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LOMA LINDA UNIVERSITY
School of Science and Technology
in conjunction with the
Faculty of Graduate Studies

Values, Ethnicity, and SES: The Case of Latino and Anglo American Women

by

Claudia Venessa Argueta

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Experimental Psychology

June 2008

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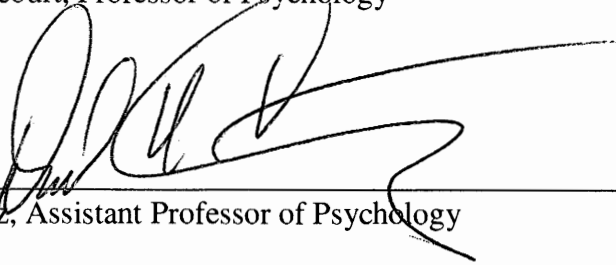
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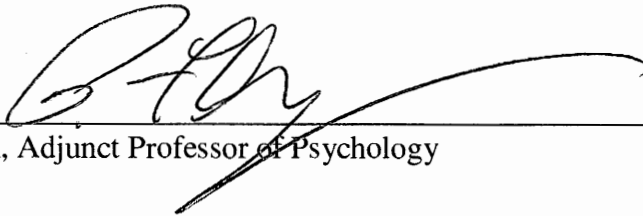


, Chairperson

Hector Betancourt, Professor of Psychology



David Chavez, Assistant Professor of Psychology



Patricia Flynn, Adjunct Professor of Psychology

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“Mira que te mando que te esfuerces y seas valiente; no temas ni desmayes, porque Jehová tu Dios estará contigo en dondequiera que vayas” Josué 1:9.

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ABBREVIATIONS

SES Socio-Economic Status

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Values, Ethnicity, and SES: The Case of Latino and Anglo American Women

by

Claudia Venessa Argueta

Master of Arts, Graduate Program in Psychology

Loma Linda University, June 2008

Dr. Hector Betancourt, Chairperson

Past research on values has typically employed a quantitative and top-down approach in determining the universality of values across gender, religion and nation categories (Schwartz & Huisman, 1995; Schwartz & Bardi, 2001). However, studies have often failed to identify specific values that are related to particular ethnic and socio-economic communities within a culturally diverse society (Lee, Whitehead & Balchin, 2000; McCulloch, Wilson, Teasdale, Kolpakch, & Skelly, 1993). The aim of this study was to use a bottom up, qualitative approach to identify core values among Latino and Anglo women in Southern California. The research was guided by a model for the study of culture in psychology proposed by Betancourt and collaborators (e.g., Betancourt & Fuentes, 2002, Betancourt, Hardin & Manzi, 1992; Betancourt & Lopez, 1993). Triandis' (1972) methods for the analysis of subjective culture were used to identify core values. It was hypothesized that there would be differences in the values Latino and Anglo women spontaneously report as well as in the degree of importance given to each value. It was also hypothesized that variations in values among ethnic groups would be accounted for at least in part by income, education and immigration status. Ten values emerged in the analyses as the most important in the participating women's lives. These ten values were

reported by both Anglo and Latino women. However, differences emerged within the ethnic groups based on income, education and immigration status. Results are discussed in terms of their theoretical implication for the study of values and applications for interventions in a multicultural society.

Introduction

The role of values in the selection of human behavior has been of interest to psychologists for a long time (Allport, 1961; Rokeach, 1973, Schwartz, 1996). Values serve as standards to guide the selection and evaluation of human behavior (Bilsky & Schwartz, 1994; Smith & Schwartz, 1997). In fact, research has demonstrated that values are associated with numerous behavioral outcomes, such as juvenile delinquency (Clark & Wenninger, 1963; Lerman, 1968), religious participation (Rokeach, 1979), public interracial behavior (Rokeach, 1973), cheating on examinations (Henshel, 1971) and so on.

Since values are culturally transmitted, it is likely that in a culturally diverse society there are differences in values associated with population diversity factors, such as ethnicity, socio-economic status (SES), religion and gender (Betancourt & Flynn, 2008; Betancourt & Fuentes, 2002; Betancourt & Lopez, 1993). Hence, a better understanding of cultural values relevant to individuals or communities could greatly improve our understanding of human behavior within the context of a multicultural society.

The aim of the present study was to identify cultural values among women of Latin American (Latino) and non-Latino White (Anglo) American background in the United States (US). The work was guided by the conceptual model and bottom up approach for the study of culture proposed by Betancourt and associates (e.g., Betancourt & Fuentes, 2002; Betancourt, Hardin & Manzi, 1992; Betancourt & Lopez, 1993). Values that are common as well as those that are unique to each of the two ethnic groups were studied, and the role of ethnicity and SES on sources of between and within variations in

these values were examined. Identifying values and possible sources of variation among Latino and Anglo American women is expected to contribute to a better understanding of the behaviors of culturally diverse individuals.

The Study of Values

Values have been defined in various ways. Nonetheless, there is a relative consensus among a number of authors (Allport, 1961; Levy & Guttman, 1974; Maslow, 1959; Morris, 1956; Pepper, 1958; Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987; Scott, 1965; Smith, 1963; Williams, 1968) concerning some of the essential aspects of values. Values can be classified based on five common features. For instance, values (a) are concepts or beliefs, (b) are desirable end states or behaviors, (c) transcend specific situations, (d) guide selection or evaluation of behavior and events, and; (e) are ordered by relative importance. These five common features which have primarily been influenced by Milton Rokeach's (1973) work can be used to define all values. According to Schwartz (1992), values are desirable, transsituational goals, varying in importance, which serve as guiding principles in people's lives.

Examining individuals' value responses can aid in identifying cultural values that might be particular to a community or cultural group. According to Zavalloni (1980), individuals act as "carriers and informants" of their own culture. In other words, when individuals speak about their own values, they are providing information about their cultural group. Thus, identifying values that are specific to Latino and/or Anglo women of various SES and immigration status is expected to represent values that are in fact representative of the cultural values of individuals from one or another group. Once particular values are identified among each cultural group, within and across group

differences and similarities can also be explored. Based on these findings, future research can then examine how these values guide the selection of specific behaviors.

Milton Rokeach's conception of values is based on the idea that values are universal, transsituational and hierarchically arranged in terms of relative importance (Mayton et al, 1994). Rokeach categorized values as "Modes of Conduct" or "End-States of Existence." Modes of conduct, also known as instrumental values, are personal characteristics and character traits that are responsible for short-term behaviors. In contrast, End-States of Existence, or terminal values, define the overall goal an individual wants to achieve such as his/her long-term acts and goals.

Following Milton Rokeach's conceptualization of values, Shalom Schwartz expanded Rokeach's list of values and further categorized them into domains. His theory provided an in-depth typology of the content domains of values, in which he argued for three universal human requirements; cognitive representations of biological needs, requirements of coordinated social interaction, and demands of group functioning (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987). Based on his research, Schwartz concluded that there were ten motivational types of values which refer to the type of goal or motivational concern that a value expresses (Schwartz, 1992). These include: power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity and security. His theory presents these ten motivational types of values along a continuum of related motivations.

The work of Milton Rokeach and Shalom Schwartz has greatly contributed to the theory and conceptualization of values. Through their work, a structure of values was created which has facilitated the conceptualization of this subject. Rokeach's extensive

research has helped clarify values across different domains including health behavior, education, politics, and many other areas (Rokeach, 1973; Rokeach, 1979). Schwartz's research has expanded the knowledge of value meaning and priorities across gender, religion and nation categories. Schwartz's studies have employed various and extensive population samples, usually above tens of thousands, which has aided in the generalization of his results (Schwartz, 2002; Schwartz & Bardi, 2001; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987)

The Study of Culture in Psychology

For years there has been confusion concerning the definition of culture which has created an obstacle for progress in this area (Rohner, 1984; Triandis et al., 1980). Yet as suggested by Betancourt and Lopez (1993), consensus regarding the definition of culture is not entirely necessary for the advancement of knowledge. According to these authors, psychological research on culture will advance as long as researchers specify their definition of culture in terms that are amenable to measurement and relevant to understanding behavior.

Past and present research has typically defined culture in terms of race, ethnicity, nationality, social systems and socio-economic level (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993, Rohner, 1984). However, Betancourt and associates argue that when culture is examined based on the comparison of groups or broad population categories such as ethnicity, nationality and race, within group variations and the specific aspects of culture that may be responsible for influencing behavior might be overlooked (Betancourt & Flynn, 2008; Betancourt & Fuentes, 2001; Betancourt & Lopez, 1993). These authors have defined culture in terms of psychologically relevant elements such as social norms, roles, beliefs,

expectations, and values. These elements include a wide range of aspects such as familial roles, communication patterns, affective styles, individualism, collectivism, spirituality, religiosity and values regarding personal control (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993).

Consistent with the definition of culture described above, Betancourt and associates have proposed a model and methodological approach for the study of culture in psychology. This model delineates how culture (e.g., socially shared beliefs, values and norms) relates to population categories typically associated with culture (e.g., race, ethnicity, SES) as well as how culture relates to psychological processes and behavior. Figure 1 is a graphic representation of how these variables are structured from most distal to more proximal (moving from A to D); the more proximal a determinant is to behavior, the greater the impact. In the model, helping behavior is used as an example to clarify the relations among the variables.

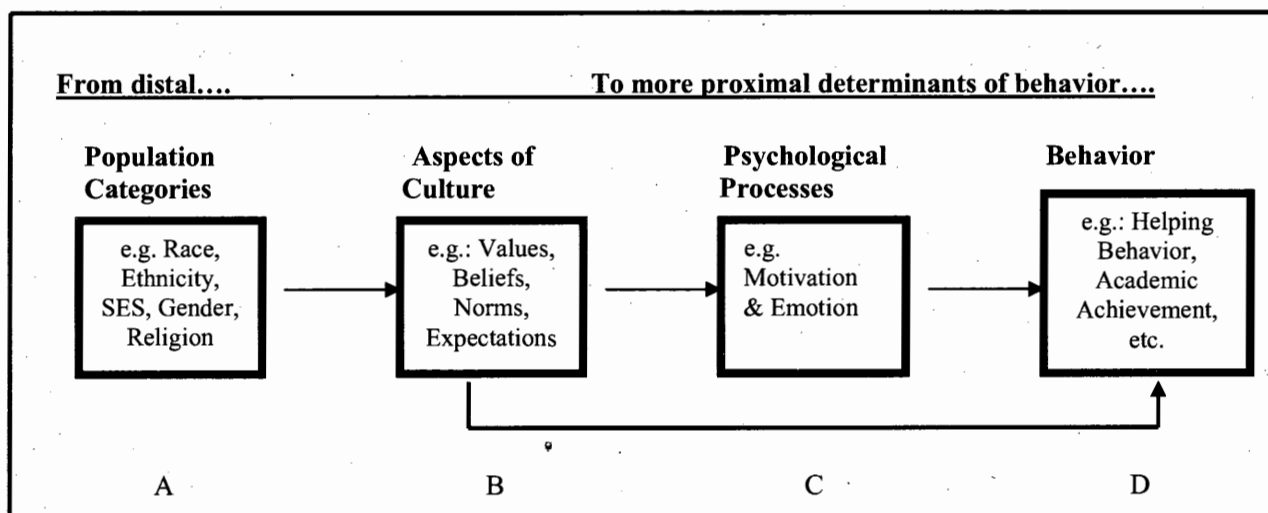


Figure 1. Betancourt's Model for the Study of Culture and Behavior.

According to the model in Figure 1, helping behavior (D) is a function of motivation and emotion (C), which are psychological processes that have the greatest influence on behavior. Helping behavior (D) is also associated with aspects of culture, such as values (B). These cultural values may be directly associated with behavior (D), or indirectly associated through mediating psychological processes (C). Further away from behavior are population categories, such as ethnicity, which is also a source of culture (A), and may influence behavior; however it is more distal than cultural values (B) and psychological processes (C). These population categories are associated with variations in values and other cultural variables, however, they are less likely to directly influence behavior.

Although behaviors are influenced by cultural factors (e.g., values) more so than by population categories, it is important to understand the influence that population variables have on cultural factors such as values. The values an individual or group holds are influenced by various sources; these sources may come from family members, or population groups such as racial, ethnic, educational, or socio-economic groups. Therefore, these population categories can be better perceived as sources of variation in cultural values, rather than as culture in and of themselves.

Even though membership in a population category may influence cultural values, it is important to note that some demographic categories have a stronger influence on cultural values than others. Research suggests that there is an overlap among ethnicity and social structural categories such as socio-economic status, namely income and education (Betancourt & Fuentes, 2001). In fact, research has shown that education and income rather than ethnicity, are more influential sources of variation among Latino and

Anglo American individuals in the US (Flynn, 2005; Navarrete, 2006). Since population characteristics such as education and income level are associated and overlap with ethnicity, research should examine how they may relate to variations in cultural values.

Methodological Approach to the Study of Values

To date, the predominant approach used by researchers such as Rokeach and Schwartz for studying values is the top-down approach. In a top-down approach, the researcher begins with a theory, develops hypotheses, tests these hypotheses, and confirms or rejects the hypotheses (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993). Relying solely on a top-down approach to the study of values, as used in the development of the Rokeach Value Survey (RVS) and the Schwartz Value Survey (SVS), could be problematic for culturally diverse societies as the value items of existing instruments may not be representative of the values of specific (e.g., non-dominant ethnic or SES) groups (Braithwaite & Law, 1985). In fact, even Rokeach himself acknowledged that the procedure for selecting the 26 items for the RVS was an “intuitive one” (Rokeach, 1973, p. 30). Value items used in these scales could have been influenced by the researchers’ own culturally based interpretations and biases. In order to remedy this, the investigation of values among culturally diverse groups could benefit from identifying values generated by individuals from those particular populations through the bottom-up approach.

A bottom-up approach begins with specific observations and progresses to broad generalizations. It shifts from observations, to testing patterns, to creating potential hypotheses, and finally it derives in a theory (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993). An advantage of using a bottom-up approach in the study of values is that specific cultural values of individuals from a particular culture can be identified.

While much of the research on values has employed a top-down approach in order to test a theory of universal values (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1990; Schwartz & Bardi, 2001; Schwartz & Huisman, 1995), research also needs to move beyond the universal and examine values that may be more relevant to individuals of particular cultural groups in society. In fact, some studies have been conducted using a bottom-up approach to examine values (Lee & Cockman, 1995; Lee, Whitehead, & Balchin, 2000; McCullough, Wilson, Teasdale, Kolpakch, & Skelly, 1993). Many of these studies examine values within a particular domain, such as sports and geriatric care and predict behavior based on the identified values (Lee, Whitehead and Balchin, 2000; McCullough et al., 1993). However, these studies do not identify specific cultural values relevant to a particular ethnic or SES group. Since the US is becoming increasingly diverse, identifying the various sources of cultural variation in these values is important to understand.

Diversity of the Latino Population in the U.S.

Latinos are the largest and fastest growing minority group in the US, accounting for 15% of the total population and almost 40% of California's population (U.S. Census Bureau News, 2008). Within the Latino population, there are vast intragroup variations concerning culture, socioeconomic status, education and immigration patterns (Betancourt & Fuentes, 2001). According to Betancourt & Fuentes (2001), Latinos are often seen as a social and cultural homogeneous group. However, within group differences exist in terms of cultural values, beliefs, socioeconomic status and levels of acculturation due to the diverse backgrounds of the individuals that comprise the Latino population.

Intragroup variations in terms of values may exist among Latinos of different immigration status. The different groups of Latinos living in the US have a unique social and political history of their countries of origin and of their immigration patterns (McGoldrick, Giordano & Pearce, 1996). For example, Mexican American immigrants have different reasons as to why they immigrated to the US compared to the Cuban immigrants (one group guided by financial considerations whereas the other for political asylum) (Fuentes et al., 2003). Not only can there be variations among foreign born Latinos of different countries, but perhaps also between the foreign born Latinos and those Latinos born in the US as each of those groups may experience acculturation processes differently. Acculturation is a process where individuals' attitudes, beliefs, customs, behaviors and values can change towards those of the dominant society through continual exposure and contact (Fuentes et al., 2003). Therefore, due to the diversity of the immigration backgrounds of the Latinos in the US, and the impression of homogeneity that are often erroneously attributed to Latinos of diverse backgrounds, it's essential to examine the values that foreign born Latinos may hold as compared to the US born Latinos.

Demographic variables such as income and education are also often associated with and at times overlap with ethnicity (Powe, 2001). The relations between income and education levels among ethnic groups is an important factor to consider since research has established them as important contributors to several outcomes such as academic achievement, health and wellbeing (Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Laosa & Henderson, 1991).

Ethnicity is expected to influence variations in cultural values and subsequent behavior. Therefore, since ethnicity often times overlaps with education and income, it is

also likely that these factors may contribute to variations in values. Due to the fact that Latinos are the predominant ethnic minority group in the U.S. and particularly in California, it is important to investigate values that Latinos of different education and income levels hold. A better understanding of cultural values and the sources of these values will provide a foundation for future research to explore the relations among population categories, aspects of culture, and behavior.

Aim and Hypotheses

The aim of this study was to identify cultural values reported as dominant among Latino and Anglo American women in Southern California, and examine the sources of variation in those values. Based on Betancourt's conceptual model of culture and behavior it was proposed that:

1. When comparing groups, variations in values will be a function of ethnic background as well as income and education level.
 - 1.1 In the case of Latino women of different immigration status, there will be differences in the influence of income and education level among foreign born immigrants and those born in the US.
2. When comparing groups, the extent to which a particular value is chosen as the most important (i.e., the core value) will be a function of ethnic background as well as income and education level.
 - 2.2 In the case of Latino women of different immigration status, there will be differences in the values chosen as the most important among foreign born immigrants and those born in the US.

Methods

This study was part of a larger research program on culture among Latino and Anglo women. The methodology corresponding to this study was adapted from methods employed by Triandis and associates in studies of subjective culture (e.g. Triandis, Kilty, Shanmugam, Tanaka, & Vassiliou, 1972; Triandis & Brislin, 1984) and adaptations used in studies of smoking cessation with Latinos (e.g. Marin, Perez-Stable, Marin, Sabogal, & Otero-Sabogal, 1990). Using a bottom-up approach, in depth, semi-structured, open ended interviews were conducted in order to empirically identify values essential for the study of subjective culture of Latino and Anglo women.

Participants

A total of 78 interviews were conducted with self-identified Anglo and Latino women recruited from Southern California. All participants were at least 18 years of age and did not have any known cognitive disabilities. Of these, 36 were conducted with Anglo women and 42 were conducted with Latino women. Of the Latino women 52.4% completed the interview in Spanish, 45.2% in English and 2.4% in both English and Spanish. See Table 1 for details on the distribution for Latino and Anglo women across the different demographic variables (see Appendixes A and B for the demographic information questionnaire).

Table 1

Demographics – Percentages & Frequencies

	Latinos (42)	Anglos (36)	Total (78)
Income			
\$0-24,999	42.9% (18)	22.2% (8)	33.3% (26)
\$25K-59,999	42.9% (18)	38.9% (14)	41% (32)
\$60K+	14.3% (6)	30.6% (11)	21.8% (17)
Education*			
High School	50% (21)	13.9% (5)	33.3 (26)
Some College	28.6% (12)	33.3 (12)	30.8 (24)
College +	21.4%(9)	52.8% (19)	35.9 (28)
Age			
18-35 Y.O.	35.7% (15)	36.1% (13)	35.9% (28)
36-50 Y.O.	28.6% (12)	25 (9)	26.9% (21)
51+ Y.O.	35.7% (15)	38.9% (14)	37.2% (29)
Marital Status			
Married	42.9% (18)	44.4% (16)	43.6% (34)
Divorce/Separated	31% (13)	13.9% (5)	23.1% (18)
Single	9.5% (4)	25% (9)	16.7% (13)
Cohabiting	9.5% (4)	8.3% (3)	9% (7)
Widowed	7.1% (3)	8.3% (3)	7.7% (6)
Immigration Status			
US Born	38.1% (16)		
Foreign Born	61.9% (26)		
Place Born			
Mexico	73.8% (31)		
Central			
America/Cuba/Caribbean	14.2% (6)		
Puerto Rico	4.8% (2)		
South America	2.4% (1)		
Other	2.4% (1)		
Language Spoken at Home			
English	26.2% (11)	100% (36)	
Spanish	47.6% (20)		
Both	26.2% (11)		

* $p = .001$.*Measures*

Interview Schedule. An interview schedule was developed as part of a larger National Institute of Health study (Grant # IR21CA101867-01A2 to H, Betancourt, Principal Investigator. The aim of this research was to identify ethnic general and ethnic

specific aspects of culture relevant to breast and cervical cancer screening among Latino and Anglo women (see Appendix C and D for the interview schedule). The open-ended questions were developed in English, translated into Spanish, and then back-translated into English by two bilingual native Spanish speakers using the double-back translation procedure (Brislin, Lonner & Thondike, 1973; Werner & Campbell, 1970). The interview schedule included one open-ended question designed to identify cultural values relevant to Latino and Anglo women. Participants were asked “What things are most important to you in life? For instance, what are the things that guide you in your life?” After participants responded to this question, they were asked to rank order these values from most to least important.

Population Characteristics. Demographic Information was obtained regarding participants’ ethnicity, immigration status, household income, and education. Ethnicity was determined based on the self-report demographic form which asked respondents to indicate their ethnic or racial background from a comprehensive list. Immigration status was identified by asking participants to indicate whether they were born in the US or not. As a follow-up question, participants also indicated where they were born and how long they lived in the US. Participants were provided with a list of income ranges and asked to indicate their annual family income. Based on responses, income was further classified into three groups following the official US poverty rate and guidelines (Webster & Bishwaw, 2006). These three categories included low income level (\$0-24,999), median income level (\$25,000-59,999) and high income level (\$60,000 and above). Moreover, participants were asked to indicate their years of education, which were then categorized based on completion of high school degree (0-12 years), some college (13-16 years), and

completion of a bachelor degree or higher (17+ years). Additional information regarding participants' age, marital status, family origin and language spoken in the household are reported in Table 1.

Procedure

Five monolingual English and bilingual Spanish speaking research assistants participated in a six hour interview training session as suggested by Marin and associates (Marin et al., 1990). The interviewers were instructed in how to create a non-threatening, accepting atmosphere that would be conducive for participants to be as candid as possible with their responses. The training session covered interviewing skills, cultural sensitivity strategies and role playing. Through the cultural sensitivity component, interviewers were made aware of how to interact with culturally diverse participants in different situations. Through the role playing component, interviewers were able to practice the skills they learned in an actual interview situation.

Potential participants were approached by research assistants at universities, churches, markets, and free/ low-cost health clinics. Research assistants explained that they were recruiting women to participate in an important study on women's health. Eligible women who were interested in participating in the study provided the research assistants with their name and contact information and were assigned a time to come to the local university for a scheduled interview. The research assistants provided potential participants with directions to the Culture and Behavior Laboratory and follow-up calls were made to confirm the interview time and location.

Interviews were conducted primarily at a local university; however some interviews were conducted in the participants' home, nearby health clinics, or churches to

aid those who had transportation difficulties. Prior to conducting the interviews, participants were provided with written consent forms in either English or Spanish, depending on the participants' preference. In addition, the consent form was verbally summarized by the interviewer and participants were informed that the interview would be audio-recorded. Interviews were conducted in either English or Spanish, depending on the participant's preference, by a trained monolingual English or Spanish speaking bilingual interviewer.

Each interview took approximately one and a half to two hours to complete. However, the participants spent about twenty minutes responding to questions pertaining to the purpose of this study. After participants answered the question "What things are most important to you in life? For instance, what are the things that guide you in your life." Then, they were asked: "Now, I am handing you card with the names of the things that you have mentioned, which are important to you in your life. I'd like you to put them in order of most to least importance to you." Subsequently, participants were offered a break half-way through the interview and a light snack was also provided. In addition to the audio recording, the interviewer wrote down brief responses to each question to ensure accuracy.

Once all of the formal interview questions had been addressed, the interviewer obtained information regarding the participants' demographic background. Participants were then asked if they had questions and the interviewers provided any necessary clarification. All participants were compensated \$30 cash for their participation. In addition, gift bas with educational information about breast and cervical cancer screening

and other promotional items donated by local cancer alliance groups were given to participants.

Results

Data Analysis.

All interviews were transcribed in their original language based on the interviewer notes and audio-tape recordings. The transcribed section pertaining to this study was entered into NVIVO, a qualitative software program for data management purposes. Responses from the qualitative interviews were analyzed in their original language by a group of monolingual English and bilingual Spanish speaking judges. Interview responses were analyzed using standard content analysis procedures. In analyzing responses, judges searched for common themes that emerged from each of the constructs included in the interview schedule. Based on these emerging themes, a codebook was developed and all interview responses were coded accordingly. For example, the question “What things are most important to you in life? For instance, what are the things that guide you in your life?” could yield answers such as “Lord, Jesus, church, spiritual life, etc.” The common theme here is “faith” or “religion,” therefore such responses were categorized as a spiritual/religious value. Frequent case analysis meetings were held with the judges and the qualitative supervisor to ensure inter-coder consistency. In accordance with Triandis’ analyses of subjective culture (1972), emerging values that were ethnic-general (e.g., common to both ethnic groups) and those that were ethnic-specific (e.g., unique to one or the other ethnic group) were identified in the interview responses (Marin et al., 1990). Based on the identified ethnic-specific and ethnic-general values, frequency distributions were calculated for Anglo and Latino women separately.

Spontaneously Mentioned Values (Hypothesis 1)

Frequencies were calculated to examine the number of participants who spontaneously reported a particular value. These frequencies were also presented in percentages to allow for a uniform comparison across all of the different population groups. The frequencies were examined based on ethnicity, immigration status, income and education. Chi-Square statistics were performed to examine the variations of values as a function of ethnicity, immigration status, income and education level.

Ethnicity. Anglo and Latino women spontaneously reported ten distinct values. These were: Family, Faith, Health, Employment, Self-fulfillment, Education, Finances, Relationships, Benevolence, and Leisure (for frequency of each value see Table 2). Most values were ethnic general, that is, they were similarly reported by both Anglo and Latino women. However, although not statistically significant, there were some trends in four values (Health, Finances, Relationships and Leisure) where one of the ethnic groups mentioned it more than the other. Latino women reported "Health" and "Finances" more often than Anglo women, whereas Anglo women reported "Relationships" and "Leisure" more often than the Latino women (see Table 2).

Immigration Status. As observed in Table 2, looking closer at the Latino women group, it can be noted that foreign born Latinas tend to report some particular values more often than the US born Latino women. Foreign born Latino women reported Family, Health, Employment and Benevolence more often than their US counterparts. On the other hand, US born Latino women reported values that were more similar in frequency to the Anglo women such as "Relationships" and "Leisure".

Table 2

Percentages and Frequencies for Population Categories based on the Spontaneously Reported Values

Population Category	Values									
	Family	Faith	Health	Employment	Self-Fulfillment	Education	Finances	Relationships	Benevolence	Leisure
Anglo Women (36)	81% (29)	39% (14)	28% (10)	25% (9)	22% (8)	11% (4)	8% (3)	31% (11)	8% (3)	19% (7)
Income (33)										
Low Income (8)	63% (5)	0% (0)*	25% (2)	25% (2)	25% (2)	25% (2)	13% (1)	63% (5)*	25% (2)	13% (1)
Middle Income (14)	93% (13)	50% (7)*	14% (2)	36% (5)	7% (1)	7% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)*	0% (0)	14% (2)
High Income (11)	73% (8)	45% (5)*	55% (6)	18% (2)	45% (5)	9% (1)	18% (2)	45% (5)*	9% (1)	27% (3)
Education (36)										
High School (5)	80% (4)	40% (2)	40% (2)	60% (3)	20% (1)	20% (1)	20% (1)	20% (1)	20% (1)	0% (0)
Some College (12)	75% (9)	17% (2)	17% (2)	17% (2)	17% (2)	8% (1)	8% (1)	17% (2)	0% (0)	17% (2)
College + (19)	84% (16)	53% (10)	32% (6)	21% (4)	26% (5)	11% (2)	5% (1)	42% (8)	11% (2)	26% (5)
Latino Women (42)	79% (33)	38% (16)	38% (16)	26% (11)	19% (8)	14% (6)	14% (6)	14% (6)	10% (4)	7% (3)
Income (42)										
Low Income (18)	78% (14)	50% (9)*	44% (8)	17% (3)	28% (5)	6% (1)	11% (2)	17% (3)*	11% (2)	0% (0)
Middle Income (18)	78% (14)	22% (4)	33% (6)	44% (8)*	11% (2)	22% (4)	11% (2)	11% (2)	11% (2)	11% (2)
High Income (6)	83% (5)	50% (3)	33% (2)	0% (0)*	17% (1)	17% (1)	33% (2)	17% (1)	0% (0)	17% (1)
Education										
High School (21)	86% (18)	33% (7)	48% (10)	24% (5)	19% (4)	10% (2)	10% (2)	10% (2)	10% (2)	5% (1)
Some College (12)	83% (10)	50% (6)	25% (3)	25% (3)	25% (3)	17% (2)	17% (2)	17% (2)	0% (0)	8% (1)
College + (9)	56% (5)	33% (3)	33% (3)	33% (3)	11% (1)	22% (2)	22% (2)	22% (2)	22% (2)	11% (1)
US Born Latino Women (16)	75% (12)	38% (6)	31% (5)	19% (3)	25% (4)	13% (2)	19% (3)	19% (3)	6% (1)	13% (2)
Education (16)										
High School (6)	100%(6)	33%(2)	33%(2)	17%(1)	17%(1)	17%(1)	0%(0)	33%(2)*	0%(0)	17%(1)
Some College (5)	60%(3)	40%(2)	20%(1)	0%(0)	60%(3)*	0%(0)	20%(1)	0%(0)	0%(0)	0%(0)
College + (5)	60%(3)	40%(2)	40%(2)	40%(2)	0%(0)	0%(0)	40%(2)	20%(1)	20%(1)	20%(1)
Foreign Born Latino Women(26)	81% (21)	38% (10)	42% (11)	31% (8)	15% (4)	15% (4)	12% (3)	12% (3)	12% (3)	4% (1)
Education (26)										
High School (15)	80%(12)	33%(5)	53%(8)	27%(4)	20%(3)	7%(1)	13%(2)	0%(0)*	13%(2)	0%(0)
Some College (7)	100%(7)	57%(4)	29%(2)	43%(3)	0%(0)*	29%(2)	14%(1)	29%(2)	0%(0)	14%(1)
College + (4)	50%(2)	25%(1)	75%(3)	25%(1)	25%(1)	25%(1)	0%(0)	25%(1)	25%(1)	0%(0)

* $p < .05$.

Income & Ethnicity. Statistically significant differences were observed between the two ethnic groups on the values of Faith, Relationships and Employment (see Table 2). “Faith” was more commonly reported by low income Latino women than low income Anglo women ($x^2 = 4.00, p = .05$), whereas “Relationships” was more commonly reported by low income Anglo than low income Latino women ($x^2 = 5.46, p = .02$). Within income group comparisons on reported values also showed statistically significant differences. Middle income Latino women reported “Employment” as an important value in their lives, yet high income Latino women did not ($x^2 = 4.00, p = .05$). The value “Relationships” was reported by low and high income and not middle income Anglo women ($x^2 = 11.21, p = .004$), whereas “Faith” was reported by middle and high income and not low income Anglos ($x^2 = 6.09, p = .05$).

Education & Immigration Status. No statistically significant differences emerged on education and ethnic groups. However, there were statistically significant differences on education and immigration status. United States (US) born Latinas with a high school education reported “Relationships” as an important value more often than foreign born Latinas with a high school education ($x^2 = 5.53, p = .02$) (see Table 2). In addition, US born Latinas with some college education reported “Self-fulfillment” as an important value more often than foreign born Latinas with also a college level education ($x^2 = 5.6, p = .02$) (see Table 2).

Most Important/Core Values (Hypothesis 2)

According to how individuals ranked ordered their values, only the number “1” ranked ordered values (the core values) were examined for the following analyses. The three most commonly reported core values were: Family, Faith and Health. Chi-Square

statistics were used to determine whether there were statistically significant associations among the three most commonly reported core values across ethnic, immigration status, income and education groups.

Ethnicity. Both Anglo and Latino women reported the value of outmost importance (the core value) to be either: Family, Faith or Health. Even though no statistically significant differences emerged, it appears that “Family” and “Faith” may be of similar importance for Latino women as those values were approximately equally reported to be the core values. However, it appears that Anglo women report “Family” as the core value more frequently than “Faith” and “Health” (see Table 3).

Table 3

Percentages and Frequencies for Population Categories and the Most Important Reported Values

Population Category	Values		
	Family	Faith	Health
Anglo Women (30)	43% (13)	30% (9)	27% (8)
Income (28)			
Low Income (6)	83% (5)*	0% (0)	17% (1)
Middle Income (13)	24% (3)*	38% (5)	38% (5)
High Income (9)	44% (4)	33% (3)	23% (2)
Education (30)			
High School (5)	60% (3)	20% (1)	20% (1)
Some College (9)	56% (5)	11% (1)	33% (3)
College + (16)	31% (5)	44% (7)	25% (4)
Latina Women (42)	38% (16)	36% (15)	26% (11)
Income (42)			
Low Income (18)	33% (6)*	39% (7)	28% (5)
Middle Income (18)	50% (9)	22% (4)	28% (5)
High Income (6)	17% (1)	66% (4)	17% (1)
Education (42)			
High School (21)	38% (8)	29% (6)	33% (7)
Some College (12)	42% (5)	33% (4)	25% (3)
College + (9)	33% (3)	56% (5)	11% (1)
US Born Latino Women (16)	50% (8)	38% (6)	13% (2)
Foreign Born Latino Women (26)	30% (8)	35% (9)	35% (9)

* $p < .05$.

Immigration Status. Although not statistically significant, a similar pattern to the between group analyses of Anglo and Latino women emerged, where “Family” is associated with US born Latinas (more similar to Anglo women). However, for the foreign born Latino women, it was “Faith” and “Health” which are seen as the most important value in their lives (see Table 3).

Income & Ethnicity. Statistically significant results were found with regards to income and “Family.” The core value “Family” was more often associated with Low income Anglos when compared to middle income Anglos ($\chi^2 = 6.12, p = .01$) and when compared to low income Latinas ($\chi^2 = 4.53, p = .03$) (see Figure 2). Although not statistically significant, an interesting trend appeared among the Latino women among the different income levels. It appears that “Family” is primarily associated with the middle income Latino women, whereas “Faith” is the value that is primarily associated with Latino women of lower and higher income levels (see Table 3).

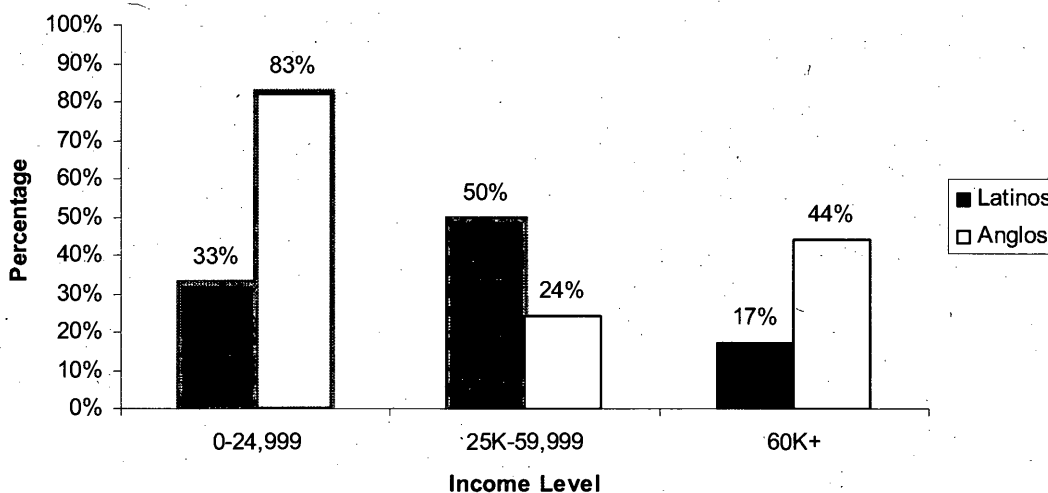


Figure 2. Percent of Latino and Anglo Women Reporting Family as the Most Important Value in Their Life by Income Level

Education & Ethnicity. An interesting trend appeared where “Faith” seems to be associated with education across ethnic groups, so that “Faith” appears to be of outmost importance for individuals of higher education regardless of ethnic groups. For Latinas, it appears that “Health” is reported less often as women’s level of education increases (See Table 3 for details).

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine values reported as “core values” among Latino women of different SES and immigration status, as compared to Anglo women in Southern California. The focus of the study was primarily on ethnic-specific values, that is, values that might emerge as specific to Latinos or Anglos, as well as ethnic-general values. In addition, the results provided a way to examine the potential role of SES and immigration status as sources of variation for such values.

The results suggest that the values reported by both Anglo and Latino women tend to be ethnic-general values, as they were frequently reported by both groups. Still, some of these similarities (ethnic-general) were particularly interesting. For example, the value of “Family” was equally reported by both Anglo and Latino women. Due to the collectivistic nature of Latino culture and the individualistic nature of Anglo culture, one might expect that Latinos would report the value of “Family” more frequently than Anglos (Alvarez & Bean, 1976; Cuellar, Arnold & Gonzalez, 1995; Fuentes, Baron & Vazquez, 2003; Ginorio, Gutierrez, Cauce & Acosta, 1995; Marin, 1993; Moore, 1970; Zea, Garcia, Begrave & Quezada, 1997). Familism is a cultural value that is reflective of a strong attachment with immediate and extended families and includes feelings of solidarity, reciprocity, and trustworthiness (Marin & Gamba, 2003; Triandis, Marin, Betancourt, Lisansky, & Chang, 1982). Familism is a value in the sense that the family’s needs supersede those of the individual. Among Latinos, familism plays a role in one’s dependence and reliance on others as well as their sense of obligation to others in the immediate as well as in the extended family (Cuellar, Arnold & Gonzalez, 1995). Although this value is typically associated with collectivistic cultures, the theory and

methodology used in this study allowed for the identification of this value as a salient one for Anglo women as well. "Relationships" was another value that did not seem to follow a "collectivistic" nature as it was mentioned mostly by Anglo and not the Latino women.

Nonetheless, it is also important to point out that although these two values are ethnic-general, their meaning may differ for both Latino and Anglo women. Perhaps "Family" can entail members of the immediate/nuclear family for some individuals, whereas others may define "Family" as being composed of immediate as well as extended family members. The same is the case for the value of "Relationships." Some individuals may consider "close friends and intimate partners" as part of their "Relationships" whereas other individuals may define their relationships as those including close friends and intimate partners as well as co-workers, classmates, old colleges, etc. Future research should examine the meaning of the values among Latino and Anglo women closer to determine whether this universal value has an equivalent meaning between these two ethnic groups.

The two values, "Family" and "Relationships," contain components of interpersonal relations which are mostly typically seen in collectivistic cultures. Still, these results must be considered in light of the conceptual view from the model guiding this research, which indicates that components of culture such as values are not only associated with ethnicity, but also with SES and other population factors.

An interesting trend was found among immigration status where US born Latino women had similar reporting patterns as those of Anglo women, whereas foreign born Latino women did not. The values of "Relationships," "Self-Fulfillment," and "Leisure" were more often reported by Anglo than Latino women. Similarly, US born Latino

women reported these three values more often than their foreign born counterparts. This finding is important as it suggests that value change is part of the acculturation process of Latino women who are born in the US, which may make them closer to mainstream Anglo women in terms of cultural factors such as some of their values.

As previously proposed, the sources of variations of these values were also examined. Sources of variations such as income and education levels are often associated and may even overlap with ethnicity (Betancourt & Fuentes, 2001; Flynn, 2005; Powe, 2001). Therefore this study examined how income and education levels related to cultural values. The sources of variations (income and education) of Latino and Anglo women were examined to further elucidate the role of "Family" and "Relationships" values in both groups. Although the "Family" value was equally reported by both Anglo and Latino women, once within group analyzes in terms of income groups are performed, it can be seen that "Family" is more frequently reported by Latinas across the three different income levels. However, for Anglo women, it is mostly the middle income group which most frequently reported "Family" as a value. These findings are important to note as the differences of the results may further lie on the income levels (within-group differences) and not just in ethnic groups (between-group differences).

If this research had just concentrated on the comparative analysis of the values of Anglo vs. Latino women, the results would have exaggerated the universal nature of value preferences, that is, that the same values are endorsed by all women, Anglo as well as Latino. However, as previously proposed, it's essential to go beyond a mere comparison of ethnic group differences and examine other within ethnic group sources of

variation, such as income and education, which may result in a wealth of information that may have otherwise been overlooked by only comparing ethnic groups.

Because of the bottom up approach of this study, it was possible to examine other sources of variation besides ethnicity. Specifically the importance given to “Faith,” “Relationships” and “Employment” was found to be income-specific as these values were mentioned by one particular income group more than the other. In addition, education-specific values (i.e., “Relationships” and “Self-Fulfillment” emerged in the Latino women sub-groups (US born vs. foreign born Latino women). This information would have been missed if this study would have only looked at ethnic group differences using the traditional top-down approach to the study of values.

The fields of psychology and health care can benefit from the bottom up approach to the study of cultural values as it can help in the development and implementation of interventions with culturally diverse communities. For example, knowing that “Family,” “Faith” and “Health” values are core values for both Latino and Anglo women can have an effect in the components that are included as part of an intervention. However, interventions that are aimed at any ethnic group (e.g., Latinos or Anglos) should not treat all of the members of that group as one general group in terms of how important one or another core value is to members of the corresponding group, such as Latinos. Members from different ethnic groups can differ based on place of birth, income levels, education levels, age and many other factors. All of these factors can make a difference in what these individuals consider important. This was the case for both Anglo and Latino women in this study.

For instance, at first it appeared that “Family” was reported as a core value for all Latino women. However, when the Latino women group was examined in terms of immigration status, a variation in values seemed to appear. The US born Latino women reported “Family” as a core value in their life, however, foreign born Latino women reported that “Faith” and “Health” were more salient values than “Family.” Hence, interventions should consider immigration status in their interventions, as each of these two sub-groups may have different outlooks on what is most important in their lives. According to these results, interventions for US born Latinos should consider topics important to Family, yet interventions for the foreign born Latinas may aim to focus more on areas that involve religious life (Faith values) and lifestyles choices (health).

Based on the results of this study, not only intervention programs should be tailored to meet the different needs of minority groups, but also of the mainstream Anglo individuals. Within group differences in the Anglo population exist which suggest that interventions should be sensitive to the differences in the sub-groups of Anglo individuals. For example, findings indicated that overall, Anglo women reported the value “Family” as the most important one in their lives. However, delving into the different income levels of Anglo women, one can find that this is the case for women in the lower and higher income groups, but not for middle income women who reported “Faith” as important. Moreover, Anglo women with a high school education and those who have taken some college classes seem to consider “Family” as a core value. However, those who completed college and those with graduate education see “Faith” as more important. Although some of the results were trends, these observations suggest the need for research that may help in the development of intervention programs based on

values and related cultural factors that are important to individuals of various ethnic, SES and other population characteristic within a culturally diverse society.

Although this study addressed some of the limitations of traditional research on values with culturally diverse populations, the present research has some limitations of its own that must be considered. Specifically, the sample size of the within group analyses of this study might be a limitation in generalizing these results to the corresponding within group populations. Similarly, following the bottom up approach, research in this area may have to move from qualitative data to quantitative measures based on such data, oriented to theory based hypothesis testing. Ideally, a bottom-up approach should meet a top-down approach. This way, a theory can be tested by using true cultural elements, in this case values, that have been identified in the population of interest. After identifying values that are particular to a population of interest, an instrument can be developed which can examine values that predict specific human behaviors. With this instrument, theory based hypotheses predicting the impact of cultural values can be tested and these hypotheses may inform theory development and practice in culturally diverse communities.

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Demographic Information Questionnaire - English

1. Age: _____

2. Years of Education: _____ (for example, completion of elementary school would be 6 years)

3. Marital Status:

- Single (never married) Married Cohabiting Divorced or Separated
 Widowed

4. Weekly (yearly) household income:

- \$0 - \$300 (\$0- 14,999) \$521- \$830 (\$25,000- 39,999) > than \$1,251 weekly
 \$301 - \$520 (\$15,000- 24,999) \$831- \$1250 (\$40,000- 59,999) (> than \$60,000)

5. Do you have health insurance?

- Yes No

6. Is there any other health service or advice that you use?

- Yes No

Please describe _____

7. If you do not have health insurance, do you have access to a clinic?

- Yes No

8. Religious Preference:

- Christian (Protestant) Muslim
 Christian (Catholic) Hindu
 Jewish None/No preference
 Buddhist Other _____

9. My ethnic or racial origin is:

- African American
 Anglo American (Non-Latino White)
 Latino/Latino American of any race (choose one or more)
 Mexican Puerto Rican Cuban
 South American Central American/Caribbean Other _____

10. Is your family originally from another country?

- Yes No

If so what country? _____

11. Were you born in the U.S.?

Yes No

If not, what country were you born? _____

How long have you lived in the U.S.? _____

12. If your family was originally from another country, who of the following were born in the U.S. (choose one or more)?

You Your Children Your Mother Your Father

Your Mother's Parents Your Father's Parents

13. What language is spoken in your home? _____

14. If English is your 2nd language, how many years have you spoken English? _____

Demographic Information Questionnaire - Spanish

1. Edad: _____

2. Años de Educación: _____ (Por ejemplo, completar la primaria seria 6 años)

3. Estado Civil:

- Soltera (nunca casada) Casada Union libre Divorciada o Separada
 Viuda

4. ¿Cual es el ingreso semenal (anual) de su hogar?:

- \$0 - \$300 (\$0- 14,999) \$521- \$830 (\$25,000- 39,999) Mas de \$1,251 semanal
 \$301 - \$520 (\$15,000- 24,999) \$831- \$1250 (\$40,000- 59,999) (Mas de \$60,000)

5. Tiene seguro de salud?

- Si No

6. Tiene otro servicio de salud o consejeria que usted usa?

- Si No

Por favor, Describa _____

7. Si No tiene seguro de salud, ¿tiene acceso a una clínica?

- Si No

8. Preferencia Religiosa:

- Cristiana (Protestante) Musulmana
 Christiana (Católica) Hindu
 Judía Ninguna/Sin preferencia
 Budista Otra _____

9. Mi grupo de origen racial o étnico es:

- Afro Americana
 Anglo Americana (Blanca, no de origen Latino)
 Hispana/Latina Americana de cualquier raza (Escoja una o mas regiones de origen)
 Mexico Puerto Rico Cuba
 America del sur Centro América/Caribe Otra _____

10. ¿Su familia es de otro país?

- Si No

¿Cuál país? _____

11. ¿Usted nació en los EE.UU.?

Si No

¿Si no, en cual país nació? _____

¿Si nació en otro país, cuantos años ha vivido en los EE.UU.? _____

12. ¿Si su familia es originalmente de otro país, quienes fueron nacidos en los EE.UU. (escoja uno o mas)?

Usted Sus hijos Su madre Su padre

Los padres de su madre Los padres de su padre

13. ¿Cuál(es) idioma(s) se habla(n) en su hogar? _____

14. ¿Si el ingles es su segundo idioma, por cuantos años ha hablado el ingles? _____

Value Questions – English

1. What things are most important to you in life? For instance, what are the things that guide you in your life?
 2. I am handing you cards with the names of the things that you have mentioned, which are important to you in your life. I'd like you to put them in order of most to least importance to you.
- * On index cards, write down the different values that the participant mentioned

Value Questions – Spanish

1. ¿Cuales son las cosas más importantes en su vida? Por ejemplo, ¿cuales son las cosas que le dan motivación en su vida?
2. Le estoy dando unas tarjetas con las cosas que usted ha mencionado hasta ahora acerca de las cosas que son importante en su vida. Me gustaría que las pusiera en orden de más importancia a menos importancia para usted.