompanied by low levels of warmth, monitoring and reasoning. No-nonsense parenting, in the current study, features high levels of hostility in combination with moderate to high levels of warmth, monitoring and reasoning, consistent with the definition of no-nonsense parenting suggested by Brody and Flor (1998). Our finding of a no-nonsense parenting profile in Mexican-origin parents replicates White et al.'s (2013) finding of no-nonsense parenting among Mexican-origin fathers and extends this finding to mothers. The absence of an authoritarian profile, characterized as low in warmth and high in control (Steinberg, Mounts, Lamborn, & Dornbusch, 1991), in our study is consistent with previous studies that have also failed to find authoritarian parenting among Latino parents.

Past research on parenting practices among Mexican-origin families has relied mainly on general parenting dimensions, and the few studies that have incorporated cultural values often used a variable-centered approach to examine how socialization toward cultural values directly or indirectly relates to parenting behaviors (Calzada et al., 2012; Smalls, 2009; White et al., 2013). The current study moved beyond the existing literature by examining how these two aspects of parenting—cultural socialization and

general parenting practices—interact to inform parental socialization profiles. Consistent with our hypotheses, certain combinations of cultural socialization strategies and general parenting styles emerged. The integrated–authoritative profile was the most common for both mothers and fathers, followed by moderately integrated–authoritative, and moderately integrated–indulgent or moderately integrated–no-nonsense, depending on the informant. marginalized–harsh, marginalized–neglectful, or separated—no-nonsense made up the smallest proportion based on different informants. This study is one of the first to identify parental socialization profiles among Mexican-origin parents of adolescents in a way that considers both cultural socialization and general parenting dimensions.

In terms of how adolescent outcomes differ across parental socialization profiles, in general, the integrated–authoritative parental socialization profile was more adaptive compared to other profiles, as it was associated with significantly fewer delinquent behaviors, slightly higher grades, and slightly higher levels of life meaning. This is consistent with previous findings on how integrated socialization and authoritative parenting are separately associated with better developmental outcomes (Hughes et al., 2006). The moderately integrated–indulgent profile showed some similar developmental outcomes (i.e., similar GPA and life meaning) to the integrated–authoritative profile, indicating that the moderately integrated–indulgent profile is also advantageous or adaptive in some ways. Consistent with our hypothesis, the marginalized–harsh profile was associated with the worst outcomes. Our finding that profiles with an integrated or moderately integrated approach to socialization were associated with better adolescent adjustment supports the bicultural socialization perspective (Halgunseth et al., 2006; Marks et al., 2014), indicating that socializing adolescents toward both heritage and host cultures may be most beneficial for adolescent development. The current study found that profiles with no-nonsense parenting did not have better adolescent outcomes than other profiles. But prior studies have found that no-nonsense parenting can relate to better developmental outcomes for children in the long term, specifically in the context of adverse and dangerous neighborhood environments (Cruz-Santiago & Ramírez-Garcia, 2011; White et al., 2016). Thus, we recommend that future research examine how the neighborhood environment influences parenting practices and moderates the relation between parenting practices and adolescent outcomes.

It is worth noting that the same cultural socialization strategy could relate to different adolescent outcomes depending on which general parenting style is used. For example, based on adolescent-reported paternal profiles, adolescents with Moderately Integrated—No-nonsense parents and moderately integrated—harsh parents experienced the same type of cultural socialization, but had different outcomes in grades and sense of life meaning. In particular, adolescents with moderately integrated–no-nonsense parents had higher grades and a greater sense of life meaning compared with adolescents with moderately integrated–harsh parents. It is perhaps the relatively warm and supportive environment that Moderately integrated–no-nonsense parents (vs. moderately integrated–harsh parents) create for their children that makes such a difference. Prior empirical studies have also shown support for this notion (Smalls, 2009). For example, in a study on African American adolescents, Smalls (2009) found that adolescents had a more

a warm and supportive family environment. Together, the results of the current study are supportive of the integrative model of parenting (Darling & Steinberg, 1993), highlighting the importance of considering specific goal-oriented socialization practices together with general parenting practices.

As for potential predictors of parental socialization profiles, we found that parents with a higher level of education and fewer depressive symptoms were more likely to be characterized as integrated–authoritative. This finding for parental education is consistent with prior studies demonstrating that more educated parents are more likely to provide warmth and monitoring, and also to socialize their children in both their heritage culture and the U.S. culture in order to ensure their success in both communities (Elgar, Mills, McGrath, Waschbusch, & Brownridge, 2007). The finding that parents with fewer depressive symptoms were more likely to be in the integrated–authoritative parenting profile is consistent with prior research demonstrating that less parental depression is associated with more nurturing, and less rejection (Elgar et al., 2007). Adolescent gender did not significantly relate to parenting behaviors, suggesting that the overall parental socialization profiles did not differ across adolescent gender.

Examining both parent and adolescent reports of maternal and paternal cultural socialization and general parenting practices together, the current study found that parental socialization profiles and their relations to adolescent outcomes vary across reporters. In general, compared to parents' self-reports, adolescents are less likely to categorize parents as integrated–authoritative, and more likely to categorize parents as moderately integrated–no nonsense or separated/marginalized–harsh. This finding is consistent with previous research indicating that parents tend to assess their own parenting more positively than their adolescents do (Korelitz & Garber, 2016). There were also reporter differences in the relation between parental socialization profiles and adolescent outcomes: the relation tended to be more evident when parental socialization profiles and adolescent outcomes were from the same reporter. Specifically, adolescent-reported parenting profiles related to adolescent-reported outcomes, whereas parent-reported profiles related to parent-reported adolescent outcomes (i.e., delinquency). These variations across reporters highlight the importance of including multiple reporters when examining family dynamics and child development. In addition to looking at how study results vary across reporters, future studies can consider incorporating reports from father, mother, and children simultaneously to create family socialization profiles, given that the family is an interdependent system (Cox & Paley, 2003).

Although the current study made significant contributions to the research on parental socialization in Mexican-origin families, several limitations should be noted when interpreting our findings. First, the results of our study are limited to Mexican-origin families residing in central Texas, where there is a high concentration of Latinos. Future studies should examine whether the current results are generalizable to families in different regions of the U.S. that have different concentrations of Latinos. Second, the current study focuses on the developmental outcomes of early adolescents only. It is not known how parental socialization profiles may influence development later in adolescence or in emerging adulthood. Future research should use a longitudinal approach that spans multiple developmental periods to investigate how parental

middle, and late adolescence. Third, the current study used only two-item measures to assess socialization toward *respeto* and independence. Future studies should use more comprehensive measures (e.g., with more items capturing more cultural values) to assess Mexican-origin parents' socialization of their children toward heritage and host cultures. Fourth, our measure of adolescents' GPA is self-reported, which may introduce self-evaluation biases. Future studies should include objective measures (e.g., standard test scores) to examine adolescents' academic achievement. Finally, our analyses cannot determine the direction of the relation between parental socialization and adolescent outcomes. Although we assumed that parental socialization profiles would influence adolescent outcomes, and although this assumption was based on many prior theoretical and empirical works (Hughes et al., 2006; White et al., 2016), it is possible that adolescent outcomes may also influence parental socialization practices. Future studies should examine the potential bidirectional relation between parental socialization and adolescent outcomes.

Despite these limitations, this study presents an initial effort to examine parental socialization profiles using both cultural socialization and general parenting practices to understand parenting in Mexican-origin families. Our results highlight the importance of adopting a comprehensive approach by showing how parenting profiles emerge from different configurations of cultural socialization strategies and general parenting practices, and how each profile is associated with different adolescent outcomes. We found that integrated–authoritative parenting is the most common parenting profile, and that it is also generally more adaptive, given that it relates to better adolescent outcomes. Encouraging integrated–authoritative parenting practices may help promote the well-being of Mexican-origin adolescents.

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