Acculturation and Parental Expectations

By

Naomi A Fernandez

Submitted to the Sociology Department

School of Natural and Social Sciences

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of Bachelor of Arts

Purchase College

State University of New York

May 2024

Accepted:

_____, Sponsor

Dr. Alexis Silver, Ph.D., Sociology

_____, Second reader

Dr. Kristen Karlberg, Ph.D., M.P.H.

Abstract

Communities within Latino cultures have expressed concern that parent-adolescent relationships have become strained due to the culturally imposed beliefs that have found their way into parenting styles. Within my study I examined how they Latino immigrant parents and U.S.-born Latino parents share and enforce their views on sex and gender with their adolescents. I argued that without cultural brokers, such as trusted adults in the community, immigrant parents and their children may experience more tensions and distance than U.S.-born Latino parents of the same ethnicity. In the course of my study, I suggested variations in parenting styles, as an adolescent's gender and sexual autonomy may be shaped by cultural and religious convictions, which could potentially undergo modifications due to distinctions arising from acculturation factors. I collected my samples from three major Latino groups, recruiting participants that resided in the Bronx, New York —specifically, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, and Mexicans, through a series of in-depth interviews of U.S.-born Latino parents raised in New York City's boroughs. I also interviewed immigrant Latino parents who have lived in the boroughs for a substantial amount of time to have American high school-aged children. I interviewed parents of each demographic, with only interviewing one couple, and in total, twelve individuals. I found that the immigrant Latino parents held the same views on sharing and enforcing their views on gender and sex those of the U.S.-born Latino parents. Associating their acculturated ideals to the acquiring of higher education and employment after relocating to New York city.

Introduction/Overview

“The freedom to be an individual is the essence of America" (Vos Savant, 2024). This quote in itself encaptures the desire to live in the United States. Many immigrants come to America to give their children a better life than they had. Understandably, everyone deserves access to education, employment opportunities, and a safe living environment without fear of persecution or human rights violations. It is the same reason Leonard Berstein’s song “America,” featured in the Broadway play/drama film “Westside Story,” Anita sings the line “I like to live in America, okay to be in America, everything free in America.” However, these assets often come with Western civilization ideals such as individualism, which may not be commonly observed or recognized in other parts of the world. This is why Anita’s praise for America is brought back to reality when Bernardo reminds her that in America, everything comes with a cost, singing “for a small fee in America.” It is important to recognize that the term “fee” can encompass various aspects, including one’s culturally imposed beliefs. Whether or not this aspect is seen as enticing, it is an undeniable factor of American culture.

The rejection of one's culturally imposed beliefs depends on an individual’s willingness to undergo acculturation. I am curious if this is a common occurrence among all Latinos, as they are one of the largest immigrant groups in the country. I am interested in exploring whether Latino parents who were born in America are more likely to deviate from their heritage’s cultural values when communicating with their adolescents on taboo topics. As well as, whether those who immigrate from their country of ethnic origin to the United States retain their original cultural values instead of the now prominent American culture. I credit part of my curiosity to my own experience as a U.S.-born Latino, born to parents of Dominican and Puerto Rican descent. Although both of them have lived in New York City for a substantial amount of time, my father came when he was a toddler and my mother when she was a young adult in the

mid-90s. Due to their different relocation timelines, I dealt with differing parenting styles that were influenced by their subjection to acculturation. Such as my mother's hesitance towards sleepovers, dating, modern medicine, and American ways of dressing, while my father was accepting of those things.

The purpose of my research was to examine how immigrant Latino and U.S.-born Latino parents share and enforce their views on sex and gender with their adolescents. Taking into account that as of 1917, Puerto Ricans were assigned U.S. citizenship, defining their relocation as international-migration rather than immigration. However, despite Puerto Rico's initial title of being U.S. territory, referred to as the "Commonwealth of Puerto Rico," its influence is understood to be mainly legislative, having little to no effect on the culture that they share with other independent Latino countries. For the purpose of my study, I grouped Puerto Rican international-migrant parents in my analysis of the parenting styles of immigrant Latino parents.

Previous research has shown that U.S.-born children of immigrants adopt less conservative attitudes, creating a lack of understanding between the two (the parents and children). On the grounds of this, I hypothesized that U.S.-born Latino parents are more likely to have less conservative views on sex and gender than their immigrant counterparts. Considering that Western culture normalizes freedom of speech and open discussions on taboo topics like sex and the expectations surrounding gender. While, the Caribbean, specifically those of Hispanic culture including those bordering the Caribbean Sea are more accustomed to conservative/traditional views that arose from the Spanish colonization of the Caribbean that instilled antiquated European ideals onto the culture, religion, society, and dialect of language. Such ideologies have stayed pertinent in the cultures and flourished among immigrants, even

after moving to America. As ideologies from their country of origin may conflict with those of America, that their children have taken on, playing a factor in possible disconnect.

I collected my samples from three major Latino groups, recruiting participants that resided in the Bronx, New York —specifically, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, and Mexicans, through a series of in-depth interviews of U.S.-born Latino parents raised in New York City's boroughs. I also interviewed immigrant Latino parents who have lived in the boroughs for a substantial amount of time to have American high school-aged children. I interviewed parents of each demographic, with only interviewing one couple, and in total, twelve individuals. All participants were over the age of eighteen and their legal statuses were not asked, and only acquired if they spoke about it on their own accord. I asked parents about their expectations and rules for their sons and daughters about household tasks and contributions, social life, and expectations for dating and marriage.

Through my interviews, I examined differences in the beliefs between the two types of parents, to identify underlying reasonings for how they choose to address topics on the expectations surrounding gender and sex with their adolescents, as parenting styles ultimately affect their children. Through my study, I aim to provide insights into each parent's reasoning, to promote better communication /understanding between U.S.-born children and their immigrant parents. The objective of my study was to gain a better understanding of the differences and similarities in their cultural beliefs, values, and practices across immigrant generations of contemporary parents. In the course of my study, I suggested variations in parenting styles regarding an adolescent’s gender and sexual autonomy may be shaped by cultural and religious convictions, which could potentially undergo modifications due to distinctions arising from acculturation factors. Because immigrant parents are less familiar with the cultural norms in the

U.S., they may be less likely to accept their children's choices surrounding sex and gender roles. I, therefore, argued that without cultural brokers, such as trusted adults in the community, immigrant/ international-migrant parents and their children may experience more tension and distance than U.S.-born Latino parents of the same ethnicity.

Lit Review

Acculturation Theory and Its Impact on the Immigrant Experience

My study is grounded on the theory of Acculturation, known as "a multidimensional process consisting of the confluence among heritage-cultural and receiving-cultural practices, values, and identifications" (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, Bryon, Szapocznik, 2010). The term was first introduced by John Wesley Powel, an American geologist, in a report for the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology in 1880 ("Acculturation-Drishti IAS"). In the beginning half of the 20th century, American sociologists concentrated on the idea and broadened its interpretation. As they no longer perceived it as a unidimensional process as previous psychologists presumed. They were instead viewed as a set of independent casts. Simply adopting the beliefs, values, and practices of a new country does not necessarily mean that an immigrant will abandon or no longer support those of origin. Previous researchers such as John Berry have studied its multifacetedness, accordingly producing the "Berry's Model of Acculturation," which suggested it distinguishes between acquiring receiving culture and preserving heritage culture. Deducting that it had four major categories, assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization (Schwartz et al., 2010). Further stating that "assimilation, (adopts the receiving culture and discards the heritage culture), separation (rejects the receiving culture and retains the heritage culture), integration (adopts the receiving culture and retains the heritage culture), and

marginalization (rejects both the heritage and receiving culture and retains cultures)" (Schwartz et al., 2010). This analysis highlights that the immigrant experience is not a linear path, that one's adaptation is instead a selective experience that varies from person to person.

There is no manual that immigrants are expected to abide by, some may choose to adapt to a new country by learning a native language, listening to different music forms, eating native foods, wearing different clothing, or altering their thought process to conform to the beliefs of the land. An individual might choose to embrace all of those actions when rejecting those of their country of origin, or selectively engage in some while adhering to their familiar customs. Due to this, thoughts about sex and gender could be a topic of conflict if the immigrant parent stands with the beliefs of their home country that might appear more conservative in comparison to those of America, and their U.S.-born Latino children. Especially, if the parent comes from a country that was colonized by Spain, as the Spanish influence practiced more traditional approaches to life. As discussed in the book "Across Generations," "members of the second generation reared in an American culture where early independence for children is encouraged and child-rearing norms are generally more permissive than in the country of origin, often view their parents as authoritarian and domineering. The parents, with their (sometimes idealized) old world standards, often think their children are rude and disrespectful" (Foner, 2009).

In fact, Arielle R. Deutsch and Lisa J. Crockett. study on the "Gender, Generational Status, and Parent-Adolescent Sexual Communication: Implications for Latino/Adolescent Sexual Behavior," insinuated that acculturation and sexual initiation were linked to each other. Stating that recent immigrants are more likely to subscribe to the sexual mores of their heritage culture, such as the value of marianismo, which emphasizes chastity, modesty, and self-sacrifice for girls, and machismo, which is sometimes linked to male power in sexual decision making

(Villarruel, 1998). In contrast, later-generation youth may adopt more gender-egalitarian sexual attitudes and be more inclined to engage in premarital sex (Deutsh, Crockett, 2016).

Importantly, acculturation does not occur at the same speed for every immigrant group. For example, Arnold and Meston's study on the analysis of minority groups and how their sexual attitudes are influenced by factors of culture, religiosity, and heritage through the lens of acculturation, found that Latino Americans and Euro-Americans produced less conservative sexual attitudes than their Asian counterparts. Demonstrating that Latinos with higher levels of acculturated characteristics have more similar sexual attitudes similar to those of Euro-Americans. Additionally discovered that Latinos who speak English, are a product of assimilation to American culture and are more open to liberal sexual attitudes than Spanish-speaking Latinos whose attitudes may appear less acculturated, demonstrating the two opposing mindsets of both demographics. Although the study did not address how or if parents set out expectations regarding sex to their children, it would follow that those with more liberal attitudes toward sex would be more accepting of their children's liberal attitudes about sex and sexuality. More importantly, it reassures the intersectionality between gender, sexual autonomy, and religion is strongly linked to the discussion of acculturation and its impact on the immigrant experience. As I follow how these concepts have manifested themselves in Latino culture, it is significant to identify how acculturation can impact a parent's view of these values and how it can influence discussions about intercourse and gender normalities with their adolescents.

Culturally Imposed Gender Roles

Patriarchal ideologies have been evident in American cultures for centuries. In addition, resistance to patriarchal ideology has also been evident, even if largely invisibilized in American cultures for centuries. Most notably noticed during the 1960s and 1970s second wave of

Feminism, leaders of the movement began to question women's designated role as homemakers. It was during this period that Betty Friedan wrote the "Feminine Mystique" challenging the common belief that if a woman was truly feminine, the life of a homemaker should be fulfilling. That femininity consisted of heavily emphasizing a woman's looks and seductiveness to acquire the "desired life" of a mother and a wife. Latino culture heavily emphasizes these "desired roles,"a large percentage of the population prioritizes values such as "familism, respect, religion, and traditional gender roles" (Knight et al., 2010).

While beliefs about gender may differ among families, gender roles undoubtedly retain cultural influences. However, it is important to examine the reasons behind the perpetuation of regional patriarchy and the assigned roles within it. Historically, Latinos are known for assigning males with more dominant roles and women the more submissive ones. There is a traditional expectation for men to be the primary breadwinners and head of household, while women are expected to take on the role of caregiver and homemaker. It may seem that these ideals may be considered outdated due to the evolution of feminist thought, however, it is evident that parts of the population have still retained these beliefs. For example, in the study of new progressive approaches to research regarding Latina women, it states, "Latinas have been routinely portrayed as submissive, subordinate, and passive. Research has qualified and contradicted this view since the 1970s, but only in the past decade have we seen the uneven, and at times contradictory, ways that patriarchal gender relations are alternately affirmed, contradicted, or reconstructed in various contexts-in households, in workplaces, and in community institutions" (Hondagnue-Sotelo et al., 1993). In other words, there is a generally accepted idea that machismo is present in all settings, yet research has illustrated how and where traditional gender roles get challenged or affirmed.

Nonetheless, various institutional settings reinforce gender norms, thus imposing more restrictions on women who are tasked with upholding gender expectations.

How and why normative gender expectations are reinforced in various settings, and particularly within the home varies by family. Researcher Gloria Gonzales Lopez (2004) argues that the strict treatment Mexican fathers impose onto their daughters is out of concern for their safety, thus challenging the stereotype that Mexican fathers are overprotective and controlling because they are inherently power-hungry. Instead, she argues that their actions are due to a lack of repercussions or guidance given to the young men of their culture, which causes them to demand sexual moderation from their daughters. Consequently, they fear if they refrain from strict parenting, their daughters will be harmed due to the misguidedness of men in their culture. This results in many being concerned that their daughters will end up pregnant out of wedlock, sexually assaulted, or deterred from achieving their goals.

As a parent, it should be instinctual to want to keep your child out of harm's way. Many who do not feel secure in the safety of their children result in tough love, as they believe it will make their lessons more effective. I view the strict behavior of the fathers in question as understandable, given that they relocated to Los Angeles which has a large population of Mexican immigrants. It is important to note that immigrant neighborhoods can both have positive and negative components. They can provide comfort to those who have left home for the first time, creating a home away from home where the culture is familiar, resulting in an easier transition. However, its familiarity can cause one to stay within their comfort zone, only choosing to assimilate to some extent. Although assimilation is not a mandatory process, retaining certain aspects of one’s country of ethnic origin might be a difficult experience when living in a new country with opposing views. González stated, “ Urban fathers, especially those

educated in poor and marginalized areas in Mexico City and Guadalajara, reported both their urban colonias and barrios in Mexico and their immigrant communities in Los Angeles to be equally dangerous for young women " (2004). This can be perceived as a negative aspect of immigrant neighborhoods, as immigrant men may choose to adopt the native language or fashion trends but might keep outdated ideals on women and sex. This is of relevance to my study as it reinforces my claim that acculturation is not straight lined and is instead subjective to each person. This can create uncomfortable situations for Latino immigrants and U.S.-born Latinos who may have different perspectives and struggle to find common ground.

Gonzáles notes that it is in most of the fathers plans to disclose the proper information on sex when they feel their daughters are old enough to obtain that information. She emphasized that one father had plans to speak to his daughter when they were older, stating, “When I get to talk with them about it, I will simply tell them that their moment should feel pleasurable to them, that they should feel comfortable with themselves, and that nothing should force them to do it, and that nobody has the right to make sex conditional and that depending on how they feel about it, they should proceed" (González, 2004). Regardless of the father's justification for the withholding of information from their daughters, it can still be perceived as flawed. Due to the concern that waiting too long to have this discussion with their adolescent might be detrimental. Having no information on premarital sex might be seen as beneficial, but it is counterproductive as young women are being thrown into the world with little to no knowledge of sexual risks.

However, the article demonstrates clear evidence that not all Mexican fathers feel the same way about their daughters, as those who have transcended their minds away from the regional patriarchies have “expressed more progressive views of female sexuality after experiencing higher education and college life. These men challenged some of the traditional

values that they had learned within family, peer groups, and neighborhood contexts" (Amuchástegui, 2001; Módena & Mendoza, 2001) (González, 2004). Culturally imposed gender roles have negatively influenced these fathers' mindsets, as it has undermined their sense of security, which pressures them to restrain information on sex or project strict attitudes onto their daughters to keep them safe.

As previously discussed, Latino parents' reluctance in being completely transparent with their children is multilayered, but most commonly credited to their feelings of apprehension. They withhold sexual information, by avoiding conversations about sex, because they view it as being seen as "taboo" or "vulgar" depending on the gender of their adolescents (Kenny et al., , 2013). Parents view these conversations as such, due to the negative connotations that societal stigmas have attached to the sexual promiscuity of women being a "moral flaw" (Poppi, Fabio Indio Massimo, 2020). According to one study of Latino families, specifically on the communication about sex between mother and daughters, many Latina women feel uncomfortable speaking on this topic with their adolescents, consequently, leading daughters to feel ashamed to ask them about it. Scared that their parents or family will think they are having premarital sex, many adolescents silence their thoughts or find out information for themselves by experiencing it firsthand in secret, being exposed to the media, or having conversations with friends. The fears are specifically experienced by young women, understandably when they have people telling them that premarital sex is a sin against God (Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2006). The fear of being suspected of being sexually active deters the young woman in context from considering any further conversations with relatives on the topics to preserve their reputation.

Past researchers have emphasized how a solid moral foundation begins at home; when this is not accomplished, adolescents can be misguided once they reach an age where

decision-making is imperative (González, 2004). Without this knowledge being properly acquired at home, as previously discussed adolescents will gather knowledge from a variety of sources. Although there are various outlets, misinformation can be provided or misinterpreted by the listener. You can only depend on the school systems to such an extent as the curriculums are heavily focused on teaching abstinence, which disengages students. A previous study on sex education stated to " Give teens the most comprehensive, honest, and accurate information on contraception, STIs, abortion, pregnancies, teen parenting, and sex regrets. Don't overemphasize that sex is a "bad" thing. Emphasize that sex is a weighty decision to make, involving many factors (some painful), and that teens have the option to abstain. Take away the mystery and tell them exactly what sex is. So, even if they choose to have sex, they are well informed and, hopefully, well protected" (Chandrasekher et al., 2003). If adolescents cannot obtain beneficial knowledge from their main reliable sources (their parents and school), the likelihood of them acquiring false narratives is higher, as researchers have found that adolescents who have done so have produced a lower intention to use a condom (Eversole, Berglas, N.F., Deadorff, J., & Constantine, N.A., 2017).

Expanding on my previous statement, adolescents who are not provided with reliable sexual information by their parents may find other sources to be informed. Whose legitimacy is not always guaranteed, misinformation or no information in itself can potentially lead to a risk to one's health. As portrayed in the high percentages of sexual health disparities found within the Puerto Rican community, credited to Puerto Rican mothers having avoidant attitudes toward this topic of discussion. (Torres, M. I., Granberry, P., Person, S., Allison, J., Rosal, M., & Rustan, S., 2016). It is misleading to perceive that the permissive parental treatment that young men receive in comparison to young women is just (Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2006). Many adolescents are left

to find this information out on their own, which negatively affects young women and young men, as both genders can contract STDs or in a situation with their female partner become impregnated. Many young men inflict harm on women and themselves without intending to but have no prior knowledge that teaches them otherwise. This strengthens my claim that parent-adolescent discussion on intercourse within the Latino community is affected by culturally imposed beliefs such as gender roles, which ultimately can lead to adolescents' unfortunate circumstances.

Gender Dynamics in the Impact of Religious Beliefs on Adolescents' Sexual Autonomy

Researchers have continuously debated whether religion can negatively or positively impact parent-adolescent relationships. A study that analyzed how these relationships have been either united or divided through the influence of religion stated, “Even among highly religious, shared-faith families, results suggested that religion can still have a dividing influence. This was most often seen when the religious values and what the parents wanted their children to do conflicted with more worldly or secular values and what the children wanted to do or how they wanted to be perceived by peers outside of their religious community. Although the parents focused on and tried to facilitate greater familial unity, it appears that, at times, this created conflict when children placed greater value on unity with their peer group” (Kelley e al., 2022). In the context of Catholicism, its influence in Latin America has impacted Latino parents in their link to sexuality and perceived promiscuity to sinfulness and equate virginity with morality, particularly for women. Their attitudes about religion and sex can influence the messages that they convey to their children about their morality, and can therefore strain parent-child relationships during adolescence. For example, in one study “Rising Souls Religion and Family

Life Among Latinos," its objective was to analyze the perceptions of Latino adolescents on how Religion affects family dynamics while incorporating elements of acculturation. Discussed within the study was how Latino men did not feel that religion within families was a negative practice. Instead, it was viewed as a positive practice that promotes "togetherness" and "sharing" (Veliz, 2014). Noting the strong implementation of the belief in marianismo and machismo, known as the "co-existing constructs that describe socially acceptable norms and beliefs that support men and women in traditional gender roles emphasizing a patriarchal power structure" (Nunez et al., 2016). Men do not have to alter much about their daily lives to be considered devoted to their religion. The most drastic sacrifice that is expected by them is abstaining from premarital sex, which many participate in secretly, only possibly being discovered if a child is conceived out of wedlock. It is then when the shaming of men may occur, but women are expected to live a sacrificial lifestyle that is justified through the belief of Marianismo. Which is driven by "Christian values brought to Latin America during colonization, which defined women as nurturing figures and spiritual pillars of the family; it is a construction of the expected female gender roles based on the Virgin Mary" (Gil & Velazquez, 1996; Nieman, 2004, as cited in Nunez et al., 2016). Women must dedicate themselves to dressing modestly, refraining from vulgar language, and overall, not participating in "unjust" activities which is what most of society is perceived to be doing in the eyes of the Catholic church. Due to this, it is without surprise that Latino women receive the hardest restrictions in the eyes of 'good faith' as the bible has painted women to be the 'issue' for centuries. Depicted in the story of Adam and Eve, Eve is stigmatized as a seducing villain who uses her femininity as a weapon of coercion. This strengthened Veliz's argument that Latino women "were more likely to have a strong opinion one

way or another, about relationships" (2014). It can either build you up, and you grow to appreciate it, or it can strip you of your autonomy.

This obsession with one's children demonstrates what the scripture deems as suitable, in fear that it will reflect badly on the family, stripping an individual's ability to embrace their own identity and life experience reduces them to an extension of their parent rather than a person. It is daughters who bear the unequal burden of protecting and preserving the family name. A daughter who fell victim to her parents discussed in an interview the shame she endured due to her parent's marianistic beliefs, as well as their acknowledgment of her autonomy. She states "My mom, because I was dating a guy and I go see him, she calls me a slut. Because I am a girl, I should not go over there. I was twenty years old and in college... So... I mean they're old school, they're old-fashioned" (Foner, 2009). Many Latino parents are responsible for behaving in the manner she described, demonstrating narcissistic and selfish tendencies. In another study, Amsel (2013) asserted, "Parents who struggle with the idea that their reflection of them (for better and worse) have not separated from their adolescents. These parents tend to feel some responsibility for their adolescent's situation. Most often they believe that, either in their early behavior with their adolescents or in their biological contribution (or both), they have profoundly affected their adolescent's life and character" (Amsel, 2013). This supports my argument on how regional patriarchies can impose cultural beliefs onto parents, such as religion, whose influence can impact the sexual autonomy of adolescents, finding there to be heightened levels of shame and restrictions when in consideration of the female gender.

Data and Methods

Interested in discovering whether the fundamental concepts that were discussed within my analysis of Latino culture, would be altered by the pressures of conforming to a new prominent culture. I attempted to uncover this through a series of in-depth interviews with U.S.-born Latino and Latino immigrant families, specifically with those who resided in New York City. Functioning as the most suitable method to conduct my research, as it allowed me to collect concrete material from personal accounts. As importance was noted in Tegan George's article on the "Types of Interviews in Research|Guide & Examples," she stated, "Interviews are a great research tool. They allowed you to gather rich information and draw more detailed conclusions than other research methods, considering nonverbal cues, off-the-cuff reactions, and emotional responses" (George, 2022). It assisted me in differentiating each experience, opinion, and approach to parenting from the other. I used an interview guide, with questions that ensured that I would receive informative responses. As I formatted my questions in a manner that allowed the parents to feel comfortable opening up. I examined if they agreed or disagreed with its sentiments, and determined if generational status may have played a factor in their reply. I used a convenience sample as my method, as I lived in a largely diverse area with a large immigrant population in the Bronx, NY. From where I collected my convenience samples, I went around the area asking people in bodegas, churches, supermarkets, or in passing if they were interested in participating in my study. For those who agreed, the interviews were conducted in a manner that was most suitable for them, either in person, facetime, or via Zoom. The interviews took about thirty to forty minutes to complete and were semi-structured, semi-free discussions, with open-ended questions targeted to gather information about their adolescent relationships with their parents, their cultural beliefs, the impact immigration had on their life whether it was their journey or their parents, their country of ethnic origins ideologies surrounding gender and

sex, and their U.S.-born children's ideologies surrounding gender and sex. If any of my interviewees spoke only Spanish, I interviewed them in Spanish, translating my interview questions for them. I initially intended to interview six families, interviewing two families of each demographic, and twelve individuals in total. By controlling the variable that their children were of U.S.-born status and it was a two-parent household. However, I interviewed parents of each demographic, with only one couple, and in total twelve individuals, as I, unfortunately, couldn't find more couples that filled the criteria that I was looking for.. Due to the analysis of various personal accounts, I used the theory as my foundation, to weigh the impact of acculturation in each parent's response. For me to connect each experience to even broader issues within Latino culture theory provides meanings and explanations behind occurrences.

Findings and Analysis

I began collecting the participants that I would later conduct interviews with in the spring of march 2024. To start the process, I would visit my parents in the South Bronx almost every weekend, where many Latinos, ranging from immigrant and American status, call home. I stayed within the area between East Fordham Road and Valentine Avenue. Noting that the neighborhoods were of various cultural ethnicities, such as Dominicans, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Jamaicans, and Africans. Although I attempted to find my sample at multiple locations, such as St.Simon Stock and St.Joseph Church, and the Fordham Road Plaza, I found eight of my participants within the local bodega, known as "Los Palmaritos Deli Grocery." Between two Saturdays in March, the 16th and the 23rd, I recruited and conducted in person interviews giving every person a pseudonym to keep their identity anonymous. The sample included two immigrant Dominican mothers, Belkis aged 63 and Alibel aged 40. A U.S.-born

Dominican mother, Surilma (age 54), a U.S.-born Dominican father, Emmanuel (age 52), an international-migrant Puerto Rican mother, Carmen (age 67), an international-migrant Puerto Rican father, Luis (age 59), and a U.S.-born Puerto Rican couple, with Evi aged 50 and Michael 51. The other four participants I recruited with the help of the community, as family friends asked around for Mexicans who were interested in my being a part of my study. Eventually, we reached contact as my number was provided to them, so we then were able to set up an interview format that was most suitable for them. I recruited and conducted phone-call interviews between the dates of April 6th and 7th with an immigrant Mexican mother, Maria (age 58), an immigrant Mexican father, Juan (63), a U.S.-born Mexican mother Arianna (47), and a U.S.-born Mexican father Julio (50).

Within my analysis of my interviewees, I found that participants' ages ranged from 40 to 67, with (2) parents in their 40's, (7) parents in their 50's, and (3) parents in their 60's. All parents with immigrant status relocated to the Bronx, New York within different years, as Belkis came in the year 1995, Alibel in 2001, Julio in 1979, and Mari in 1973. However, the Puerto Rican parents with international-migrant status, Carmen and Luis, came to the Bronx, New York within the same year, 1968. Maria and Julio both recounted their individual experiences of crossing the border, arriving in Los Angeles illegally and eventually both migrated to New York where in 1986, Julio was granted amnesty. All parents with U.S.-born status were born between the years 1970-1977, all parents with immigrant status were born between the years 1961-1966. Except one, as Alibel was born in the year 1984. Parents with international-migration status were born in separate years, as Carmen was born in 1957 and Luis in 1964. Almost all participants gave birth to children in the United States (12), yet the Belkis had given birth to one of her daughters in La Vega, Dominican Republic. More than half were married (11), with the

one Maria being the only one who never married. In total, there were six U.S.-born sons and sixteen daughters, with only one daughter born in the Dominican Republic. The following descriptive findings reassert my initial discussion on how desirable living in the United States is. I assert this, due to the diverse representation of age, ethnicity, and relocation timelines presented. Themes that were depicted in the stories of Maria and Julio, two Mexican immigrant parents who came to America illegally. Their dedication and persistence draws emphasis on how desired it is to live in a country with opportunities that aid you in your life's progression, making dreams seem feasible at obtaining, such as owning your own home or building a family. Both parents had children in the United States, with the comfort of knowing that by being born as U.S. citizens, their children would be at a better advantage at achieving a successful future. Topics like these were discussed throughout the stories of each participant, as many shared similar beliefs, struggles, achievements, and disagreements.

During the interview process, each Latino parent was assigned an interview guide based on their immigrant or American status. Reinstating my inclusion of international-migrant Puerto Rican parents as they were given the same interview guide as the immigrant parents. Similar questions were asked between each group, however, they were structured to answer questions on their individual life experiences considering their place of birth. Within my analysis of the interviews, I prioritized the answers that spoke on the subsections of my literature review, focusing on answers that displayed how acculturation impacts the immigrant experience, culturally imposed gender roles, and gender dynamics in the impact of religious beliefs on adolescents' sexual autonomy. I **first** began by examining what themes were agreed and disagreed upon amongst the immigrant Latino parents. It is noteworthy to include that within every interview, shared beliefs amongst each parent were the descriptions of how growing up in

one's country of ethnic origin was viewed as "peaceful", the importance of family, all identifying with the Catholic faith and the high levels of respect towards their elders. In total, there were two questions specifically asked about the expectations surrounding gender, in the context of them being culturally imposed by regional patriarchies. Keep in mind that these questions were asked within the framework of how they were raised during their adolescence. The questions touched on whether there were parental or cultural expectations for men and women and if they felt they had retained their cultural ideals on the topic at hand. All six parents agreed that there were cultural expectations surrounding gender which were enforced by their parents in their teachings. Maria, a 58 year-old Mexican-born mother of one daughter expressed,

> Men would never be expected to do any housework and were given all the rights. While women were not allowed to go out unless it was with family members and were required to do all the housework before even being considered able to go out.

Julio, a 63 year-old Mexican-born father of three daughters similarly stated,

> Yes. Back home a lady was meant for house chores mainly because there was not much to do, meaning in terms of work. After all, we lived in a small town in terms of work because we lived in a small town where everyone knew each other but more so because there were only field and farming workmen as the form of survival which was considered too strenuous of work for women.

All parents disagreed with retaining those ideals, especially after relocating to New York City. More than half (4) credited their rejection of the ideals to their higher levels of education for broadening their mindsets. However, the other two parents credited their rejection to the work

they endured after migrating to New York City. Allowing them to remove gender as a deterrence in acquiring certain jobs, as the experienced and observed women and men perform the same jobs. Luis, a 59 year-old Puerto Rican father of one daughter stated,

> Noté una gran diferencia entre los dos inmediatamente. En Puerto Rico se trabajaba para sobrevivir, se hacía un trabajo mínimo sólo para asegurarse de que uno estuviera cómodo. Pero en Nueva York se trabajaba para sobrevivir, pero debido a la codicia, la gente estaba siendo explotada, la gente estaba obsesionada con el trabajo. Era la prioridad número uno de todos y la codicia no discriminaba entre géneros. English Translation: I noticed a huge difference between the two immediately. In Puerto Rico you worked to survive, minimal work was done to ensure one was comfortable. But in New York you worked to survive but due to greed, people were being exploited, people were obsessed with work. It was everyones number priority, and it the greed did not discriminate between genders.

The expansion of this topic within the interview focused on whether immigrant parents' views on the previously discussed ideals changed after having U.S.-born children. Based on the preceding responses, it is understandable why every parent (6) agreed that their ideals on the subject shifted after having children born and raised in America. I say this because their mindsets were already in opposition without the influence of connecting with their children on an intellectual level. Growing up in America exposes the youth to their rejection of gender stereotypes, especially in a city like NYC that prioritizes individualistic thought. Their children are most likely accustomed to these beliefs, not to the outdated ones of Latino regional patriarchies. Belkis, a 63 year-old Dominican-born mother of two daughters expressed,

Mi mente cambio bastante, aunque yo no era tan anticuada, yo pienso diferente porque yo soy una persona estudiada. Con mi primera hija que creció en Santo Domingo yo pensaba de una manera diferente que yo pienso ahora con mi hija que nació en los Estados Unidos. Yo hablo más con ella, me hablo, y hablo cosas que no hablo tanto con mi hija primera. Tengo más confianza en ella, la dejó salir con sus amigas, ella tiene novio que duerme en mi casa, la dejo poner la ropa que le dé la gana, y yo se que ella está alegre que nosotros podamos tener ese tipo de relacion junta. A veces pienso que tarde mi hija mayor injustamente, pero fue porque adonde nosotros estábamos viviendo, los tiempos eran diferentes, y las normas sociales. English Translation: My mind changed vastly, although I was not so old-fashioned, I think differently because I am a studied person. With my first daughter who grew up in Santo Domingo I thought in a different way than I think now with my daughter who was born in the United States. I talk to her more, I open up, and I talk about things that I don't talk about so much with my first daughter. I have more trust in her, I let her go out with her friends, she has a boyfriend who sometimes sleeps at my house, I let her wear whatever clothes she wants, and I know that she is happy that we can have that kind of relationship together. Sometimes I think I treated my oldest daughter unfairly, but it was because where we were living, the times were different, and the social norms.

Transitioning into the discussion of how religious beliefs may impact adolescents' sexual autonomy, considering that gender may measure to what extent one is affected. There were only three questions that prompted a response that related to this topic. Asking if parents disclosed their expectations about dating, have you retained ideals of sex from your country of ethnic

origin, and what beliefs about sex have you instilled in your children? In total, all six parents agreed that discussions on dating and sex were never spoken about between a parent and child. Relating a lot of their parents' reluctance on how they chose to implement their religious beliefs within their life. As all of them came from Catholic families, sex outside of marriage was considered an immoral sin. Avoiding conversions about dating, as it was considered inappropriate and a direct pipeline to sex. Noting the repetition of the phrase “Si lo pone en el aire va pasar” amongst multiple responses, which translates to “If you put it in the air it will happen.” Where women faced the harshest treatment, as the mistake of a man could be concealed not of a woman's, referring to pregnancy. Many parents feared that conversations would lead to action, and the thought of being considered unholy, as a result of their children bringing shame upon the family, caused many interviewed parents to view their parents as narcissistic and unfair. Luis, a 59-year-old Puerto Rican-born father of one daughter shared,

> My parents were old school and Catholic, they never spoke about sex or dating with any of us. My parents knew that I had girlfriends here and there, as well as my brothers, but they always referred to them as our friends. Even though they called them “our friends” they were never able to come over. As my mother always cared about what the neighbors from church would say, so we hung out with them in other places. My sister wasn’t even allowed to do that. If there was even word about her hanging with a guy, my father would ground her. While my brothers and I could hangout with friends outside after school, my sister always had to come home. My sister was a pretty girl, and my parents knew that, so they kept her locked up.

As no parent agreed to retain these ideals, they instead all (6) displayed positive attitudes in the conversation of how they instill beliefs about sex. Finding a common thread within their responses as they all included values of safety, communication, trust, and freedom to some extent. Alibel, a 40 year-old Dominican born mother of two daughters stated,

> I just try to be open-minded. Of course, I try to teach them what could happen after they close that door, but I would rather have them know that they can come with a pregnancy or worse. I try to be open-minded, and trusting, and let them have some freedom. Just because I trust them doesn't mean I trust people around them, people have bad intentions these days.

Maria, a 58 year-old Mexican-born mother of one daughter similarly expressed,

> I try to instill that sex without love should not happen as things get complex and it should be something special to share with someone whom you care deeply about. I share that both genders have equal responsibility when deciding whether to engage in a sexual relationship. At times, we may disagree with opinions but I am always open to hear her out and listen.

The stated values coincide with the process of acculturation, as they were concepts that were practiced and prioritized after their relocation to the United States. The impact of acculturation and its impact on the immigrant experience is displayed in their willingness to transcend their mind beyond what was put before them. In total, there were about seven questions that prompted responses that related to the topic at hand. Discovering common threads within their answers, as all participants displayed feelings of excitement towards immigrating/migrating to the United States and their reasonings for the move were due to

economic relief and search for better opportunities. Finding that all six parents viewed major differences in how they were raised in comparison to American children. Such as, having access to better education, transportation, and outlets for personal expression. And if given a choice between the two, they would pick their children growing up with the American lifestyle. Alibel, a 40 year-old Dominican mother of two daughters responded,

> Here there is more opportunity, of course if you're willing to work for it.They are good public schools, free school transportation, scholarships, professional help and support, free insurance, lots of jobs, so if you really want to, you can live a decent life. I know my daughters are hard working so these characteristics and fitting for them to live in rather than the lifestyle of my country.

All parents agreed that the dynamic between parent-child relationships in America is more lenient, where the parents let their children get away with a lot. Only one parent out of the six expressed that he has had moments where his cultural values did not align with those of his daughters. As immigrant Mexican father (age 63, father of three daughters) expressed,

> In my childhood experience, we were taught to respect anyone who was older than you are, especially older adults. As opposed to my kids here who don't quite practice those same values. Even though they're good kids, in some ways those values are not as important to them as they were for us.

Feelings of not being accepted in America due to having a different cultural background did not appear to be experienced by any of the parents. As they each initially moved to immigrant neighborhoods, based on their ethnicity, finding that they all agreed that the biggest

pressure they faced when they were adapting to the new county was the pressure to speak english. As they felt that in order to advance in life, they would have to speak the native language. Which made it easier for them to acquire jobs and make connections with their U.S.-born children. Carmen, a 67 year-old Puerto Rican-born mother of three sons and one daughter stated,

> Hablé “Spanglish” con mis hijos. Lo que a mis dos primeros hijos les permitió adquirir una buena comprensión de ambos idiomas. Sin embargo, cuando nacieron mis otros dos hijos, mi inglés era mejor y lo usaba más con ellos porque era más fácil comunicarme, porque este es el idioma que estaban aprendiendo en la escuela. Crecieron entendiendo español, hablándole ocasionalmente, pero el único hijo que tuvo una hija no se lo transmitió. English translation: I spoke spanishglish with my kids. Which for my first two children allowed them to get a good understanding of both languages. Yet, by the time my other two sons came along, my English was better and I was using it more with them as it was easier to communicate, because this is the language that they were learning in school. They grew up understanding Spanish, speaking it occasionally, but the one son who did have a daughter, did not pass it down to her.

Consequently, the discussion on loss of culture was prominent within the interviews with the U.S.-born Latino parents. All six parents shared common threads within their answers, such as all being of the Catholic faith, having an understanding of the Spanish language, their parents' reason for moving was for better opportunities and economic relief, and all being first generation. The U.S.-born Latino interview guide had less questions then immigrant Latino guide, however the following results concluded:

All parents agreed to having to negotiate cultural beliefs with their immigrant parents. Such as, not being able to experience sleepovers or dating, as they were accustomed to practicing the beliefs of their home country where those concepts were not practiced. More than half (4) of the parents were not told of expectations of dating for the same reasons that the immigrant Latino parents provided, such as religious implementations and narcissistic tendencies of their parents. However, the other parents who did have these conversations were still not allowed to date, due to the parents fear that other Latino parents might shame them or their children for going against the status quo. All parents agreed on the prominence of cultural gender roles within Latino culture, noting the less restrictions that men faced in comparison to women. No U.S.-born parents agreed to retaining their immigrant parent or cultures ideals surrounding sex and gender, crediting it to them being raised in America, where they were able to shut out their parents' opinions through the lessons they learned in school. Viewing their parents' ideals as outdated, once they had children of their own, it only amplified their opposition, leading all of them to raise their children differently then they were raised. Instill values of safe sex, equal gender roles, communication, trust, freedom of expression, and personal freedom to explore life to some extent. Four out of six parents confirmed that they have had moments of disagreement with their children, with the conflict being the absolving of their heritage as culture, as their U.S.-born children rejected speaking Spanish and eating cultural foods.

The biggest similarity that I found between the interviewed immigrant Latino parents and the U.S.- born was their open mindedness. In the responses of each parent, they all displayed feelings of wanting to be understanding and transparent with their adolescents. Ultimately disproving my hypothesis that the U.S.-born Latino parents were more likely to have less conservative views on sex and gender than their immigrant counterparts, as they shared the same

views. Similarly, I was surprised that the most notable contrast between the two demographics was not in their parenting styles but in how they viewed growing up in their country of origin. As all U.S.-born Latino parents agreed upon feelings of not being accepted and having moments of uncertainness in their identity', resulting in a confusing time period as opposed to the "peaceful" description that immigrant parents provided in regards to their experience. Emmanuel, a 52 year-old U.S. Dominican father of one daughter expressed,

> Growing up in New York was at times. Whenever I was hanging out with my Puerto Rican friends who came straight from Puerto Rico, they would tell me that I wasn't really Puerto Rican..especially because I didn't know how to speak spanish. But when I would hangout with my American friends they would leave me out of stuff because I was Puerto Rican. If we were playing make believe they would always make me fill the role of the worker, never the boss. I didn't know who I was. My mom spoke mostly English to me, although she knew how to speak Spanish. This ultimately ended up with me forgetting about my Puerto Rican side and just becoming invested with American culture in my youth. Where I now regret it, cause I have children of my own that don't know their heritage cause I couldn't figure myself out.

Seen in previous research on the U.S.-born Latinos, the book "Born in the USA: The Identities of American-Born Latinos" provides clarity as to why there is a shared conflict within the U.S.-born Latinos who feel uncertain in their identity. As stated within the book "American-born Latinos are actively exploring what their U.S. upbringing means in terms of identity and how it makes them different from their immigrant parents on the one hand and

non-Latino communities on the other" (Spoonley, P., Manz, B., Eberhart, H., & Lopez, M., 2014, p.3).

The preceding research, including both of my own findings and those referenced, have various reasons as to why they are of extreme importance. The broader benefit to the presented literature is that by conducting analysis on minority groups, it provides answers to generational questions that have been overlooked by scholars for centuries. The hardships and concerns of minority groups are commonly seen as irrational protests, as society minimizes their struggles, leaving generations left to their own accord to combat their personal inquisitions imposed by society. By opening up discourse on larger scale issues like not having a substantial amount of research on minority groups in general, your mind allows you to thoroughly investigate smaller scaled issues of specific identities.

Using my study as an example, as it provides insight into why there are culturally imposed beliefs on gender and sex, why they exist or don't exist within parenting styles of immigrant and U.S.- born Latinos. Giving individuals the opportunity to share their personal accounts to add to the knowledge surrounding their culture. Unawarely realizing how much of necessity there was for research on parents as a whole. As parents are experiencing life for the first time, learning as they go, they are bound to make mistakes.

Conclusion

To conclude, within my analysis of immigrant Latino parents and U.S.-born Latino parents, specifically in how they share and enforce their views on sex and gender with their adolescents. I argued that without cultural brokers, such as trusted adults in the community, immigrant parents and their children may experience more tensions and distance than U.S.-born

Latino Parents of the same ethnicity. As I suggested, variations in parenting styles regarding an adolescent's gender and sexual autonomy may be shaped by cultural and religious convictions, which could potentially undergo modifications due to distinctions arising from acculturation factors. I found that the immigrant Latino Parents shared the same views on sharing and enforcing their views on gender and sex as the U.S.-born Latino parents did. Given my limited data, my initial argument was not supported. However, the immigrant parents noted that their parents were influenced by their country of origin's cultural and religious convictions. Expressing that they were exposed to such ideals, but it ultimately didn't impact their parenting styles due to their acquiring of individualistic thought after immigrating to the United States. Crediting their acculturation to have happened through receiving higher levels of education and work experience when relocating to New York City. Which backs up my claim that acculturation does not occur at the same speed for every immigrant, that it is in fact not straight lined. As I am aware that all but one immigrant mother didn't learn english but am unaware if the rest have acculturated in any other way but through transcending their thought process and learning english, as that was not disclosed within the data. Further discovering the biggest similarity between the immigrant parents and U.S.-born parents to be that they both had open mindsets in how they parent their children. In addition, the biggest disparity between the two was how both groups viewed growing up in their country of origin. As the immigrant parents described it as "peaceful" and U.S.-born parents are "confusing".I think it's noteworthy to mention that although it was not the purpose of my study, that the Puerto Rican parents that internationally migrated to New York City shared all the same experiences of those who immigrated, within the context of the questions asked. Leaving me curious in how much they feel the title of U.S. citizenship really impacts their culture personally and socially.

During the process of my research I faced many limitations, partially due to my own optimisms, lack of knowledge on certain aspects, and mistakes within my interview guides. I originally thought that I would be able to interview couples of every demographic, but that was a far fetched idea. As, I did not realize how many people married outside of their ethnicities, especially in a diverse city like NYC. I also struggled in finding Mexican participants to interview as I, a Dominican and Puerto Rican girl, thought that most Latinos within my area hung out in public spaces, a that is what I always saw within my own ethnicity. However, I came to find out that the Mexican community within my area actually hung out in more private settings. Instead of socializing in bodegas, they hung out in community centers and their homes, which resulted in my progress getting delayed. In regards to my interview guides, I feel as though after I conducted the interview I could have asked better questions, as many of them were repetitive and did not prompt the responses that I could have been more beneficial to the collection of my data. I did not have the same amount of questions for each guide, resulting in my findings on the U.S.-born Latino parents to be lacking in size and substance. If I were to potentially further my research, I would want a way bigger sample of interviewees, collecting my participants from multiple boroughs instead of a small area in the Bronx. Possibly adding adolescents interviews into my study as well as paying more attention to what I am asking my subjects and if their answers are beneficial to my study within the moment, to prevent responses of no substance. Overall, completing this research has been an eye opening experience, as I now know what it takes to achieve its finalization. As well providing useful information that has made me perceive my relationship with my own relatives in a more accepting and understanding light.

References

Amsel, B. (2013, November 17). 'just like me': When parents see children as reflections of themselves. GoodTherapy.org Therapy Blog. Retrieved April 30, 2023, from https://www.goodtherapy.org/blog/when-parents-see-children-as-reflections-ofthemselves-1108124 [Original source: https://studycrumb.com/alphabetizer]

Chandrasekhar, L., Marchetta, E., Togun, K., Doyle, S., & al, e. (2003). Sex, etc., editorial board discusses what works (and what doesn't) in sex ed. *SIECUS Report, 31*(4), 23-25. Retrieved from https://ezproxy.purchase.edu/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fscholarly-journals%2Fsex-etc-editorial-board-discusses-what-works%2Fdocview%2F229642433%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D14171

Deutsch, & Crockett, L. J. (2016). Gender, Generational Status, and Parent-Adolescent Sexual Communication: Implications for Latino/a Adolescent Sexual Behavior. Journal of Research on Adolescence, 26(2), 300–315. https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12192 [Original source: https://studycrumb.com/alphabetizer]

Eversole, J. S., Berglas, N. F., Deardorff, J., & Constantine, N. A. (2017). Source of Sex Information and Condom Use Intention Among Latino Adolescents. *Health Education & Behavior*, *44*(3), 439–447. https://doi.org/10.1177/1090198116671704

Foner, Nancy. Across Generations Immigrant Families in America. New York University Press, 2009

George, T. (2022). Types of Interviews in Research| Guide & Examples. *Retrieved*, *11*(20), 2022.

González-López, G. (2004). Fathering latina sexualities: Mexican men and the virginity of their daughters. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *66*(5), 1118–1130. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0022-2445.2004.00082.x

Guilamo-Ramos, V., Dittus, P., Jaccard, J., Goldberg, V., Casillas, E., & Bouris, A. (2006). The Content and Process of Mother—Adolescent Communication about Sex in Latino Families. *Social Work Research*, *30*(3), 169–181. https://doi.org/10.1093/swr/30.3.169

Hondagneu-Sotelo, P., Deutsch, S., Romero, M., & Zavella, P. (1993). New Perspectives on Latina Women. *Feminist Studies*, *19*(1), 193–205. https://doi.org/10.2307/3178360

Kelley, H. H., Marks, L. D., & Dollahite, D. C. (2022). Uniting and Dividing Influences of Religion on Parent-Child Relationships in Highly Religious Families. *Psychology of Religion and Spirituality*, *14*(1), 128–139. https://doi.org/10.1037/rel0000321

Kenny, M. C., & Wurtele, S. K. (2013). Latino Parents' Plans to Communicate About Sexuality With their Children. *Journal of Health Communication*, *18*(8), 931–942. https://doi.org/10.1080/10810730.2012.757397

Knight, G. P., Gonzales, N. A., Saenz, D. S., Bonds, D. D., Germán, M., Deardorff, J., Roosav, M. W., & Updegraff, K. A. (2010). The Mexican American Cultural Values Scale for Adolescents and Adults. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, *30*(3), 444–481. https://doi.org/10.1177/0272431609338178

Nuñez, A., González, P., Talavera, G. A., Sanchez-Johnsen, L., Roesch, S. C., Davis, S. M., Arguelles, W., Womack, V. Y., Ostrovsky, N. W., Ojeda, L., Penedo, F. J., & Gallo, L. C. (2016). Machismo, marianismo, and negative cognitive-emotional factors: Findings from the Hispanic Community Health Study/Study of Latinos Sociocultural Ancillary Study. *Journal of Latina/o Psychology, 4*(4), 202–217. https://doi.org/10.1037/lat0000050

Poppi, F. I. M. (2020). Omnia Vincit Amor: Narratives of Sexual Promiscuity. *Sexuality & Culture*, *24*(3), 922–945. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-019-09672-w

Schwartz, S. J., Unger, J. B., Zamboanga, B. L., & Szapocznik, J. (2010). Rethinking the concept of acculturation: Implications for theory and research. *American Psychologist, 65*(4), 237-251. doi:https://doi.org/10.1037/a0019330

Spoonley, P., Manz, B., Eberhart, H., & Lopez, M. (2014). *Born in the USA: The Identities of American-Born Latinos*. Center for Latin American Studies Publications.

Torres, M. I., Granberry, P., Person, S., Allison, J., Rosal, M., & Rustan, S. (2016). Influential Factors of Puerto Rican Mother-Child Communication About Sexual Health Topics. *Maternal and Child Health Journal*, *20*(11), 2280–2290. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10995-016-2041-x

Veliz, E. (2014), "Rising Souls: Religion and Family Relationships among Latino Adolescents", *Soul of Society: A Focus on the Lives of Children & Youth* (*Sociological Studies of Children and Youth, Vol. 18*), Emerald Group Publishing Limited, Leeds, pp. 151-172. https://doi.org/10.1108/S1537-466120140000018017

Villarruel, A. M. (1998). Cultural influences on the sexual attitudes, beliefs, and norms of young Latina adolescents. *Journal of the Society of Pediatric Nurses, 3*(2), 69–79. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6155.1998.tb00030.x

Vos Savant, M. (n.d.). "The freedom to be an individual is the essence of America." BrainyQuote. Retrieved April 23, 2024, from https://www.brainyquote.com/authors/marilyn-vos-savant-quotes