

SEXUAL SOCIALIZATION: A QUALITATIVE EXPLORATION OF IMMIGRANT LATINA
MOTHERS' PERCEPTION OF SEX-COMMUNICATION WITH THEIR ADOLESCENT
DAUGHTER

By

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ABSTRACT

SEXUAL SOCIALIZATION: A QUALITATIVE EXPLORATION OF IMMIGRANT LATINA MOTHERS' PERCEPTION OF SEX-COMMUNICATION WITH THEIR ADOLESCENT DAUGHTERS

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This qualitative investigation explored the unique experiences of immigrant Latina mothers and sex-communication with their adolescent daughters in an era of high anti-immigration rhetoric in the United States. The research findings are summarized in two studies. In study one, we explored the views of sexuality and sexuality parenting of 15 immigrant mothers of Mexican origin, using an intersectional lens to guide data analysis. To contextualize our understanding of U.S. immigrant Latina mothers, results describe participants' identity as immigrants and its connection to their personal views on sexuality and intent to parent on sexuality. Three additional themes emerged: 1) mothers' views of sexuality shaped by their intergenerational experiences—subthemes a) silence and misinformation, and b) striving for *confianza* to facilitate positive sex-communication experiences with daughter(s); 2) mothers' self-doubt and discomfort with sex-communication—subtheme a) answering with uncertainty and insecurity; 3) the straddling of two worlds generates internal conflict concerning mothers' views of sexuality and parenting—subthemes a) apprehension towards new perspectives on gender and sexuality, and b) fears of sexual violence shape how mothers parent and communicate with daughters. This qualitative study provides an opportunity to have a more in-depth analysis of unique processes immigrant Mexican mothers experience and the extent to which that shapes their views on sexuality and parenting. Study 2 sought to explore immigrant Mexican mothers' reported processes of sex-communication with their adolescent daughters.

This study revealed what Latina mothers think about the sexual experiences of their daughters and how their own experiences shape how they discuss sexuality with their adolescent daughters. The study findings generated five main themes: 1) Lecturing daughters about sexuality with the intent to protect; 2) Apprehension from personal experiences hinders positive sex-communication with daughters; 3) Heteronormative sexual identity and experiences for daughter are favored; 4) Grappling with Mexican/American sex values and family values; and 5) Mothers await cues from daughters to initiation sex-communication. Findings provide in-depth analysis of unique processes immigrant Mexican mothers experience and generate insights that are beneficial to sex education and prevention efforts tailored to this underserved population. Clinical implications for family therapy and parent-based sex education programming to help promote sexual health in immigrant Latino families are discussed.

Para mi gente:
“If you’re reading this, we made it!”
~Drake

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Background and Statement of the Problem

Sexuality occurs across the life span which is an integral part and normative aspect of adulthood. United States (U.S.) trends suggest the age of sexual debut can occur as early as or before the age of 13, with variations observed across race, ethnicity, gender (Lindberg, Maddow-Zimet, & Marcell, 2017) and class. Sexual debut is often defined as first coitus (Carpenter, 2001). However, this definition of sex is not universal and limiting, as it overlooks non-coital sexual activity (e.g., mutual masturbation, oral sex, anal sex). Individuals and cultural groups attach different meanings to sexual behavior (Faulkner, 2003), highlighting the critical need to consider cultural contexts, race, social class, and ethnicity for the advanced understanding of U.S. sexuality. Latinos¹ are rich in diversity including but not limited to ethnicity, language, education, generational status, sexual orientation, immigration status, and social class (Lucero-Liu & Christensen, 2009; Nieman, 2004). Thus, attention to the intersection of race, gender, and class, among other factors, is critical for research on this population.

Sexual health risks in young Latinas point to an important area of research. Rates of negative sexual outcomes including sexually transmitted infections (STIs), human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), and unplanned pregnancies (Charles & Blum, 2008) are disproportionately higher among young Latinas compared to their White non-Hispanic counterparts (Center for Disease and Control Prevention [CDC], 2018b; The National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy, 2016). Young Latinas are also at higher risk for early sexual debut, sexually transmitted infections (STI), and higher rates of teen pregnancy compared to their non-

¹ Debate exists regarding the application of the term Latino vs Hispanic (see Alcoff, 2005; Garcia-Navarro, 2015; Marrow, 2004), and more recently, the gender-nonbinary term Latinx (see Salinas Jr. & Lozano, 2017). Given the novelty of the “Latinx” label and ethical implications of imposing a U.S.-based term across Latin American cultures, for the purpose of this study, I will refer to Latino/as as anyone of Latin American descent or Spanish-speaking origin (with the exception of Spain) currently living in the United States (Suarez-Orozco & Paez, 2002; Garcia-Navarro, 2015).

Latino counterparts (Jackson, 2013; Trejos-Castillo & Vazsonyi, 2009; Ventura, Abma, Mosher, & Henshaw, 2006). Despite a significant decline of teen pregnancies in the past decade for all populations, Latinas remain disproportionally affected by teen pregnancy and HIV infection (CDC, 2017; 2018). This disparity is important to understand as Latinos are and will continue to be the largest and fastest growing minority group living in the U.S. (Logan & Turner, 2013; Colby & Ortman, 2015), and Latinas the fastest growing female population in the U.S. (Jackson, 2013; Kost & Henshaw, 2014).

Latinas residing in the U.S. may experience unique challenges that influence elements of sexual development, as their socialization comprises messaging from at least two (or more) cultures with contradictory ideologies (Hussian et al., 2015) (e.g., mainstream American culture promoting sexual liberation vs. traditional Latino cultural endorsing sexual purity). These messages can create a binary that reduces Latina sexual development to two confines: 1) procreation—deemed acceptable, or 2) eroticism, which is often chastised (Gil & Vazquez, 1996; Hussian et al., 2015). This can impose barriers to engagement in sexual exploration or behavior that deviates from heteronormative expectations, which are likely influenced by the constructs of *marianismo* and *machismo* [to be described in more detail later]—i.e., traditional Latino gender scripts for women and men, respectively.

Across races and ethnicities, mothers, have been identified as having a significant influence on their children's sexual behaviors and attitudes, including mothers of Mexican origin (Alcade & Quelopana, 2013; Wisnieski, Sieving, & Garwick, 2015). In contrast to other ethnic groups, parents of Latin American descent engage in less sex-communication with their children (Alcade & Quelopana, 2013). Although not exclusive to Mexican families (e.g., Wilson et al., 2010; Mullis, Kastrinos, Wollney, Taylor, & Bylund, 2021), barriers to parent-child sex-

communication include: parents' lack of confidence (i.e., not knowing how to talk about the subject with children), lack of practice in effective communication skills, lack of time, belief that their child is not ready to learn about sex-related topics, mother-daughter disagreement on sex-related topics, and lack or limited experiences of sex-positive communication within their own lives (Baumeister et al., 1995; Villaruel, 1998; Givaudan, Pick, Alvarez Izazaga, & Collado, 1994; Wilson, Dalberth, Koo, & Gard, 2010). A widely accepted definition for sex positive, is lacking in the literature (see Ivanski & Kohut, 2017). For the purposes of this study, communication that is sex-positive will refer to ideologies of sexuality and gender that allow for diversity in: gender presentation, sexual expression, sexual behavior, sexual identities, and sexual orientation, while remaining respectful, open-minded and non-judgmental of personal sexual autonomy, when consent is present (Ivanski & Kohut, 2017, Williams et al., 2013).

Longitudinal data has demonstrated parental involvement, including parent-adolescent sex-communication, as an effective way to reduce sexual risks for young Latinas over time (e.g., Deptula, Henry, & Schoeny, 2010; Estrada et al., 2015; Markham et al. 2010; Trejos-Castillo & Vazsonyi, 2009). These studies show that parental influence, including general parental communication, the delivery of sex information from parents, parental support, parental responsiveness, parental monitoring, and the quality of parental relationship are associated with lower sexual risks of adolescents. However, these studies do not distinguish among the variation of race, class, ethnicity, or other intersecting identities (i.e., immigrant vs U.S. born) within their samples. This oversight is critical, as race, gender [and class] are associated with the construction of knowledge and impact sexual health practices (Barcelos, 2017).

Even though studies suggest that parenting is protective for young Latinas, more research is needed to learn about the specific socialization processes, cultural values, and barriers faced by

immigrant parents with regards to communicating (or not) with their daughters about sexuality. Research that seeks to understand [immigrant] Latino parent-child processes about sex communication in the cultural context is limited (Strauss, Murphy-Erby, Boyas, & Bivens, 2011). The current study attempted to shorten this gap by exploring immigrant Latino parenting practices and exploring the complexities that both contribute to, and hinder parent-adolescent sex-communication for immigrant Latina mothers with their adolescent daughters. This study yields insight into the communication processes for this unique population which can help inform future interventions that target sexual health promotion in immigrant Latino families.

Latino Families in the U.S.

With a projected population increase of 115% by the year 2060, Latinos are both the fastest growing and largest ethnic-racial minority group currently living in the U.S. (Colby & Ortman, 2015; U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). This growing population points to the significance of the welfare and [sexual] health of young Latinos at the national level (Becker, Thing, Baezconde-Garbanati, Schwartz, Soto, & Unger, 2014). Given the negative sexual outcomes (e.g., teen pregnancy, STIs, HIV) that permeate young Latinas, closer examination of the unique experiences, socialization processes, and cultural factors that influence sexual values and behaviors of Latino families is needed.

For many immigrant Latino families, parental involvement in child rearing can be challenging due to the unique contextual factors and life stressors faced by this population. For example, these families have a larger intersection of difficulties based on clashes in culture (e.g., difficulty reconciling differences with conflicting ideas and values of immigrant vs native-born), limited opportunities for full-time and year-round work, low levels of education, low levels of English fluency, gaps in acculturation, barriers to education, limited or no access to health

insurance, and often poverty (Birman, 2006; Hernandez, Denton, & Macartney, 2007; Luque et al., 2015). In particular, recent immigrants are still adjusting to life in a new country and the varying challenges that come with this adaptation.

It is essential to acknowledge that Latinos are not a homogenous group, as a myriad of within-group differences exist for this population ranging from ethnicity, education, immigration status, to generational status, sexual orientation, language, and social class (Lucero-Liu & Christensen, 2009; Nieman, 2004). For example, a study of within Latino sub-groups reveals that sexual behaviors vary between foreign and US-born adolescents and by country of origin (Padian et al., 2001). Another study (Villar & Concha, 2012) revealed that country of origin was linked to cultural values and sex education exposure prior to arriving in the U.S. such that Latinas from Guatemala and Peru reported higher levels of taboo related to sex education and more conservative values compared to Latinas from Chile and Argentina. Other studies have also reported within group difference in sexual risk behaviors and parent-child sex-communication among Latinos (e.g., Castillo-Mancilla, Allshouse, Collins, Hastings-Tolsma, Campbell, & MaWhinney, 2012; Deutsch, & Crockett, 2016; Murphy-Erby, Stauss, Boyas, & Bivens, 2011). These studies not only help broaden the understanding of Latina sexuality by acknowledging the diversity within this population; they also reinforce the importance of distinguishing between sub-groups, rather than addressing research on Latinas broadly.

Still, many studies on Latinos/Hispanics (e.g., Deptula, Henry, & Schoeny, 2010; Estrada et al., 2015; Markham et al., 2010; Trejos-Castillo & Vazsonyi, 2009) fail to distinguish among race, ethnicity, class, immigration status, and other pertinent identifiers. The label of Latino traditionally refers to individuals of Spanish-speaking countries, yet beyond the common factor of a shared language, Latinos represent diverse cultural traditions, religions, ethnicities (Kenny

& Wurtele, 2013), and language dialects. Failure to acknowledge these varying factors perpetuates a limited understanding and inaccurate interpretation of sex research on Latinos. The need for more ethnic-homogeneous designs is essential to facilitate an understanding of the unique experiences within cultural groups of Latino families (McLoyd, 1998). To highlight the heterogeneity and avoid categorization of Latinos as an undifferentiated homogeneous group, application of intersectionality (Collins & Bilge, 2016; Crenshaw, 1991) guided an analytical framework for the present study. The present study focused on exploring the unique factors that shape mother-daughter communication in *immigrant* Latino families of Mexican decent.

Sexual Health Disparities in the U.S.

Among developed nations, the U.S. maintains the highest rate of both teenage pregnancy and STIs (Sedgh, Finer, Bankole, Eilers, & Singh, 2015; Stanger-Hall & Hall, 2011). For U.S. adolescents, these risks are related to high rates of sexual debut which occur as early as, or before the age of 13 with variations observed across race, ethnicity, and gender (Kaplan, Jones, Olson, & Yunzal-Butler, 2013; Lindberg, Maddow-Zimet, & Marcell, 2017). The risks are also related to unprotected sexual activity and multiple sexual partners which place adolescent girls in particular, at risk for negative sexual outcomes including unplanned pregnancies, STI and HIV contraction, early debut of sexual relations (including oral sex, anal sex, casual sex), unprotected sex, and sex while drunk or high (Charles & Blum, 2008; Schwartz et al., 2011). While rates of negative sexual outcomes have steadily decreased for Caucasian adolescents over the years, rates continue to increase among Latino youth (Lee, Dancy, Florez & Holm, 2013). Collectively, these risks constitute a critical public health concern in the U.S. These sexual and reproductive health disparities suggest that there are challenges to our understanding of sexual behavior among Latinas and that sexual health prevention efforts are not as effective for this population.

Research focused on outcomes such as STIs, teenage pregnancy, condom use, and sexual violence, has largely shaped the view that adolescent sexuality is dangerous (Moran, 2000; Tolman & McClelland, 2011). However, advocacy that aims to detach adolescent sexuality from pathology and dangerous outcomes (Bauman & Udry, 1981; Fine, 1988; Fine & McClelland, 2006) has altered the discourse allowing for more acceptance of adolescent sexuality as a normative aspect of human development (Sexuality Information and Education Council of the United States, 2004; Tolman & McClelland, 2011). The term ‘normative’ has been attached to the study of adolescent sexuality to highlight its developmental nature and make space for the integration of a sex-positive framework (Diamond, 2006; Russell, 2005). Regarding sexual development, normative “pertain[s] to the average or expected behavior patterns of a group or community,” (Tolman & McClelland, 2011, p. 243). Normative is applied to sexuality to organize research examining qualities of development and what it means to develop into a “healthy” sexual adult (Tolman & McClelland, 2011), without relying on benchmarks of sexual activity. The present study takes a sex-positive approach where consensual sexual experiences of young Latinas are viewed as a normative aspect of their development.

According to the World Health Organization (WHO, 2018) sexual health is not merely the absence of disease and dysfunction, but also a “*state of physical, mental and social well-being in relation to sexuality. It requires a positive and respectful approach to sexuality and sexual relationships, as well as the possibility of having pleasurable and safe sexual experiences, free of coercion, discrimination and violence.*” However, there is a lack of consensus on this definition (see Edwards & Coleman, 2004). While it is reasonable to assume the standards of normative sexual development are applicable to all people, the references cited in this section lack racial-ethnic diversity, acknowledge race and ethnicity minimally, or fail to report race or

ethnicity (for exceptions see Diamond, 2006; Lindberg et al., 2017). Thus, it is difficult to generalize information from data that has been largely derived from White samples and does not account for intersecting variables of race, class, and gender.

The U.S. is made up of various racial-ethnic cultures, immigrant groups, and sexual minorities, which contributes to the variability observed within the spectrum of sexuality [e.g., sexual behaviors, sexual attitudes, sexual expression] (Gagnon, 1975). Numerous factors contribute to the variation in the sexual development trajectories of girls including (but not limited to): self-esteem, body image, race/ethnicity, emotion regulation, social competence, communication skills, culture, etc. These factors influence the manner in which girls manage, experience, understand, and act on sexual desires (Diamond, 2006). Accumulation of these factors may account for some variations observed in Latina sexual development and sexual socialization processes. Learning more about the unique factors that can protect them from negative sexual outcomes is critical for the long-term wellbeing of these young women.

Guiding Theories

The link between sexual socialization, cultural values, and parent-adolescent sex communication, in the family context, is not likely to be shaped or understood by a single factor (e.g., culture, class, gender, and race). To explore these connections, two main theoretical frameworks guided the present study's investigation: 1) sexual scripting theory (Gagnon & Simon 1973; Gagnon, 1990) and 2) the theory of intersectionality (Collins & Bilge 2016; Crenshaw, 1991). Sexual scripting theory illustrates the connection between sexual socialization and conduct (Gagnon & Simon 1973; Gagnon, 1990), which explains how organized cognitive scripts shape sexual interactions. This theory was useful to explore the context and extent to which traditional Latino gender scripts i.e., machismo and marianismo, were expressed in

present-day immigrant Latino families. Application of intersectionality was essential for exploring, describing, and better understanding the complexities faced by immigrant Latina mothers and the sex-communication with their adolescent daughters, as it highlighted the intersecting identities and other overlapping social divisions for this population (Collins & Bilge 2016; Crenshaw, 1991). Application of these theories provided an integrative frame of reference that guided the authors' exploration and analysis of the unique lived experiences of immigrant Latina mothers, their cultural values, their parenting socialization practices, and its connection to sex-communication with their adolescent daughters.

Sexual Scripting Theory

Sexual scripting theory provides a framework for explaining sexual conduct and illustrates how individuals or "actors" shape and understand their sexual interactions through the use of organized cognitive schemas or "scripts" (Gagnon & Simon 1973; Gagnon, 1990; Gagnon & Simon, 2003). Sexual scripts interact at three different levels: cultural, interpersonal, and intrapsychic, and account for the variations observed in sexual expression and sexual patterns within specific groups and cultures (Simon & Gagnon 1986, 2003). Cultural scripts provide gendered guidelines on how sexuality is "supposed" to be enacted within a heteronormative context (Gagnon, 1990). For Latinos, this is often described as machismo and marianismo. These gendered guidelines are salient in Latino culture, particularly in the way parents socialize their daughters differently from their sons (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004; Updegraff, Delgado, & Wheeler, 2009). Because machismo (i.e., men as dominant, virile, aggressive) and marianismo (i.e., women as chaste, virginal, obedient) illustrate heteronormative cultural gender and sexual scripts, sexual scripting theory was a useful frame of reference for exploring the manifestation of gender roles and socialization processes within the families of this study.

Researchers informed by scripting theory acknowledge that the discourse and manner in which heterosexuality is constructed can be problematic and that these problems contribute to sexual violence (Beres, 2014; McCormick, 2010, 2010b). That is, a culture that teaches women (as opposed to men) to clearly say no, articulate desires, and speak up, maintains assumptions about gender, sex (McCormick, 2010a, b), and erotic orientation. These assumptions are sustained by patriarchal and heteronormative ideologies, which place men in higher positions of power. Having a more thorough understanding of cultural gender scripts that mothers hold and transmit to their daughters can be helpful to identify potentially problematic assumptions that negatively impact parent-adolescent sex-communication in immigrant Latino families.

Sexual scripting theory fundamentals explain the following related to sexuality: 1) sexual conduct is not limited to bodily activity; 2) sexuality and gender are learned and vary in their relationship to one another in different cultures; 3) sexuality is organized by social structure and culture, and can be maintained, acquired, and unlearned in all aspects; and 4) sexual behavior and the study of sexuality is determined by cultural and historical contexts (Gagnon, 1975). It is unlikely that two individuals will express identical scripts, as sexual scripts vary by culture and person, people within the same culture may access similar scripts (McCormick, 2010). Therefore, attention to intersectionality, i.e., noting the variability within Latino-subgroups, helps describe the way and to what extent traditional Latino gender scripts shape sexual socialization unique to mother-daughter sex-communication in immigrant Latino families.

Intersectionality

The theory of intersectionality posits that gender, class, and race/ethnicity continuously interact to operate as interconnected axes of oppression (Crenshaw, 1991). Centered on fundamentals of power [i.e., social, political, class], relationality [i.e., one's experiences in

relation to other], social inequality [i.e., oppression], social context [i.e., environment, culture, socioeconomic status], and social justice (Collins & Bilge 2016), intersectionality acknowledges that people are comprised of inextricably linked multiple identities that are socially constructed and experienced simultaneously (Burgess-Proctor, 2006; Potter, 2015). Individuals and the conditions of social life are also formed by various factors in complex and mutually influencing ways (Collins & Bilge, 2016)—complexities better accessed and understood through an intersectional framework. To honor the heterogeneity of immigrant Latino families, recognizing the influence of gender, class, and race/ethnicity (Crenshaw, 1991) among other intersecting identities, application of intersectionality was a critical component of analysis in the present study.

Beyond race, gender, and class, intersectionality considers other social divisions (e.g., religion, sexuality, culture) and recognizes how meaning is attributed to these divisions based on the power dynamics of sexism, class exploitation, racism, and heterosexism (Collins & Bilge, 2016). That is, individuals of varying power experience different expectations regarding what social rules apply to them and how they should be implemented (e.g., expectations for women to be virginal vs expectations for men to be virile). Division of power displayed through structural hierarchy are salient in traditional Latino households and often organize family communication dynamics that reinforce hierarchies of gender and age. The power dynamics of Latino gender role division and sexual scripts (i.e., machismo and marianismo) illustrate a key example of differential treatment among men and women—dynamics that are often learned and socialized in the family context and reinforced by patriarchy. Collins (2000) illustrates this dynamic showing that sisters submit to brothers, mothers adhere to fathers, and boys comply with mothers until they develop into men (Collins, 2000). However, these concepts are dated and therefore

understanding if and how these dynamics were expressed in first-generation immigrant Latino families at present-day was an important gap this study attempted to fill.

Again, the connection between these gendered and sexual socialization processes in the context of families are not shaped, or understood, by a single factor (e.g., culture); it is more complex. For example, the impact of acculturation, race and ethnicity, immigration/migration, marginalization, minority status, cultural tenants, gender roles, discrimination, and family socialization processes (Hernandez, Zule, Karg, Browne, & Wechsberg, 2012; Marin & Gomez, 1997; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004; Villarruel, 1998) are just some of the many intersecting factors that impact negative sexual outcomes among Latinas. Yet, the mutual influence of these factors are not often distinguished when examining sexual outcomes of Latinos. Given that gender, race, [and class] are associated with the production of knowledge and impact sexual health promotion practices, this oversight is not only critical (Barcelos, 2017), it also creates a gap in knowledge of the within group differences among Latino families and Latina sexuality. A gap the present study aimed to narrow.

Meaningful exposure to, and experiences with integration of more than one culture, known as multiculturalism (Benet-Martínez, 2015), adds another layer of complexity to understanding Latino sexuality. This is particularly relevant to Latinos in the U.S., as U.S. mainstream culture (i.e., individualistic) and Latino ideologies (i.e., collectivistic) can produce contradictory messages with regards to gender and sexuality; making integration of multiple cultures a complicated process. Longstanding bias posits Latina [hetero]sexuality as culturally determined and deficient; application of intersectionality was instrumental in challenging these Western ideologies (Garcia & Torres, 2009). Recognizing these unique processes and intersecting identities is and was imperative for understanding the multiple factors that inform

the expectations, behaviors, attitudes, beliefs, and communication concerning sex and sexuality in the immigrant Latino families in the present study.

Hispanic vs Latino

Disagreement on how populations of Spanish speaking origins are and should be categorized is ongoing (see Alcoff, 2005; Garcia-Navarro, 2015). The term Hispanic originated in the mid 1970s from the U.S. federal government to classify individuals with origins from Spanish speaking countries (Tienda, Mitchell, & National Research Council, 2006). Hispanic/Latino refers to those with: Puerto Rican, Venezuelan, Bolivian, Cuban, Ecuadorian, Mexican, Honduran, Guatemalan, Salvadoran, Nicaraguan, Colombian, Argentinian, Dominican, Paraguayan, Peruvian, Chilean, Costa Rican, Panamanian, and or Uruguayan decent (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018). Given the prevalent use of this term in both federal documents and scholarly research, much of the literature labels this population as Hispanic, although not all individuals identify this way. The term Hispanic can be viewed as an imposed label, rather than a self-selected identity, and consequently rejected by some (Albert, 1996, Birman, 1998). Latino on the other hand is a more inclusive and widely applied identifier (Marrow, 2003), regularly used to describe individuals residing in the U.S. of Spanish-speaking and Latin American origins (Garcia-Navarro, 2015; Suarez-Orozco & Paez, 2002). The term Latinx has also been used in more recent times and emerged with the intent to be gender neutral (Salinas Jr. & Lozano, 2017)—a label which may be more favorable to gender nonconforming individuals. However, given the novelty of the word, and in an attempt to avoid imposing a new label on the community of interest, participants recruited in the present study are referred to as Latino, given that Latinx is not a term the target population identified with.

Immigrant Latino Families

The immigrant experience of many Latino families places them in a vulnerable position. For some, it presents a unique set of stressors that impede optimal functioning in society including effective parent-adolescent sex communication. Experiences of acculturated stress, racial discrimination, immigration, language adjustment, educational barriers, unconventional work hours, limited transportation options, and poverty are just some of the various daily life stressors for many Latino immigrants (Ayón, Valencia-Garcia, & Kim, 2017; Domenech-Rodríguez, et al., 2011; Guerra & Knox, 2008). These stressors serve as potential barriers to effective parent-adolescent communication about sex. That is, educational barriers, including limited or inaccurate knowledge of sexual health can hinder sex communication between parents and their child(ren) (Hernandez, Zule, Karg, Browne, & Wechsberg, 2012). Long unconventional work hours and language barriers for parents can also make it difficult to find adequate time to talk or the right language to effectively communicate with their child. Despite various limitations of immigrant families, vigorous work ethic and commitment to the family unit fosters a strong foundation for the success of their children in the U.S. (Hernandez, Denton, & Macartney, 2007). Still, lack of effective parent-child sex communication leaves young Latinas vulnerable to negative sexual outcomes.

Limited understanding of the complexities of the immigrant experience, including oversight of the intricacy of gender, language, race, documentation of immigration status, among other contextual factors can lead to pathologizing conclusions about these families (Suárez-Orozco & Carhill, 2008), calling for more research on this topic. Given the variability among Latinos and their respective values, more information is needed to understand the extent to which

cultural values and other contributing factors play a role in parent-adolescent sex communication specific to immigrant Latino families.

Cultural values and expectations inform parent-child dyads. The cultural values of collectivism, familialism, respect, and gender roles, among others are related to parent-child sex communication in Latino families (Benavides, Bonazzo, & Torres, 2006; Estrada et al., 2015; Marin, 2003; Trejos-Castillo & Vazsonyi, 2009; Villarruel, 1998). These articles are limiting however, as they fail to distinguish either between ethnicities and/or immigrant status (i.e., U.S. born or not). Researchers studying parent-adolescent sex communication have emphasized the significance of considering within group differences among Latinos including generational status and gender (Deutsch & Crockett, 2016; Murphy-Erby et al., 2011). Failing to address the unique factors specific to the Latino sub-group of interest contributes to the gap in knowledge of Latino sexuality. Although more recent sex related studies on Latinos have begun to distinguish between ethnicities and immigration status (e.g., Cashman, Eng, Simán, & Rhodes, 2011; Matsuda, McGrath, Knafl, Worthington, Jallo, & Corona, 2014; Ravelo, Sanchez, Cyrus, De La Rosa, Peragallo, & Rojas, 2019; Villar & Concha, 2012; Zea, Reisen, Poppen, & Bianchi, 2009), research focused exclusively on parent-adolescent sex communication in immigrant Latino families remain limited.

Cultural Values

An array of values engrained in Latino culture play a unique role in the lives of Latinos: espiritismo (spirituality), personalismo (personal relationship with others), familismo (familism), fatalismo (fatalism), machismo (male gender script), marianismo (female gender script), respeto (respect), aguantarse (tolerance of stressful situations in times of hardship), soponerse (self-suppression), and others (Añez, Paris, Bedregal, Davidson, & Grilo, 2005;

Bermúdez & Mancini, 2013; Kim, Soliz, Orellana & Alamilla, 2009; Ramos-Sanchez & Atkinson, 2009). Research indicates that these cultural values can increase the risk of negative sexual outcomes for Latinas (e.g., CDC, 2018; Hernandez, et al., 2012). These values are intricately tied to one another and provide cultural context for some of the unique socialization and sexual outcomes for this population. However, less is known regarding the extent that these cultural dynamics influence and/or pose barriers to effective parent-adolescent sex communication in immigrant Latino families who are adjusting to a new country and culture, requiring further investigation.

Family Cultural Values, Gender, and Sexuality

The influence and endorsement of cultural values varies across race, ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic status, and other social factors. For example, Latinas from Chile and Argentina report fewer conservative values regarding the topic of sex when compared to Latinas from Peru and Guatemala (Villar & Concha, 2012) demonstrating differences among Latino ethnicities). Values transmitted through parental communication also vary across gender such that Latino boys receive more permissive messaging compared to young Latinas who receive more cautionary messaging (Deutsch & Crockett, 2016). Scholars suggest that parental influence, specifically the mother-adolescent relationship, is more influential on daughter's health compared to sons (Updegraff, Delgado, & Wheeler, 2009) pointing to the significant role that gender plays in parent-adolescent sex communication. Consistently, parent's differential treatment of children is observed to differ across gender and their ties to the cultural value of familismo (McHale, Updegraff, Shanahan, Crouter, & Killoren, 2005). Findings revealed that gendered-type differential treatment among siblings varied as a function of cultural processes (i.e., ties to cultural values) within the families. Families more enculturated to Mexican culture

were more likely to be organized by gender such that older sisters with younger brothers had fewer privileges (e.g., staying out late, going to a friend's house), and older brothers with younger sisters had fewer chores. Siblings who had stronger ties to the value of familismo demonstrated weaker association between youth well-being and differential treatment. The differential treatment showcases the role gender and culture plays on the unique socialization processes of Latina daughters compared to sons and provides some context for understanding adverse sexual outcomes for young Latinas.

The cultural values of familismo and respeto (respect), are identified as protective factors against unsafe sexual practices and are linked with sexual activity decision-making in Latino families (Espinosa-Hernández et al, 2017; Germán, Gonzales, & Dumka, 2009). Familismo, or a sense of loyalty and obligation to the family (Ayon & Garcia, 2019), has been associated with adolescents' decision making about their romantic partners (Espinosa-Hernández, Bissell-Havran, Van Duzor, & Halgunseth, 2017; Flores, Eyre & Millstein, 1998; Raffaelli & Suarez-al-Adam, 1998). Familismo has also been associated with the sexual behavior of young Latinas (Guilamo-Ramos, Bouris, Jaccard, Lesesne, & Ballan, 2009). Higher rates of familismo, operationalized by submission and subjugation to the family, is negatively associated with the sexual behaviors (i.e., anal sex, oral sex, and vaginal sexual intercourse) of young Latinas—an association not extended to the sexual behavior of young Latinas (Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2009). This suggests that gender is significant in understanding the connection between cultural values and sexuality in Latino families. Religion and gender roles are also identified to inform the sexual behavior of young Latinas (Lee, Dancy, Florez, & Holm, 2013; Villarruel, Jemmott, Jemmott, & Ronis, 2007). Yet, other intersecting factors may account for the variability observed. For example, compared to native-born families, first-generation families or recent

immigrants often endorse the value of familismo to a greater extent (Gonzales et al., 2008). Collectively, these studies corroborate more recent findings that reveal the complex associations among Latina adolescents' sexual risk, gender, nativity status (i.e., U.S. born vs foreign born), and parenting processes (Killoren, & Deutsch, 2014). Despite these variations, the literature has consistently identified Latina mothers as primary transmitter of values and sex socializer of their daughters (Wisnieski, Sieving, & Garwick, 2015; Hossain, Lee, & Martin-Cuellar, 2015, Kincaid, Jones, Sterrett, & McKee, 2012; Updegraff, Delgado, & Wheeler, 2009). They have also been found to significantly influence their daughters' sexual attitudes and behaviors (Wisnieski, Sieving, & Garwick, 2015; Sanchez, Whittaker, & Crosnoe, 2020). This highlights the value of Latina mothers in their involvement of the sex-education of their daughters. Learning more about mothers' sex-communication process with their daughters would be beneficial for informing parent-based sex-education for Latinas.

Accounting for the diversity and multiple intersecting identities of Latinas is critical for comprehensive research on this population. Neglecting the nuanced differences reinforces a homogenous grouping and erases the multiple identities these individuals hold. Acknowledging the intersectionality within the sample population was a critical component in the data analysis of the present study. Rather than a representation of Latinos as whole, the present study aimed its focus on the experiences specific to *immigrant* Latina mothers of adolescent daughters.

Latino Gender Roles

Cultural messaging of machismo and marianismo outline gendered roles that dictate heteronormative sexuality for Latinos. Marianismo socializes women to exhibit feminine demeanor (e.g., to be nurturing) and be virginal, whereas machismo socializes men to comport themselves in masculine ways (e.g., to be aggressive and virile) (Hernandez et al., 2012). These

messages, or sexual scripts, provide and reinforce gendered expectations of sexual processes (Gagnon, 1990). For example, women are often judged on their sexual reputation, sexual attractiveness, and ability to maintain a relationship; whereas men are encouraged to employ sexual freedom and often portrayed as incapable of saying “no” to sex (Fromme & Emihovich, 1998; Ward, 1995). Consistent with sexual scripting theory (Gagnon & Simon 1973), these heteronormative roles prescribe different expectations in sexual behavior for men and women. Traditional gender role attitudes are of significant cultural value in Latino families (Cauce & Domenech-Rodríguez, 2002) and understanding its current salience in immigrant Latino families require further investigation.

Marianismo

Marianismo outlines a female gender script, often observed in Latinas, that implicitly socializes women to practice honor, passivity, duty, self-sacrifice, submission, caretaking, and sexual morality; characteristics that personify the Virgin Mary (Gil & Vasquez, 1996). Rooted in cultural norms and traditional values of Catholicism, marianismo stresses the importance of one’s devotion and responsibility to family over self (D’Alonzo 2012; Stevens, 1973) and highlights the value of virginity; a value equated with honor to self and to family (Gil & Vasquez, 1996). The pressure to preserve sexual morality is reinforced by the expectation for sex to be used only for procreation, avoiding any personal pleasure (Gil & Vasquez, 1996). Under the construct of marianismo, a woman’s virginity is equated with honor to self and family; preservation until marriage is essential to avoid bringing shame to her family (Moraes-Gorekci, 1988; Stevens, 1973).

While marianismo highlights the cultural significance of virginity, the extent to which this influences young Latinas is mixed. Marianismo is suggested to operate as an aspired code of

morality and “desirable femininity” for many Latinas (Gutiérrez, 2004). Consistently, some Latinas express regret of their pre-marital sexual activity and report abstaining from sex as a way to cope with these emotions (Faulkner, 2003; Faulkner, & Mansfield, 2002), whereas some Latinas participate in pre-marital sex without feelings of shame, dishonor, or guilt (Faulkner, & Mansfield, 2002). Given the diversity and intersecting identities of Latinas, exploration of marianismo in a more homogenous sample (i.e., immigrant Latina mothers) can help understand the mixed findings in research. The extent to which this script informs gender and sexual socialization processes between daughters and immigrant Latina mothers requires further investigation.

Machismo

Machismo describes the gender role of masculinity commonly observed in Latino men which encourages an individual’s manliness to be demonstrated in numerous ways including risk taking, exemplifying strength, having multiple sex partners, and evading demonstration of fear or sadness (Asencio, 1999; Herrera et al., 2013, Marin, 2003). Virility as a sign of masculinity positions men as responsible for teaching their [virginal] partner(s) acceptable sexual practices (Gil & Vazquez, 1996). Like marianismo, traditional machismo has the potential to influence sexual behavior and attitudes.

Although machismo is notoriously linked to negative male characteristics (i.e., dominance, aggression, and oppression of women) (Asencio, 1999), it also encourages positive characteristics for men including: duty to protect, nurturance, chivalry, respect, spirituality, family involvement and a strong work ethic (Herrera et al., 2013). Therefore, machismo and marianismo maintain a reciprocal and heteronormative relationship, as these roles are complementary constructs that depend on each other for coexistence. This interdependence can

be illustrated by the paradoxical concept that a man's honor is determined by a woman's behavior, while a woman's moral and spiritual stature is contingent on the behavior of a man (Stevens, 1973). This reciprocal dynamic emulates dominant masculinity, moral femininity, and reinforces a narrative of heterosexual normativity. The give-and-take nature of these gendered roles is also central to understanding dynamics of gender, culture, values, and sexual beliefs, behaviors, and attitudes for Latinos. Attention on the positive and negative influences of gender roles will strengthen the understanding of the complexities of Latina sexuality.

Historical Context of Cultural Gender Roles

Recognizing the historical context and influence of colonialism on the manifestation of marianismo and machismo is critical for understanding the dynamics and reciprocal nature of these cultural gender roles. The Spanish conquest of Latin America symbolizes a colonized people stripped of their identity, land, language, culture, and beliefs. Symbolically, it was the enslavement of a woman² that played a significant role in the loss of the Aztec rule to the Spanish (see Lamb, 2010; Paz, 1985; Pratt, 1993). The intersection of Aztec religion and Christianity helps explain the origin and heroic symbolism of *La Virgen de Guadalupe*³ (Pratt, 1993), hence the manifestation of marianismo. Consistently, machismo stems from men's inability to protect their women from the domination, subordination, and rape of colonizers. This has manifested in men's over-protection of women and their virginities; behavior presently sustained by patriarchy. Recognizing this historical context and the cultural factors associated with ideas of gender and gender roles provide a more comprehensive understanding of its impact on sexual attitudes, sexual beliefs, and sexual socialization processes in Latino families.

² In reality she was "...one of tens of thousands of indigenous inhabitants of Mexico who collaborated with the Spanish against...Aztec domination." (Pratt, 1993; p. 861)

³ Prominent religious icon predominately among the Mexican people; also known as the Virgin Mary.

Gender Roles and Variability

Marianismo and machismo are value-laden constructs. Endorsement of these gender roles will therefore vary based on numerous factors including financial independence, level of education, acculturation, socioeconomic status, generational status, ethnicity, gender (D'Alonzo, 2012; Faulkner, 2003; Hussian et al., 2015), and other intersecting identities. Researcher in one study revealed that among young Latinas (predominately of Mexican, Salvadoran, and Nicaraguan descent), traditional sexual values (i.e., importance of female virginity, importance of sexual satisfaction and comfort with sexual communication) grew less important as sexually active youth became more acculturated (Deardorff, Tschann & Flores, 2008). For college males of Cuban descent however, researchers found less acculturation to American culture was associated with an increased risk of early first sexual debut (Wright, 2011). These mixed findings highlight differences that may be accounted for based on ethnicity, and gender among other factors, and underline the need to identify the intersectionality in Latina research.

Adherence to Latino gender roles are associated with high-risk sexual behaviors among Latina adolescents; they reinforce gender inequality, power imbalances within romantic relationships, and bring pressure to repress and/or not communicate about sex and sexuality (Bowleg, Belgrave & Reisen, 2000; Faulkner & Mansfield, 2002; Flores, Eyre, & Millstein, 1998; Gil & Vasquez, 1986; Gilliam, 2007; Gómez & Marin, 1996; Hernandez et al., 2012). Risky sexual behaviors and negative outcomes (e.g., HIV) in Latina immigrants are associated with gender roles, specifically in regard to condom negotiation (Hernandez et al., 2012). Gender roles may play less of a role for U.S. Latina adolescents however, as one study found condom usage to be positively predicted by religiosity above and beyond other cultural factors including familismo and gender roles (Villarruel et al., 2007). Yet, an integrative literature review

identified gender roles as one of the five most common factors related to sexual practices among Latino adolescents (Lee, Dancy, Florez, & Holm, 2013). Inconsistent findings also suggest that the association of gender roles on sexual behavior is not clearly understood. These mixed findings make it difficult to accurately assess the direct or indirect connection that cultural values have across Latinos. Conclusions drawn from these studies report on Latinos broadly, without differentiation of ethnicity or an acknowledgment of immigrant status. This points to a gap in the literature and signifies the importance of recognizing the intersectionality among Latinos (e.g., nativity status, class, ethnicity, generational status, gender) to better understand the inconsistencies in Latino sexuality research.

Acknowledgment of the cultural diversity and heterogeneity of Latinos is critical to effectively investigate and make sense of these cultural constructs, as variability in cultural values, beliefs, and practices, may at least partially account for the considerable within-group variability in gender roles and processes of families with Latino families (McHale et al., 2005). Attending to this gap in the literature helps shed light on the unique needs and barriers for effective parent-adolescent sex communication with immigrant Latino families.

Parent–Adolescent Sex-Communication

Sex education is critical for the promotion of safe sex practices (e.g., asking and receiving consent, use of contraceptives; Lindberg & Maddow-Zimet, 2012), and family involvement serves as an influential protective factor against unsafe sexual practices for Latino youth (Prado et al., 2007). Extensive research has linked the occurrence and frequency of parent–adolescent sex communication with the number of adolescent sexual partners, contraception/condom use, and sexual debut (Deptula, Henry, & Schoeny, 2010; DiIorio, Pluhar, & Belcher, 2003; Harris, Sutherland, & Hutchinson, 2013; Hutchinson, Jemmott, Jemmott,

Braverman, & Fong, 2003; Hyde et al., 2013; Widman, Choukas-Bradley, Noar, Nesi, & Garrett, 2016). Positive parenting practices, which includes communication, also promote healthy child adjustment (Domenech-Rodríguez, Baumann, & Schwartz, 2011). Significant positive outcomes have been reported when parents are integrated into preventative interventions targeting risk for HIV infection (e.g., Estrada et al., 2015; Prado et al., 2007). These findings demonstrate the importance of family involvement for addressing sexual and reproductive health disparities and promoting the healthy well-being of young Latinas.

Quality of Parent–Adolescent Sex-Communication

It is not just sex communication that is important; rather it is the quality of the communication and the strength of the relationship with parents that has been associated with adolescents' sexual health and behavior (Wight & Fullerton, 2013; Rogers, Ha, Stormshak, & Dishion, 2015; Scull, Carl, Keefe, & Malik, 2022). That is, safer sex behavior has been associated with parent-adolescent sex communication, specifically when parents perceived themselves as skilled or 'knowledgeable' (i.e., very knowledge vs unknowledge) on sex communication, and communication is open, honest, and comfortable (Jerman & Constantine, 2010; Whitaker, Miller, May, & Levin, 1999). Other parenting processes including increased communication between parents and adolescents and parental responsiveness (i.e., adolescents' questions and perspectives met with openness and understanding) have also been associated with decreased risk-taking behaviors in Latino adolescents (Fasula & Miller, 2006; Hutchinson et al., 2003). These findings corroborate other studies (i.e., Baumeister, Flores, & Marin, 1995; Deptula, Henry, & Schoeny, 2010; Estrada et al., 2015; Markham et al. 2010; Trejos-Castillo & Vazsonyi, 2009; Scull et al., 2022) that conclude that positive parental processes are generally associated with lower sexual risk over time. Thus, promoting parents as a conduit of healthy

sexuality through effective parent-adolescent sex-communication can be a helpful prevention method against negative sexual outcomes for young Latinas.

Socialization in the Family

Socialization illustrates the processes by which people are taught to perform certain roles, exhibit certain behavior, internalize values and beliefs, and otherwise conform to norms or standards deemed acceptable by society (Maccoby, 2014). These processes take place throughout the life span, with some of the most critical developments occurring in childhood. For youth, socialization processes are essential for “...competent functioning in the culture in which the child is growing up” (Maccoby, 2014, p. 3). Family, peers, school, and mass media are identified as the most influential agents of socialization that carry on into emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2007; Handel, 2011). Parents are generally identified as primary agents of socialization; their directives, transmission of beliefs, values, culture, and tradition shape the processes which outline guiding morals of acceptable and normative sexual behavior (Maccoby, 2007), or sexual scripts. Religion is also considered a primary agent of socialization (Handel, 2011). Given the Catholic influence on the formation of machismo and marianismo, religion is likely a primary socializing agent for Latinos. However, it is important to note that machismo and marianismo are both academic and dated terms that outline ideas reflected by heteropatriarchy. In other words, it is possible that the impact of heteronormative ideologies and social pressure of a patriarchal society may account for how the roles associated with machismo and marianismo are understood and described in Latino families.

Aspects of family socialization may be influenced by adaptation to the host culture, or acculturation, and how parents interact and transmit familial and cultural values to their offspring (Kwak 2003; Raeff 1997). Increased exposure to influences outside the family (e.g., peers,

schools, church) may interact with variations or changes in parenting practices among immigrant families (Samaniego & Gonzalez, 1999). Most theoretical perspectives on family socialization processes identify warmth and support between parents and adolescents as fundamental aspects of the relationship to promote positive emotional and social development and overall well-being of youth (Hernández, Conger, Robins, Bacher, & Widman, 2014; Masten, 2001; Steinberg, 2001). Socialization explains that parent-child relationship dynamics influence development through emotional bonds that promote expectations and internalization of values, parental monitoring and supervision, and the modeled behavior of skills that youth later apply in romantic relationships (Collins, Welsh, & Furman, 2009). As with romantic relationships, these socialization processes also extend to the sexual socialization of youth.

Gender and Sexual Socialization within Latino Families

A largely underdeveloped line of research involves the impact of gendered sexual socialization among immigrant Latino families on parent-adolescent sex communication. Gender specific messaging, or gender socialization, often guides sexual behavior. This is similar to sexual socialization, which refers to the development of sexual beliefs, attitudes, norms, and behavior shaped by socializing agents (Vandenbosch, 2018). As primary socializing agents, parents are a critical conduit in the transmission of gendered messaging and sexual socialization (Maccoby, 2007; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). Empirical evidence suggests gender-typed socialization shapes the romantic and sexual behavior of many Latinas and parents who endorse traditional gender roles often treat sons and daughters differently (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2001; 2004; Updegraff, Delgado, & Wheeler, 2009). In their studies, Raffaelli and Ontai (2001; 2004) found gender-specific family socialization on adolescent sexual and romantic behavior to include different expectations for sons and daughters regarding dating, household responsibilities,

acceptable clothing, contact with opposite sex, and overall behavior. These studies reveal unique gender socialization processes for young Latinas. Yet, they do not examine parents' culturally influenced beliefs, and do not explore the unique experiences of immigrant Latino parents as is related to sex-communication, calling for more research in this area.

Gender and Sex-Communication

Gender is a significant component of parent-adolescent sex communication. A comprehensive review identified that the gender of parents plays a primary role when it comes to sex-communication (Deutsch & Crockett, 2016; Kincaid, Jones, Sterrett, & McKee, 2012; Mango et al., 2015; Scull et al., 2022). The review revealed that compared to fathers, mothers talked more to their children about sex, and were more likely to talk with their daughters compared to their sons. Consistently, gender is attributed to different experiences of girls compared to boys, and fathers compared to mothers in Latino families (Azmitia & Brown 2002; Cauce & Domenech-Rodriguez 2000; McHale et al., 2005; Valenzuela, 1999). Findings are consistent with other studies that identify parent-adolescent sex communication as varying based on gender of parent and, or child (Evans, Widman, Kamke, & Stewart, 2019; Killoren, & Deutsch, 2014; Updegraff et al., 2008). These studies highlight gender to be an organizing feature of Latino families (Cauce & Domenech-Rodriguez, 2002; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). The role gender plays in Latino families becomes increasingly complex when the genders of both the parent and adolescent is taken into account (e.g., Dumka, Gonzales, Bonds, & Millsap, 2009). The extent to these cultural gendered roles are associated with parent-adolescent sex-communication vary by culture, gender and generational status (i.e., US born vs foreign born) (e.g., Deutsch & Crockett, 2016; Scull, Carl, Keefe, & Malik, 2022). Therefore, the need to account for intersectionality is critical for the advancement of sex research on Latinas.

Despite variability, researchers across disciplines identify parents as the most important component in prevention strategies for young Latinos (e.g., Fasula & Miller, 2006; Guilamo-Romo et al., 2009; Lee et al., 2013). Given the organizing nature gender plays in the roles and activities of Latino families, understanding the family gender dynamics is critical for understanding the processes and the nuances that drive and hinder parent-adolescent sex communication in immigrant Latino families. Exploring the intersecting identities including (but not limited to) gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, nativity status and culture values in Latino immigrant families enhance understanding of maternal parenting roles and gendered socialization processes specific to this sub-group.

Purpose of Study and Research Questions

The purpose of this qualitative study was to learn more about the sex communication of immigrant Latina mothers and their adolescent daughters. This study explored the unique experiences of immigrant Latina mothers and examined how mother-daughter sex-communication (or lack thereof) were organized by culture and gender, among other factors. Researchers used qualitative methodology and applied sexual scripting theory and intersectionality to inform data analysis to explore how factors, including (but not limited to) culture, race, class, gender, and generational status, informed the behaviors, beliefs, and values about sexuality (Spencer, Barnard, & Snape, 2014). The present study provides insight into the unique processes that immigrant Latina mothers experience with regards to sex-communication with their adolescent daughters. The present study also sought to explore the unique experiences, socialization processes, and barriers immigrant Latina mothers encountered, while adjusting to, and raising adolescent daughters in a new country. The social processes identified have important implications for theory as well as for public health interventions. The knowledge and

new understandings gained from this study can help facilitate change (Spencer, Barnard, & Snape, 2014) and inform methods to enhance effective parent-adolescent sex communication in immigrant Latino families. The aims of the study were:

1. To explore Mexican⁴ immigrant mothers' views and experiences of sexuality
2. To explore the experiences of Mexican immigrant mothers living and raising daughters in the U.S.
3. To describe Mexican immigrant mothers' processes of sex-communication with their adolescent daughters who are living in the U.S.
4. To understand Mexican immigrant mothers' views of gender and sexuality

The following research questions guided the present study:

1. What are U.S. immigrant Latina mothers' views of sexuality and experiences of parenting sexuality? ⁵ (Aim 1-2)
2. What are the reported processes of sex-communication of Latina immigrant mothers with their adolescent daughters? ⁶ (Aim 3-4)

⁴ Although Mexican ethnicity was not a criterion of the study, to accurately reflect the present sample, the Mexican identity was added to the original aim after completion of data collection.

⁵ Research question was revised upon data analysis. Original research question: *What are U.S. immigrant Latino parents' views of sexuality and parenting?*

⁶ Upon completion of data collection, research questions were amended to account for the data emerged. Original question: What are the lived experiences of, and contributing factors on, immigrant Latino parents' communication about sexuality with their adolescent daughters?

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Sexual development is integral to identity formation and is driven by psychological, biological, and behavioral components that shape the formation of sexual attitudes, sexual behavior, gender, and sexual identity (DeLamater & Friedrich, 2002; Welsh, Rostosky, & Kawaguchi 2000). Sexual identity is composed of biological sex, gender identity, social-sex role, and sexual orientation (Shively & De Cecco, 1977). Birth marks the beginning of sexual identity development, when infants are defined by their biological sex. This is proceeded by the formation of gender identity—sense of femaleness or maleness—typically established by age 3 (DeLamater & Friedrich, 2002). Social-sex roles, formed between 3 and 7 years of age, prescribe guidelines for appearance, behavior, and personality (Shively & De Cecco, 1977). Under these roles, men are socialized to comport themselves in masculine ways (e.g., to be aggressive) and women are socialized to exhibit feminine demeanor (e.g., to be nurturing); for Latinos, this often described as machismo and marianismo (to be describe in more detail later). These roles set heteronormative expectations of sexual behavior, where men are assumed to be “givers” of sex and women the “receivers.” Sexual orientation is the final component and refers to the physical and affectional preference for the same or opposite sex (Shively & De Cecco, 1977); however sexual orientation may be more complex (*see* McWhirter, 2016).

Sexual behavior initiates in early stages of development, typically in the form of play and exploration. Overt sexual responses (i.e., vaginal lubrication, erection) and genital exploration can be observed as early as birth, and throughout infancy (Masters, Johnson, & Kolodny, 1982). Due to awareness of cultural norms, sexual behavior (e.g., masturbation) becomes less salient around the ages of 6 to 9 (Reynolds, Herbenick, & Bancroft, 2003).

Latino Immigrant Experience

Media rhetoric commonly illustrates Latinos residing in the U.S. as undocumented or ‘illegal.’ However, millions of U.S. Latinos are three or more generations removed from the immigrant experience (Bejarano, Manzano, & Montoya, 2011). That is, approximately 66% of Latinos living in U.S. are American citizens by birth (Pew Research Center, 2017) where the majority are of Mexican descent (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). This points to the significance in acknowledging the range of experiences of the Latino population, which is rich in diversity and comprised of multiple social identities. It is estimated that 39% of U.S. children in immigrant families are born to Mexican immigrants, representing a large number of youth (Hernández, Denton & Macartney, 2007). Due to rampant displays of anti-immigration policies and narratives, vulnerable Latino immigrant communities are experiencing substantial contextual stressors including discrimination, poor mental health, stigma, undermined feelings of belonging, and fear of deportation or separation of families if undocumented (Cardoso, Scott, Faulkner, & Lane, 2018; Hatzenbuehler et al., 2017; McHugh, 2018). This has resulted in adverse consequences on the overall well-being of immigrant Latinos and led to significant disruption of parenting practices (Cardoso et al., 2018; Parra-Cardona, 2019).

Disruption of parenting practices in immigrant parents should be of concern. Young Latinas are not only the fastest growing female populations in the U.S. (Jackson, 2013; Kost & Henshaw, 2014), they are also disproportionately affected by higher rates of teen pregnancies and sexually transmitted infections (STIs) compared to their White non-Hispanic counterparts (Center for Disease and Control Prevention [CDC], 2018; The National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy, 2016); and parents are a critical component for prevention strategies for these

young women (e.g. Guilamo-Ramos, Bouris, Jaccard, Lesesne, & Ballan, 2009; Lee Dancy, Florez, & Holm 2013; Stauss et al., 2011; Widman, Evans, Javidi, & Choukas-Bradley, 2019).

Scholars suggest studies on sex communication should reflect the complexity of the Latino experience (Murphy-Erby, Stauss, Boyas, & Bivens, 2011)—that is, consideration of the cultural, political, and environmental factors, the various social divisions and the contextual factors faced by this population. Yet, minimal studies have explored the unique experiences and barriers immigrant Latino parents face regarding sex-communication with their adolescent daughters; and none to the author’s knowledge, during the current era of tense anti-immigration policies and rhetoric. Given the numerous cultural and contextual challenges experienced by this population, research focused on underserved immigrant families is needed (Michelson, Davenport, Dretzke, Barlow, & Day, 2013; Parra-Cardona, 2019)—specifically as it relates to mother-daughter sex-communication.

Acculturation

Acculturation explains a complex process in an individual’s modification of their relationship and self-identity to a culture as they integrate from one culture into a different culture (Berry, 1997). This process is conceptualized on a spectrum, ranging from full assimilation (i.e., high acculturation) to detached from the culture around them (i.e., low acculturation). Scholars suggest individuals blend their primary and secondary cultures into a third, consisting of a unique set of cultural practices, values, and beliefs (McCullough Cosgrove, LeCroy, Fordney & Voelkel, 2018). For immigrant Latinos (i.e., foreign-born), a lack of receptiveness to the host society, implementation of a new culture, and acquisition of a new language, can make integration into a new society challenging (Lee & Hahm, 2010), specifically, for immigrant parents who are raising children in a culture different from their own.

According to some scholars, acculturation is one of the most important factors associated with risky sexual behaviors and outcomes among young Latinas (Jimenez, Potts, Jimenez, 2002; Lee & Hahm, 2010; Sabogal, Perez-Stable, Otero-Sabogal, & Hiatt, 1995). However, research connecting acculturation and sexual activity in Latino youth has yielded mixed findings. Higher levels of acculturation have been positively correlated with sexual risk behaviors and outcomes for Latina adolescents including early sexual debut, inconsistent or no use of condoms, sex while high or drunk, regret of sexual initiation after alcohol use, teen pregnancy, sexually transmitted infections (STIs), and human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) (Jimenez et al. 2002; Lee & Hahm, 2010; Sabogal et al., 1995; Schwartz, et al., 2011). In a longitudinal study with a nationally representative sample of 1,073 adolescent Latinas (ages 11–20), acculturated adolescents were more likely to engage in sexual risk behaviors compared to their less acculturated counterparts (e.g., foreign-born Latinas who did not speak English at home) (Lee & Hahm, 2010). However, Latinas who were foreign-born and spoke English at home were less likely to use condoms and more likely to have had four or more lifetime partners, compared to U.S. born Latinas and foreign-born Latinas who spoke Spanish at home. Overall, Latinas (foreign or not) engaging in English speaking at home reported higher levels of STIs (Lee & Hahm, 2010). U.S. born Mexican-Americans were more likely to report more frequent sexual activity and engage in sexual intercourse at earlier ages than their less acculturated, foreign-born Mexican-American counterparts (Adam, McGuire, Walsh, Basta, & LeCroy, 2005). In another study, researchers found a delay in first intercourse in less acculturated Latina adolescents (i.e., foreign born with foreign born parents) (Upchurch, Aneshensel, Mudgal, & McNeely, 2001). These are consistent with a literature review of Latino youth which found higher levels of acculturation were

associated with an increased likelihood of sex initiation in 8 out of 10 studies (Afable-Munsuz, & Brindis, 2006).

Contrary to Lee and Hahn's (2010) findings, one study found newly immigrated (i.e., foreign born) Latino youth of Mexican, Cuban, and Dominican descent, who resided in Spanish speaking homes, were at higher risk of risky sexual activity compared to immigrant adolescents residing in English-speaking homes (Guilamo-Ramos, Jaccard, Pena, & Goldberg, 2005).

Whereas a random sample of 702 Latino eighth-grade students and their mothers, composed of Dominicans, Puerto Ricans, and Mexican participants, scholars found sexual risk behaviors were unrelated to acculturation (Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2009). These studies demonstrate the link between acculturation and sexual risk behaviors to be complicated, multifaceted, and unclear.

Parent's level of acculturation to U.S. culture has also been associated with adolescent adjustment to sexual activity. Cultural mismatch between parents (i.e., strong ties to mainstream culture) and child (i.e., high involvement in Mexican culture) has been reported to place youth at risk for adjustment problems (Updegraff, McHale, Whiteman, Thayer, & Crouter, 2006). Compared to less acculturated youth with less acculturated mothers, highly acculturated adolescents with acculturated mothers were found to be more sexually experienced (Pasch, Deardorff, Tschann, Flores, Penilla, & Pantoja, 2006). When daughters were less acculturated to the host (i.e., American) culture and more Mexican orientated compared to their mothers, mother-daughter conflict was positively associated with adolescent early debut of sexual activity (Updegraff, Umaña-Taylor, Perez-Brena, & Pflieger, 2012). Although significant, this association was weaker when mothers and adolescents had similar levels of Mexican orientation, and weakest when mothers were more Mexican oriented than their daughters. These studies point to an

association between parent-child cultural discrepancies and Latino youth's sexual debut and highlight the unique role between mother-daughter dyads in parent-child sex-communication.

Inconsistent findings across studies can be attributed to the varying measures of acculturation. For example, scholars often use the primary language spoken at home as a proxy indicator of acculturation (i.e., Spanish, English, or English and Spanish equally) (e.g., Adam et al., 2005; McCullough Cosgrove et al., 2018). Some scholars (e.g., Lee & Hahm, 2010) determined acculturation by only two variables: 1) country of birth, and 2) English used at home; while others have measured acculturation by 1) length of time in the U.S. and 2) language spoken at home (e.g., Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2005; Updegraff et al., 2012); whereas other scholars use acculturation scales (Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2009; Pasch et al., 2006).

Duration of time in the U.S. and language spoken as variables are not direct measures of acculturation, yet both are extensively used in acculturation research (Nguyen, Messé, & Stollack, 1999). The use of language, time living in the U.S., and country of birth as a proxy for acculturation is problematic as these variables measure exposure to language usage and cultural behaviors rather than acculturation (López, 2009; Matsudaira, 2006). It also assumes immigrants adhering to U.S. cultural practices involves abandonment of the heritage culture (Schwartz et al. 2011), an assumption suggested to be inaccurate (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000).

Despite inconsistent findings, trends in the literature mostly suggest that higher levels of acculturation to American culture will have adverse impacts on sexual activity and reproductive behavior for Latina adolescents (Romo, Berenson, & Segars, 2004) and that preservation of Latino values and cultural practices are typically considered protective (Schwartz et al., 2011). However, greater levels of acculturation to American culture by both parent and child is likely to result in higher tolerance and openness to adolescent's sexual activity (Deutsch & Crockett, 2016;

Murphy-Erby, Stauss, Boyas, & Bivens, 2011). Evidence suggests higher levels of acculturation to western society have been associated with less sexual guilt and higher sexual desire (Woo, Brotto, & Gorzalka, 2011). These findings may shed light on the difference between first generation immigrant Latinos compared to second, third, etc. generation of Latinos. These mixed findings suggest an unclear relationship between acculturation and sexual outcomes. It is possible that the impact of acculturation may be less pronounced, given the influence of globalization on the cultural landscape of Latin America, placing the utility of acculturation in question (McCullough Cosgrove et al., 2018). Thus, caution should be used when drawing conclusions on the impact of acculturation in Latino sexuality—specifically in regard to first generational immigrant Latino families who are adjusting to a new culture.

Cultural Values and Sexuality

Compliance to cultural values is related to parent-child communication on sex-related topics in Latino families (Benavides, Bonazzo, & Torres, 2006; Estrada et al., 2015; Lescano, Brown, Raffaelli, & Lima, 2009; Murphy-Erby, Stauss, Boyas, & Bivens, 2011; Stauss, Murphy-Erby, Boyas, & Bivens, 2011; Trejos-Castillo & Vazsonyi, 2009). Recent immigrants are more likely to endorse cultural values including familismo (Gonzales et al., 2008) and traditional gender roles (i.e., machismo and marianismo) (Hernandez, Zule, Karg, Browne, & Wechsberg, 2012; McCullough Cosgrove et al., 2018). Compliance to cultural values can impact the risk of negative sexual outcomes for young Latinas including STIs, teenage pregnancy, and HIV (e.g., Center for Disease Control, 2018; Hernandez et al., 2012; Schwartz, et al., 2011).

The Role of Familismo, Religiosity and Gender

Familismo emphasizes the importance of family as the centrality of life (Bermúdez, Kirkpatrick, Hecker, & Torres-Robles, 2010). It instills the significance of family values and

working for the good of the family unit at the potential sacrifice of personal gratification (soponerse) (Añez et al., 2005; Ayón, & Aisenberg, 2010). Respeto, or respect, emphasizes the value of obedience, reverence towards elders, and the need to maintain respectful hierarchical relationships (Ayón & Aisenberg, 2010; Calzada, Fernandez, & Cortes 2010). Interdependence centered on the family unit, emphasizing loyalty, honor, solidarity, reciprocity, and respect (Garcia-Preto, 1996; Marin & Marin 1991) are key characteristics that can contribute to the involvement of parents in sex-communication with their children (Benavides et al., 2006; Espinosa-Hernández, Bissell-Havran, Van Duzor, & Halgunseth, 2017). These values are not only salient in traditional Latino households, but likely play a role in the family communication dynamics about sex. For example, out of respect (*respeto*) to elders, Latina youth may evade sex-related discussions with their parents (Kenny & Wurtele, 2013).

However, the significance of Latino cultural values related to sex behavior is mixed. One study found Latina adolescents' recent condom use was positively predicted by religiosity above and beyond other cultural factors, including familismo and gender roles (Villarruel, Jemmott, Jemmott, & Ronis, 2007). That is, with the exception of religiosity, no other Latino cultural variables—including gender roles and familismo—had a direct or indirect association to condom use. Participants who identified as more religious reported higher rates of past condom use (Villarruel et al., 2007). Findings may not be generalizable to young Latinas of varying ethnicity however, as the majority of participants in this sample were of Puerto Rican decent. These findings are inconsistent with an integrative literature review that identified gender roles as one of the most common components of successful intervention programs for reducing negative sexual outcomes (primarily HIV and STIs) for young Latinas beyond familismo and religion (Lee, Dancy, Florez, & Holm, 2013). This literature review supports the significance of gender

roles in relation to sexual behavior for young Latinas. However, because the review focused on Latinos broadly, without differentiation of ethnicity, or acknowledgment of immigrant status, findings did not assess whether or not differences were present in subgroups, and to what extent. These mixed findings make it difficult to accurately assess the direct or indirect connection between cultural values and sexual behaviors across Latinos sub-groups. Interaction of sexual [and gendered] scripts at the cultural, interpersonal, and intrapsychic level (Simon & Gagnon 1986, 2003) can help explain variations observed in sexual expression and sexual patterns within specific groups. Additional investigations with more homogenous samples are required to understand how these values play a role in the sex-communication between immigrant Latina parents and their adolescent daughters.

The association between familismo and gender dynamics in Latino families, specifically in regards to parent-child relationships, is prominent (McHale, Updegraff, Shanahan, Crouter, & Killoren, 2005; Updegraff, Delgado, & Wheeler, 2009). Relative to immigrant Latino fathers, immigrant Latina mothers spend more time with their adolescents and report higher rates of knowledge regarding their adolescents' daily activities (Updegraff, Delgado, & Wheeler, 2009). These findings are consistent with a recent study of over 340 ethnically diverse parent-child dyads (which included Latino), which found mothers to engage in sex-communication with their child(ren) more frequently than fathers (Scull, Carl, Keefe, & Malik, 2022). Another study found that levels of familismo and differential treatment of children based on gender (i.e., daughter versus sons) was linked to problems in youth adjustment and parent-youth relationship in immigrant Latino families (McHale et al., 2005). That is, poor well-being was correlated with less favorable treatment for those with weaker ties to familismo values, compared to those with stronger ties to familismo. Stronger ties to Mexican culture revealed parents treated their children

differently based on gender, resulting in varying levels of freedom to pursue social activities, different access to privileges, and varying expectations of household activities for daughters compared to sons. Sons experienced less family responsibilities and more privileges. However, more egalitarian responsibilities and privileges among brothers and sisters were observed when ties to the U.S. culture were stronger (McHale et al., 2005). These findings highlight the significance of family, culture, and gender among Latinos that shape implications of differential treatment of daughters and sons in Latino families.

The Role of Marianismo

Latino gender roles are associated with high-risk sexual behaviors among Latina adolescents as they reinforce gender inequality, power imbalances within romantic relationships, and pressure to repress and/or not communicate about sex and sexuality (Bowleg, Belgrave & Reisen, 2000; Faulkner & Mansfield, 2002; Gil & Vasquez, 1986; Gilliam, 2007; Gómez & Marin, 1996; Hernandez et al., 2012). Latino culture suggests that sex is an opportunity for men to prove their masculinity (Benavides, Bonazzo, & Torres, 2006); whereas for women, it is minimized to focus on procreation, devoid of personal pleasure (Gil & Vasquez, 1996).

Although potentially viewed as an oppressed gender role of inferiority, marianismo emphasizes women's moral and spiritual superiority over men (Stevens, 1973; Moraes-Gorekci, 1988). That is, women are not considered weak, as their high level of morality and spirituality exemplify fortitude and dominance. For some, adhering to values of marianismo can serve as a source of relief and strength in the struggle to fight oppression from the dominant group (Hurtado, 1998). It can also be executed with a sense of pride and dignity, as devotion to values associated with the Virgin Mary can be an attempt to acquire "semi-divinity" (Stevens 1973). However, misinformed scholars may view Latinas as oppressed—a dangerous assumption that is

incongruent with how many Latinas view themselves (e.g., Gutiérrez, 2004). Acquiring a working knowledge to the extent this gender script informs immigrant Latina mothers' gender and sexual socialization processes with their adolescent daughters requires further investigation.

While noting its positive attributes (i.e., honor, duty, motherhood, etc.) this construct may have problematic impacts. Emphasis on sexual morality and purity can socialize women into silence for fear of being judged (Marin, 2003). Latinas who are viewed as too knowledgeable about sex are thought to be “improper” or “undignified” (Ravelo, Sanchez, Cyrus, De La Rosa, Peragallo, & Rojas, 2019). The rigidity of this gender role often hinders Latinas (particularly those in long term heterosexual relationships) from advocating for their sexual safety (e.g., insisting male partners to use condoms) (Cianelli, Ferrer, & McElmurry 2008; Peragallo et al. 2005). In a qualitative study on immigrant Latinas, participants described themes of obedience and submission to their Latino male partners as having an impact on their sexual relationships, such that condoms were often not used because their partners did not like them (Hernandez et al., 2012). Other Latinas described avoiding discussion of sex as it was deemed “culturally inappropriate” or identified hesitation to negotiate condoms usage to avoid conflict in their relationships. As illustrated, these cultural beliefs can discourage informative discussions and engagement of educational dialogues regarding safe sexual practices. This sexual silence can result in emotional pain, discomfort in talking about sex, secrecy in sexual behavior, and lack of access to information regarding safe sexual practices (Marin, 2003). However, it is important to note that *marianismo* is both academic and dated terms that outline ideas reflected by heteropatriarchy. In other words, it is possible that the impact of heteronormative ideologies and social pressure of a patriarchal society may account for how *marianismo* is traditionally understood and described in research with Latino families. Understanding if and to what extent

ideas of marianismo play a role in Latina sexuality at present day can help informed sexual health promotion practices for young Latinas.

Madonna/Whore Dichotomy

A twofold categorization of women as either a Madonna or whore illustrates an oppositional binary often observed among Latinas (Guzman, & Kouyoumdjian, 2013). This Madonna/whore dichotomy demonstrates the classification of women as either virgins (Madonna) or sexually promiscuous (whore) (Gottschall, Allison, De Rosa, & Klockeman, 2006). In this view, women's femininity is confined to two extremes: erotic and out of control or "traditional" and sexually repressed (Garcia & Torres, 2009). Under the construct of marianismo, a woman's virginity is equated with honor to self and family, as its preservation until marriage is essential to avoid bringing shame upon her family (Stevens, 1973; Moraes-Gorekci, 1988). This informs some of the unique challenges Latinas encounter regarding the rigid and contradictory expectations placed on them, and highlights the significance placed on sexual morality in order to be considered a "good" woman. This binary opposition may create rigid expectations as it limits the cultivation of healthy⁷ sexuality for Latinas (Guzman & Kouyoumdjian, 2013) and may leave Latinas feeling conflicted in negotiating their sexuality between these two restricted constructs (Hussain, Leija, Sanchez, & Lewis, 2015).

The expectation of sexual purity can add to the conflicting emotions regarding preservation of virginity until marriage (Deardorff, Tschann, Flores, & Ozer, 2010). Some Latinas express regret of their pre-marital sexual activity and report abstaining from sex as a way

⁷ According to the World Health Organization (2018) sexual health is not merely the absence of disease and dysfunction but it is also a "state of physical, mental and social well-being in relation to sexuality. It requires a positive and respectful approach to sexuality and sexual relationships, as well as the possibility of having pleasurable and safe sexual experiences, free of coercion, discrimination and violence." However, there seems to be a lack of consensus on this definition (see Edwards & Coleman, 2004).

to cope with these emotions (Faulkner, 2003; Faulkner, & Mansfield, 2002). Whereas some Latinas report pre-marital sexual activity without feelings of shame, dishonor or guilt, and others describe losing their virginity as an act of rebellion against parents, in spite of acknowledgment of the cultural significance of virginity (Faulkner, & Mansfield, 2002). In their study (Ahrold & Meston, 2010), researchers found Hispanic women were more likely to agree with statements that suggested it was “unnatural for women to be the initiator of sexual relations” (p. 287). Yet, the importance of sexual needs and satisfaction and a personal inability to stop sexual activity from happening (i.e., idea of ‘losing control’) have also been described by some Latinas (Deardorff, Tschann, & Flores, 2008; Faulkner & Mansfield, 2002). While these studies accounted for acculturation (e.g., Ahrold & Meston, 2010; Deardorff et al., 2008), they failed to account for generational status and only two studies reported on participants’ ethnicity (i.e., Faulkner & Mansfield, 2002; Deardorff et al., 2010). Collectively, these studies demonstrate the variability that exist among Latinas and their values; and it points to the need to gather more accurate demographic information about sub-populations rather than reporting on Latinas a homogenous undifferentiated group. Accounting for intersectionality in future studies may help parse out the variability observed in the literature. While the significance of virginity is a cultural norm, the extent to which this influences young Latinas is not clear and requires further investigation (Deardorff, Tschann, Flores, & Ozer, 2010). Understanding how virginity and other sex-values are transmitted from mothers to daughters in immigrant Latino families requires further investigation.

Parent–Adolescent Sex-Communication

Sex-communication between parent and child is related to the sexual health and sexual behavior of Latino youth (Gaiosio, Wilson, Villarruel, & Childs, 2017; Murphy-Erby et al., 2011;

Scull, Carl, Keefe, & Malik, 2022). Studies demonstrate significant positive outcomes when Latino parents are integrated into preventative interventions that target negative sexual outcomes of their youth (e.g., Estrada et al., 2015; Prado et al., 2007; Widman et al., 2019). However, the impact of parent-based interventions on adolescents' sexual health and decision-making has yielded some mixed findings.

A meta-analysis on adolescent sexual health across all ethnic groups identified no significant mean association between parent-based interventions and delayed adolescent sexual activity in a review of 31 randomized clinical trials (Widman et al., 2019). However, there were several positive findings including a significant association between parent-based interventions and improved parent-child sex communication and condom use (Widman et al., 2019). Other studies report no significant association between adolescent sexual behavior or decision making and parent-based interventions (e.g., Forehand et al., 2007; Anderson, Koniak-Griffin, Keenan, Uman, Duggal, & Casey, 1999). However, parent-based interventions that focus on diverse populations such as Black or Latino, show that approaches are successful for delaying the debut of adolescent sexual activity (e.g., Guilamo-Ramos, Bouris, Jaccard, Gonzalez, McCoy, & Aranda, 2011; Guilamo-Ramos, Jaccard, Dittus, Bouris, Gonzalez, Casillas, & Banspach, 2011b). This highlights the significance of tailoring interventions to be culturally and ethically appropriate for target populations.

Despite mixed findings, researchers conclude various aspects of adolescents' sexual health and decisions making can improve with parent-based interventions (Widman, et al., 2019). Thus, learning more about the unique experiences and needs of immigrant Latina mothers' sex-communication with their adolescent daughters can help inform appropriate tailoring of preventions programs specific to this population.

Quality and Quantity of Parent–Adolescent Sex-Communication

Both the quality and the quantity of parents' sex-communication with their child are important when it comes to the sexual behaviors of young Latins. A systematic review indicated the best predictors of positive adolescent sexual behaviors included the quality and quantity of parent-adolescent sex-communication (Gaioso et al., 2017). A positive association was found between condom use attitudes and higher frequency of parent-adolescent sex-communication in a sample of 171 sexually active adolescents (Malcolm et al., 2013). In a sample of sexually experienced urban Latina adolescents, researchers found that the more mothers spoke to their daughters (i.e., increased communication) about topics of birth control, AIDS, and condoms, the less incidences of risky sexual activity and unprotected sexual intercourse were reported (Hutchinson, Jemmott, Jemmott, Braverman, & Fong 2003). Frequency of sex communication has also been associated with delayed sexual initiation (Guilamo-Ramos, Goldberg, Lee, McCarthy, & Leavitt, 2012; Gaioso et al., 2017) and reduced risky sexual behaviors that contribute to unintended pregnancy, STIs and HIV infection. These behaviors include oral, vaginal, or anal sex without a condom, multiple sexual partners, changing sexual partners frequently, and using unreliable or inconsistent methods of birth control (CDC, 2012; Coakley, Randolph, Shears, Beamon, Collins, & Sides, 2017). Collectively, these findings support frequency of communication to be protective for Latino adolescent sexual behaviors (Deutsch & Crockett, 2016).

The quality of the parent-child relationship is an essential component of adolescent sexual behavior. Evidence highlights the importance of parental control and warmth in adolescent well-being (Steinberg, 2001). Parental control refers to both psychological (i.e., expectations, guilt induction) and behavior (i.e., restriction of activity) control and is

characterized by parental discipline, expectation, demandingness, knowledge, warmth and monitoring (Clark, Donnell, Robinson, & Conger, 2015). The process of parental monitoring, or supervision of youth's activities and tracking of their whereabouts (Stattin & Kerr, 2000) is associated with positive adolescent sexual behavior (Kincaid et al., 2012). One study found that maternal monitoring was a stronger predictor of the sexual behavior of sons compared to their daughters, whereas maternal warmth was a stronger predictor of girls' sexual behavior compared to boys (Kincaid et al. 2012). Research has consistently reported parental monitoring and warmth to be associated with decreased risky behaviors (i.e., alcohol use and delinquency) (e.g., Clark, Donnell, Robinson, & Conger, 2015; Mogro-Wilson, 2008; Schwartz et al., 2011) and unsafe/risky sexual behavior in Latino youth (e.g., Beal, Ausiello, & Perrin, 2001; Trejos-Castillo, & Vazsonyi, 2009).

The quality of the parent-child relationship—specifically monitoring and warmth—is associated with decision making in romantic relationships for Latino/a adolescents. For many Mexican mothers, parental warmth and control is associated with values of respeto and familismo (e.g., Espinosa-Hernández et al., 2017; White, Zeiders, Gonzales, Tein, & Roosa, 2013). Mexican adolescents who endorse higher levels of respeto and perceived higher levels of maternal warmth tended to have longer romantic relationships (Espinosa-Hernández et al., 2017). Researchers suggest that adolescents who endorse the value of respect may be more receptive to parents' (specifically mothers) input on romantic relationships. Consistently, Mexican mothers who endorsed values of respeto and familismo were found to showcase authoritative parenting styles—a style which consist of high levels of warmth and control (White et al., 2013).

The quality of the parent-child relationship is also characterized by parental responsiveness. Parents' responsiveness (i.e., use of reasoning to guide their adolescents'

behavior and ability to meet their adolescents' questions and perspectives with openness and understanding) during sex discussions was related to decreased risk-taking behaviors in Latino adolescents (Fasula & Miller, 2006). That is, adolescents who viewed their parents as higher on responsiveness anticipated delaying first sexual intercourse whereas adolescents who viewed their parents lower on responsiveness were more likely to anticipate initiating first sex within the next year. Therefore, learning more about the parental values and styles immigrant Latino parents have can help inform areas of strength of improvement in communication effort on sex related topics with their adolescents.

Process and Content of Parent-Adolescent Sex-Communication

The content of sex related topics is also a critical component in parent-adolescent sex-communication in Latino families. Evidence suggests the way in which Latino parents communicate is shaped by gender (e.g., Deutsch & Crockett, 2016, Manago et al., 2015). In a survey of Latino college students, participants rated the prevalence of four different messages they received from parents (Manago et al., 2015). Four category types included: procreational (i.e., sex for marriage only); recreational (i.e., sex for pleasure); relational (i.e., sex appropriate in a loving relationship only); and the sexual double standard. Sexual double standard refers to the tolerance and acceptability of the sexual exploration extended to men but not women and includes sexual roles that are gender-specific (e.g., men as initiators, women as gatekeepers). Latinas reported more relational sex messages from their parents compared to their male counterparts, and Latino men reported more recreational sex messages from parents compared to Latinas.

Gender concordance is also observed in the process of parent-child sex communication (Stauss et al., 2011). That is, Latino parents expressed a strong belief that sensitive topics such as

sex should involve gender matching between parent and child (i.e., mothers talk to daughters and fathers talk to sons). Similar findings have been reported elsewhere (e.g., Deutsch & Crockett, 2016). These findings suggest utility in having separate gender specific interventions for parents. The parenting literature has consistently reported that compared to fathers, mothers take on the majority of responsibility in educating children on sex-related topics (e.g., Akers, Holland, Bost, 2011; Tanton et al., 2015). Divergent attitudes on who is deemed responsible for communicating sex information have been reported. In their study of rural Latino parents, mothers reported that there was minimal involvement of fathers in sex communication with their children, and they desired for fathers to be more involved in the process (Stauss et al., 2011). Both mothers and the fathers believed that collaborative efforts involving the fathers were needed. Participants suggested larger amounts of time spent working attributed to father's low involvement in sex-communication with their child(ren). Collectively, these studies confirm the organizing nature of gender in Latino families in regard to the content of messages received and the expectation for delivery of such messages.

Despite the growing literature on parenting and adolescent risky sexual behaviors among Latinas, less attention has been given to culturally based sexual values [and gender socialization processes] that may influence Latino parent-child discussions about sexuality (Deardorff, Tschann, Flores & Ozer, 2010). Research on Latinas' sexuality has primarily focused on risk behaviors or negative sexual health outcomes (e.g., Cardoza et al., 2012; Lee & Hahm, 2010; Sabogal et al., 1995; Villarruel et al., 2006; Zavella & Castañeda, 2005; etc.) instead of examining intrapsychic processes and socialization processes that drive parent-adolescent sex-communication processes.

Gendered Sexual Socialization within Latino Families

Socialized cultural attitudes about gender contribute to parent-adolescent sex communication across Latino families and shape gendered-specific expectations of sexual behavior. In-depth interviews of 22 Latinas revealed family socialization processes of adolescent romantic and sexual behavior to be gender specific (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2001; 2004). Latina participants recounted gender-specific messages and expectations in their families and described parental monitoring of their use of make-up and revealing clothing, rules against dating or limited contact with males, parental messaging centered on abstinence, parental concerns regarding how their behavior might affect the family's image in the community, and gender specific household responsibilities (i.e. cooking, cleaning, limited privileges and freedom, enforcement of feminine behavior, etc.)(Raffaelli & Ontai, 2001; 2004; 2005)—socialization processes that were not similarly applied to the boys in the family.

Exploration of socialization processes help explain how parents interact and transmit familial and cultural values to their children. Cultural values shape individuals' ideas of healthy sexuality (i.e., concept of one's own sexual desires and protection from unwanted pregnancy and STIs) and cultural practices promote these ideals in development (Manago Greenfield, Kim, & Ward 2014; Tolman, Striepe, & Harmon, 2003). For example, some Latinas strongly endorse the belief that men are dominant or "machistas," and negotiate sexual behavior and relationships through heteronormative discourses (Zavella & Castañeda, 2005). Internalization or endorsement of these types of statements can minimize sexual agency for young Latinas, which make it difficult to negotiate safer sexual practices and lead to decisions that place them at risk for negative sexual outcomes (Zavella & Castañeda, 2005). These findings may be more specific to

immigrant Latinas or daughters of immigrants, as studies with more acculturated Latinas report different findings (e.g., Deardorff et al., 2008; Villarruel et al., 2007).

Other factors can shape the type of cultural messages Latinas receive from their families. Parents with higher levels of education were found to move away from traditional cultural collectivistic values with regards to sex and were more likely to communicate individualistic values that approved sex outside of marriage for their daughters, but only in relationships that were considered loving and committed (Manago et al., 2015). While potentially tied to the concept of acculturation, these findings may be reflected in previous research that identifies Latino parents as having more realistic expectations regarding abstinence (Guilamo-Ramos, Jaccard, Dittus, & Collins, 2008). Another factor could be related to western values in that scholars suggest that although western values are unlikely to be completely accepted, they may be blended with traditional cultural values (Chen, Xinyin, Fu, & Zhao, 2015)—i.e., Latino parents' approval of premarital sex with the caveat of a committed and loving relationship.

The Role of Gender

A review of parenting and adolescent sexual behavior including empirical and theoretical work identified gender as critical factor in the link between adolescent sexual behavior and parenting (Kincaid, Jones, Sterrett, & McKee, 2012). Research has demonstrated that gender plays a role in different experiences of girls compared to boys, and fathers compared to mothers in Latino families. Evidence suggests that parents are more protective of their daughters versus sons, and that compared to fathers, mothers take on greater caretaking responsibilities (Azmitia & Brown 2002; Cauce & Domenech-Rodriguez 2000; Updegraff, Delgado, & Wheeler, 2009; Valenzuela, 1999). Empirical research identifies parents, specifically mothers, to be critical players in delaying sexual initiation of their children (Fasula & Miller, 2006), and their

involvement protects adolescents from risky sexual behaviors, including negative sexual outcomes (e.g., pregnancy, STIs), inconsistent condom use, and early sexual behavior (Deptula, Henry, & Schoeny, 2010). The study also highlighted gender differences in findings, such that adolescent girls were more likely to report a decision to delay first sexual intercourse, whereas boys were more likely to report a decision to initiate (Fasula & Miller, 2006).

The role gender plays in Latino families appear mixed and becomes increasingly complex when the genders of both the parent and adolescent are taken into account. For example, mothers' parenting has been linked with academic success of both daughters and sons, whereas fathers' parenting has been linked to academic success of only their sons (Dumka, Gonzales, Bonds, & Millsap, 2009). Compared to fathers, Latina mothers are reported to spend more time with their daughters than their sons, spend more time in shared activities with their daughters, and have more accurate knowledge of their daughters' daily activities (Updegraff, Delgado, & Wheeler, 2009). These studies demonstrate gender concordance between parent and child and emphasize the critical role mothers (compared to fathers) play in the sexual development and sexual behaviors of their daughters. Still, the extent to which immigration shapes mother-daughter sex-communication requires further investigation, specifically as it relates to immigrant Latina mothers' families with adolescent daughters.

In addition to gender, differences observed in socialization processes can also be attributed to the function of age, neighborhood context, generational status, academic status, among others (Kim & Chao, 2009; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009). More formative research is needed to better understand the role of these multiple intersecting identities and their connection to parent-adolescent sex communication processes in immigrant Latino families.

Conclusion

Immigrant Latino families represent a significant population in the U.S. Not only are young Latinas identified as one of the fastest growing female populations in the U.S. (Jackson, 2013; Kost & Henshaw, 2014), but they also experience disproportionately high rates of negative sexual outcomes (e.g., lack of or inconsistent condom use, early sexual debut, multiple sexual partners, teen and unwanted pregnancies, STIs, and HIV). Parent involvement is critical for prevention of negative sexual outcomes (Widman, Evans, Javidi, & Choukas-Bradley, 2019). However, less is known about the unique experiences of immigrant Latina mothers and sex-communication with their adolescent daughters and studies that seek to understand this process are scarce. Further, the various contextual stressors and widespread anti-immigration rhetoric immigrant Latinos currently face has had adverse consequences on their overall well-being and has led to significant disruption of parenting practices (Cardoso et al., 2018; Parra-Cardona, 2019), which points to a critical area of research.

Research focused on understanding the content and the process of sex-communication within the Latino cultural context is limited (e.g., Murphy-Erby et al., 2011). Some studies have explored sexual health communication in urban settings with Latino parents (e.g., Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2009; Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2011a; Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2011b), yet to the authors knowledge, no current studies have focus on the experience of urban immigrant Latina mothers in relation to sex-communication with adolescent daughters in an era of high anti-immigration resurgence. To address this gap, researchers interviewed immigrant Latina mothers residing in the US to discuss 1) their views of sexuality in the U.S.; 2) their lived experiences as immigrant raising adolescent daughters in the U.S.; 3) their experiences communicating with their adolescent daughters about sexuality; and 4) their views of gender roles as they relate to

sexuality and sex communication. Study findings reveal themes that can help inform prevention efforts that aim to reduce negative sexual behaviors and associated outcomes for young Latinas.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Overview and Justification for Qualitative Methods

Qualitative research is an interpretative method which can help elucidate the meanings individuals ascribe to *phenomena*, actions, decisions, beliefs, and values (Snape & Spencer, 2003). The current study examined immigrant Latino mothers' views of sexuality, experiences parenting, and sought to explore the various factors (e.g., culture, race, class, gender) that contributed to sex communication phenomena (e.g., behavior, beliefs, decisions, values) with their adolescent daughter(s). Because qualitative research is useful for capturing in-depth descriptions of diverse life experiences (Jarrett, Roy, & Burton, 2002) and understanding meanings ascribed to factors such as behaviors, beliefs, decisions, and values, a qualitative methodological approach was suitable for exploring these ideas in the present study.

Qualitative data were collected through semi-structured interviews with 15 immigrant Latina mothers of adolescent daughters. The qualitative research design consisted of in-depth interviews between researcher and participants. This methodology was selected as the format minimizes power dynamics, privileges participants' voices, and facilitates exploration of issues within each participant's context (Carter & Little, 2007; Merriam, 2009; Richie, 2003; Willig, 2001).

The target population of interest was particularly vulnerable (i.e., low-income, low English fluency). Given the vulnerability of the target population, qualitative methodology can be empowering for study participants, particularly those who have experienced discrimination or less power in society and wish to share their stories (Morgan & Krueger, 1993). Rather than being an expert on the topic of conversation, the role of researchers in the present study was to learn from the experiences of participants. Thus, use of in-depth interviews was deemed most appropriate for the current study, as it allowed for a process of data collection that accounted for

participants' personal experiences, contexts, and feelings (Merriam, 2009). Documenting the experiences of low-income ethnic minority participants who have been historically underrepresented in service delivery and research (Alegria, Atkins, Farmer, Slaton, & Stelk, 2010) represents a unique opportunity to expand the current knowledge base related to the processes of mother-daughter sex communication in immigrant Latino families. Information learned from this investigation has the potential to better inform preventative interventions targeting negative sexual outcomes in immigrant Latino families. Finally, this line of research is highly relevant and suitable to the field of marriage and family therapy, due to marriage and family therapists' (MFT) use of systemic theoretical orientation and expertise with families, couples, and individuals (Sprenkle, Davis, & Lebow, 2013)—making MFTs ideal for research on parent-adolescent sex communication in immigrant Latino families.

Population/Sample

The target population for this study were Spanish-speaking immigrant Latina mothers raising adolescent daughters in the U.S. The identified sample of this proposed study sought to target low-income, Latino immigrant (i.e., not U.S. born) parents of adolescent daughters, who were residing in Detroit/Metro-Detroit, Michigan. While Latinos comprise an ethnically diverse group of people, the majority of Latinos living in the U.S. are Mexican Americans (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017) and 39% of children in immigrant families in the U.S. are born to Mexican immigrants, representing the largest proportion of youth in immigrant families (Hernandez et al., 2007). As such, for the purpose of this study, researchers focused on a more ethnically homogenous sample of low-income immigrant families of Mexican origin. Snowball sampling was a principal strategy used in this study where participants had the opportunity to assist in recruitment by referring possible participants. The majority of participants recruited were from

the Southwest Detroit and greater metro-Detroit community who had expressed interest in discussing their experiences communicating about sex with their adolescent(s) child(ren).

Sample Size

For this study data collection proceeded until adding new data no longer provided new themes or an increased understanding of the problem being investigated under study, also known as theoretical saturation (Glaser, 1965). For this study, a sample of 15 mothers were recruited. This size is commonly acceptable in thematic analysis studies (Braun & Clarke, 2013). In addition to saturation of information, a sample size of 15 participants was considered feasible for this study as similar sample sizes have been used in previous studies (e.g., Doering-White et al., 2016; Murphy-Erby, Stauss, Boyas, & Bivens, 2011; Shaffer et al., 2018; Moncloa, Wilkinson-Lee, & Russell, 2010) and because there was no precedent of studies with this population recruited during a global pandemic.

Research Design

A qualitative methodological approach was used to explore the unique experience of immigrant Latina mothers and their communication (or lack thereof) about sex and sexuality with their adolescent daughter(s). Guided by the core components of Thematic Analysis (TA; Braun & Clarke, 2006), the current study was an exploratory qualitative research design, which aimed to learn more about immigrant Latina mothers raising adolescent daughters in the U.S.

Given the sensitive topic of sexuality, in depth interviews were best suited, as qualitative methodology is used in the examination of phenomena and topics not well understood, including the complexities of human experiences (Hill & Lambert, 2004; Ritchie, 2003; Snape & Spencer, 2003). This approach is also beneficial for capturing in-depth descriptions of the diverse life experiences of underserved populations (Jarret, Roy, & Burton, 2002; Lapan, Quartaroli, &

Riemer, 2011). Data for this qualitative study was collected through in-depth, individual interviews with 15 immigrant Latina mothers predominately recruited from the Detroit and Metro-Detroit area in the state of Michigan.

Recruitment

Participants for this study were recruited from local health care settings and community centers via email, flyers, and social media postings (see appendix A-D). Word-of-mouth referrals from key community leaders or interested study participants were also part of the recruitment process, where interested participants could call or email the study PI (SGL) to solicit interest and refer a friend. Because recruitment initiated during the emergence of the COVID-19 global pandemic, snowball sampling became the main strategy used to recruit 15 immigrant Latina mothers. Recruitment took place from August 2020 to December 2020.

Once potential participants were identified, an initial call was made to confirm interest and assess participant eligibility. After verifying eligibility criteria, the PI explained study procedures to participants and enrolled them in the study. Participants were able to select and confirm a date and time to conduct one on one interviews at their convenience, which were held via voice and video conferencing platforms (e.g., zoom & facetime) with the first author (see appendix E-G for screening eligibility script).

Inclusion criteria

To be eligible for this study, participant had to identify as Latino/a, as an immigrant (i.e., not born in the U.S.) and be at least 18 years of age. The participant also was required to be a parent of at least one early to mid-stage adolescent⁸ daughter between 11 and 18 years of age.

⁸ Definite age range of what constitutes adolescent is not agreed upon among scholars, as ranges have varied and expanded throughout the years including 14-20 years of age, 10-19 years of age, 14-24, (e.g., Sawyer, Azzopardi, Wickremarathne & Patton, 2018). Other scholars have identified sub-categories including early-stage adolescence

Eligible parents must have immigrated to the U.S. before or within the first year of birth of the target adolescent daughter to be considered for the study.

Exclusion criteria

Participants who did not have at least one adolescent daughter between 11 and 18 years of age at time of study were excluded from the study. Participants with a target adolescent who was receiving any type of services or treatment for documented sexual abuse, were not eligible for the study. Mothers who did not immigrate to the U.S. within the first year of birth of the target adolescent were not eligible for the study. Participants who were involved with child protective services or had a spouse who was involved with child protective services due to allegations of child abuse or neglect were not eligible for this study. Lastly, participants who had a history of severe psychiatric disorder (e.g., schizophrenia) or a spouse with a severe psychiatric disorder were not eligible to participate in the study.

Recruitment barriers and retention

For some immigrant Latino families, contextual factors and stressors of daily life may hinder their ability to take advantage of participatory research or prevention programs. These contextual factors include but are not limited to: fear of deportation, competing demands that conflict with ability to participate in research, lack of access to information about participatory research, fear of unintended outcomes, stigma, being the primary caretaker of children or other household members, financial constraints related to the demands of work and needing to work (sometimes multiple jobs), being the single head of household, and justifying the cost of participation (George, Duran, & Norris, 2014; Guerra & Knox, 2008). Given these contextual factors and history of more participation from mothers than fathers with this target population

(11–13 years old), mid-stage adolescence (14–16 years old), and late-stage adolescence (17–18 years old (Oman, McLeroy, Vesely, Aspy, Smith, & Penn, 2002; Tolan, 1988).

(see Parra-Cardona et al., 2012; 2017; 2017b, 2019), we anticipated having more mothers solicit interest than fathers. Consistently, the study only had mothers solicit interest and enroll in the study, thus changing original target population from immigrant Latino parents to immigrant Latina mothers. Additionally, given that data were collected during a global pandemic, interviews were held via zoom, instead of face to face to assure safety, privacy, and comfortability for study participants. This form of emergent design, where initial study design may be altered throughout different stages of research, is a key element of qualitative research (Creswell, 2013). To ensure transparency, study procedures and confidentiality were thoroughly explained to eligible participants—a process critical for retention. Lastly, participants received a \$50 gift card for their participation in the study interview. All recruitment and study procedures were provided in Spanish to match preferred language of participants. For recruitment materials see Appendices A-D.

Participants

Contact information for 19 mothers were obtained and initial contact via telephone calls, or private Facebook messages were had to confirm interest and eligibility. During the recruitment phase, 19 mothers solicited interest in the study. Fifteen of the initial 19 mothers that were contacted, participated in the research study. Participant demographics are described below.

All study participants self-identified as heterosexual females (100%) and identified as Latina/Hispanic (100%). All participants reported a Mexican ethnic identify and ranged in age from 32 to 52 years old. A minority of participants identified being proficient in both Spanish and English (26.3%) whereas the majority identified Spanish as their dominant language (73.3%). Annual household income participants reported ranged between \$10,000-\$80,000. A majority of participants were married at time of the study (80%) and reported receiving at least

some college education or higher (53.3%). The majority of participants residing in the state of Michigan and one participant resided in Texas at the time of the study. Detailed participant demographic information is reported in Table 1.

Table 1

Participant Demographics

Participant Demographics	n	%
Gender		
Female	15	100%
Male	0	
Age		
31-40	5	33.3%
41-50	9	60%
50-60	1	6
Race/Ethnicity		
Hispanic/Latina/Mexican	15	100%
Language Proficiency		
Spanish dominant	11	73.3%
English & Spanish dominant	4	26.6%
Number of Children		
1	2	13.3%
2	3	20%
3	1	6.6%
4	5	33.3%
5	1	6.6%
6	2	13.3%
Education		
No schooling	-	-
Elementary School (1-5 th grade)	1	6.6%
Middle School (6-8 th grade)	4	26.6%
High school (9-12 th grade)	2	13.3%
Some College	1	6.6%
College Degree	5	33.3%
Master's Degree	1	6.6%
Doctoral Degree	-	-
Trade/tech school	1	6.6%
Relationship Status		
Married	12	80%
Single	2	13.3%
Cohabiting	1	6.6%

Table 1 (cont'd)

Annual Household income	1	6.6%
< \$10,000	-	-
\$ 10,000- \$ 20,000	2	13.3%
\$ 21,000- \$ 30,000	3	20%
\$ 31,000- \$ 40,000	2	13.3%
\$ 41,000- \$ 50,000	2	13.3%
\$ 51,000- \$ 60,000	1	6.6%
\$ 61,000- \$ 70,000	2	13.3%
\$ 71,000- \$ 80,000	2	13.3%
> \$ 80,000		
Location		
Michigan	14	93.3%
Texas	1	6.6%

Data Collection

Data collection took place via video conferencing platform including zoom, facetime, and telephone. Participants were sent electronic consent forms and demographic forms a couple days prior to their scheduled interview to allow time for review. At initiation of interview, the PI reviewed all consent procedures which included consent for audio-recording, and participants' rights. A demographic questionnaire was also reviewed and filled out collaboratively with the PI (see Appendices J-K).

Study procedures

Before the interview began, the PI (SGL) ensured that all consent forms were reviewed and all questions from participants answered. Only consenting participants and research interviewer were present for the interview which was held via video conferencing platforms. Participants were reminded that their participation was completely voluntary and about their right to refrain from answering any questions or withdraw from the study at any time, without penalty. Audio recorders were then turned on and interview began (refer to interview guide Appendix L). Interviews lasted between 60-90 minutes with an average time of 71 minutes. At the conclusion

of the interview, participants were given the choice to receive a \$50 gift card electronically via email or by mail.

The following were the aims of the study:

1. To explore Mexican⁹ immigrant mothers' views and experiences of sexuality
2. To explore the experiences of Mexican immigrant mothers living and raising daughters in the U.S.
3. To describe Mexican immigrant mothers' processes of sex-communication with their adolescent daughters who are living in the U.S.
4. To understand Mexican immigrant mothers' views of gender and sexuality.

The following research questions are the focus of the study¹⁰ :

1. What are U.S. immigrant Latina mothers' views of sexuality and experiences of parenting sexuality¹¹? (Aim 1-2)¹²
2. What are the reported processes of sex-communication of Latina immigrant mothers with their adolescent daughters?¹³ (Aim 3-4)

Data analysis

Core components of thematic analysis (TA; Braun & Clarke, 2006) guided the analysis of the current study. Thematic analysis is a systematic approach used to organize, identify, and report meaningful patterns or themes within qualitative data (Braun & Clarke, 2012). Themes

⁹ Although ethnicity was not a criterion of the study, to accurately reflect the present sample, the Mexican identity was added to the original aim after completion of data collection.

¹⁰ Upon approval from the dissertation committee after completion of data collection, research questions 1 & 2 were amended to account for the data that emerged.

¹¹ For the purposes of this study, parenting sexuality will refer to parenting on sexuality topics.

¹² Research question was revised upon data analysis. Original research question: *What are U.S. immigrant Latino parents' views of sexuality and parenting?*

¹³ Upon completion of data collection, research questions were amended to account for the data emerged. Original question: What are the lived experiences of, and contributing factors on, immigrant Latino parents' communication about sexuality with their adolescent daughters?

that emerged throughout the data analysis provided meaning within the data by capturing significant information related to the research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The researcher entered data analysis with a combination of a theoretical approach where I initially coded for a specific research question, and then utilized an inductive approach such that the research questions continued to evolve throughout the coding process (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis is not tied to any pre-existing theoretical framework and can be used within varying theoretical frameworks (Starks et al., 2007). As such, integration of sexual scripting theory (Gagnon & Simon 1973) and intersectionality (Collins & Bilge 2016; Crenshaw, 1991) [as discussed in chapter 1] supported analysis of the data collected by way of theory triangulation (Snape & Spencer, 2003). In other words, the PI referenced two primary theoretical orientations, sexual scripting theory and the theory of intersectionality, to guide analysis and to check the integrity of, or extend inferences drawn from the data—this lent itself to deductive reasoning. Identifying ways in which material conditions including political, socio-economic, ethnicity, gender, etc. play a role in the beliefs, behavior and experiences of Mexican immigrant mothers was an essential component of qualitative data analysis (Snape & Spencer, 2003) informed by intersectionality. This integrative application of thematic analysis allowed for the researcher to investigate, analyze, and report on the experiences and unique realities of the participants (Braun & Clarke, 2006); specifically, the unique realities of immigrant Latina mothers raising adolescent daughters in the U.S.

The data underwent six phases of coding as outlined by Braun and Clark (2006; 2012) until no new themes or an increased understanding problem being investigated under study emerged, also known as theoretical saturation (Glaser, 1965). Data were then analyzed according to the thematic analysis approach used to provide a detailed and nuanced account of the lived

experiences expressed by research participants (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Procedures for data analysis involved two levels of analysis. First, data were analyzed at a semantic or explicit level (Boyatzis, 1998), followed by a latent level of analysis in which unique conceptualizations, underlying ideas, and assumptions that may have informed the semantic content of the data were identified (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The latent approach was useful for interpretation of not verbals such as participants' laughing, or appearance of hesitancy or discomfort. Theories of intersectionality along with assumptions of heteronormativity and patriarchy informed the interpretations of participant quotes and theme development.

The six phases of analysis the data underwent were outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006). Phase one included becoming familiar with the data, which was accomplished through initial readings of the transcripts and listening to audio recordings. In the second phase of analysis, transcripts were read line-by-line by the first author (SGL) noting content related to the research questions, and initial codes were generated. Phase three included collapsing and categorizing codes into broader themes. A table was created to organize emergent themes (Braun & Clark, 2006; 2012; Starks et al., 2007). Phase four and five included reviewing and refining details of each theme and naming/renaming themes accordingly with my committee members. The study team met to review themes and to identify predominant emergent themes. The final focus of two manuscripts emerged from data analysis findings. Consistently, in phase six, the themes were aggregated, reported, summarized and the findings described in two manuscripts (i.e., chapters 4 & 5) (Braun & Clark, 2006; 2012). These manuscripts describe the broadly defined themes of immigrant Latina mothers' experiences and reported process of sex-communication with their daughters. This way a recursive process, such that there was back and forth movement withing the 6 phases of analysis, as needed (Braun & Clark, 2006). These manuscripts are intended to

contribute to the body of knowledge on parent-adolescent sex communication in immigrant Latino families. Data collected provided insight into the unique experiences of immigrant Latina mothers raising daughters in the U.S. and other material conditions (i.e., political, socio-economic, ethnicity, gender, cultural, etc.) that may constitute precursors and, or barriers for mothers to engage in effective communication about sex and sexuality with their adolescent daughters.

To ensure trustworthiness, three major components must be satisfied: integrity of data, balance between subjectivity and reflexivity, and clear communication of study findings (Williams & Morrow, 2009). Triangulation, or the use of various theories, observers, or investigators to support and clarify the study findings (Creswell, 2013; Spencer, Barnard, & Snape, 2014) were applied to uphold the integrity of data. For example, theory triangulation, as previously described, as well as triangulation by multiple analysts (i.e., committee advisors) were implemented during data analysis. Maintaining a balance between reflexivity and subjectivity was achieved through engagement of reflexivity and bracketing (described in detail in the next section). To clearly communicate study results, findings were supported by participant quotes to make interpretations of research findings easy to understand by the reader (Williams & Morrow, 2009). This was achieved with professional transcription of participant interviews, accurate translation of participant transcripts from Spanish to English, and continuous check-ins and consultations with the PI's dissertation advisors. Lastly, the PI kept an audit trail to document key methodological decisions and actions executed throughout the research process (Morrow, 2005), while working closely with dissertation advisors throughout the analysis process, providing them with copies of all transcripts and coding materials, and consulting with them of methodological decisions. A template audit trail can be found in Appendix P.

Qualitative computer software

NVivo 10 software was used to conduct analytic procedures (QSR International, 2014). This software allowed researchers to import raw data, code it, and collapse it accordingly.

Role of the researcher

As the primary researcher of the current study, it was critical for the PI to actively engage in reflexivity, or explicitly identify my personal background, bias, gender, history, culture, values, and other factors that could shape the interpretation of study findings (Creswell, 2014). Another critical step engaged in by the PI of the study was to engage in bracketing, which refers to the important role of reflecting and discussing on her own personal experiences related to the topic under investigation (Creswell, 2012). This method was used in an effort to minimize or reduce bias and help put aside assumptions in order to focus exclusively on the experiences of the participants. As a Latina, and proud daughter of immigrants, the PI inevitably brought some bias related to the research questions that could potentially influence the way in which the data were collected and analyzed, and the conclusions that were drawn from that data. As an integrative part of a qualitative methodology, the PI continuously bracketed herself out of the study and checked-in with her research team (i.e. committee members) regarding her views of the study findings.

Positionality Statement

As a researcher, I am positioned in a place of privilege for transmitting participants' testimonies of their lived experiences. Simultaneously, I am at risk of replicating dynamics of oppression given my social positionality as an educated, middle-class, Latina. It is also critical to note that my analysis was informed by my experience as a daughter of Mexican immigrants, my experience as a licensed Marriage and Family Therapist, my decade of clinical work and

research with immigrant Latino populations, and my training as a scholar in predominately White institutions. Therefore, I aimed to balance my position of power by seeking advice from scholars of Color, community leaders, members from the community from which I sampled, and my doctoral dissertation committee. It was critical to main an accurate interpretation of the participants' realities as quotes were translated from Spanish to English. To maintain fidelity of the meaning of participants' expressions, I corroborated translations with other native Spanish speakers to ensure data did not lose the contextual meanings. My therapeutic training facilitated by ability to remain present and supportive, without disrupting the interview process, when information participants shared evoked emotional reactions. Ensuring participants' well-being was above research goals was top priority. Participants rights were emphasized during the interview process, reminding them that they were in total control of the information they wanted to disclose and that the interview could be stopped at any time. As a Mexican-American woman, and proud daughter of immigrants, I inevitably brought some bias related to the research questions that could potentially influence the ways in which the data were collected and analyzed, and the conclusions that were drawn from that data. As an integrative part of a qualitative methodology, I continuously bracketed myself out of the study and checked-in with my research team (i.e., committee members) regarding my views of the study findings.

Format of Manuscripts

Studies that seek to understand the unique experience of immigrant Latina mothers and sex-communication with their adolescent daughters as are limited. To the author's knowledge, no current studies have focused on mother-daughter sex-communication in immigrant Latino families in an era of high anti-immigration resurgence. This study attempts to address this gap and the research findings are summarized in two manuscripts for this dissertation, organized by

research question. Informed by a clinical prospective of family structure and dynamics, research analyses were also separated into mothers' individual/intrapsychic processes (study 1) and interpersonal processes with regards to reported process of sex-communication with daughters (study 2). The decision was taken in an attempt to maximize impact of the Marriage/Couple and Family Therapist literature such that clinicians can benefit from study 1 findings to inform potential clinical work with mothers at the individual level, whereas study 2 may help inform clinicians who are working a dyadic or relational setting.

Manuscript 1: Study 1

In this manuscript we explored the views of sexuality and sexuality parenting of immigrant mothers of Mexican origin. Through self-report, participants shared internal or *intrapsychic processes* (i.e., insight, stream of associations, re-emergence of memories, cognition and affect) (Bolognini, 2004) with regards to their views on sexuality and parenting on sexuality. Using an intersectional lens (Collins & Bilge, 2016) to guide data analysis to acknowledge participants' multiple intersecting identities to explore what Latina mothers think about sex and how their own experiences shape their ideas and values on sexuality. The study also explored mothers' experience living in the U.S. and parenting daughters on sexuality. By acknowledging the intersectionality of the participants of this study, the study expands the scholarly discussion by calling into question the utility of culture as a sole determinant of behavior and urges family therapists, researchers and policy makers to consider the various social identities and structures that contextualize and perpetuate dominant narratives and rhetoric of the experience of Mexican-origin immigrant mothers.

Manuscript 2: Study 2

In this manuscript focuses primarily focuses on research question two, which sought to

explore the reported processes of sex-communication of immigrant Mexican mothers with their adolescent daughters. This manuscript explored what Latina mothers think about the sexual experiences of their daughters and how their own experiences shape how they think about discussing sexuality with their adolescent daughters. It also examined the messages mothers reported to delivered during sex-communication with their daughters. Mothers also shared their views on gender and sexuality which were often informed by their family, religion, and heritage culture. The study provides needed information and clinical implications for family therapy and parent-based sex education programming for immigrant Latino families.

Ethical Considerations

The target sample for the current study included Spanish-speaking Latino immigrants who primarily were residing in Southwest and greater Detroit, Michigan. Detroit has some of the highest rates of violent crimes in the U.S. and ranks third in the nation on percentage of people living below the poverty line (Bynum & McCluskey, 2007; Raleigh, Galster, 2015). In addition to this economic challenge, Latino immigrants living in Detroit also face contextual challenges (i.e., limited transportation options, poverty, racial discrimination), which may pose barriers for active participation in prevention programming (Guerra & Knox, 2008), or research studies. Concerns regarding immigration status (i.e., fear of deportation), language barriers, mistrust, have also been identified as barriers for Latinos' participation in research (George, Duran, & Norris, 2014). In recent years, immigrant community members have faced hardships with regards to current political climate and immigration raids in Southwest Detroit, which has disrupted feelings of safety and security for some families. In addition, these data were collected amidst a global pandemic where concerns of health and safety were rampant. To address the issues of violence, concerns regarding potential immigration challenges, and safety as it related

to the COVID 19 global pandemic, all interviews were conducted via video conferencing platforms including zoom and facetime, where participants and interviewer were in their own homes to secure safety and comfortability. All interviews were conducted in Spanish to honor participants' preferences and avoid language barrier concerns. In regard to issues of mistrust, the study PI (SGL) had been extensively involved with recruitment, screening, retention, and group facilitation procedures of parenting groups in the local community for 3 years prior to initiation of the present study. The study PI's interactions with local community members and potential participants incorporated cultural values including *simpatia* (respectful interaction), *respeto* (respect), and *confianza* (support and trust), which have been emphasized as key components for recruitment and retention (Keller, Gonzales, & Fleuriet, 2005). This involvement has strengthened the established trust and credibility within the target community.

Limitations

There are strengths and limitations to this study design. This study was exclusive to mothers and daughters, therefore adding to the gap in the literature of Mexican fathers' sex-communication with daughters. We also chose to focus on the relationship between mother and daughter instead of sons which also contributes to a gap in research. There was likely a selection bias—namely, those participants who were interested in the topic of parent-adolescent sex communication were more prone to select into the study. Even with this selection bias, we learned meaningful information about Mexican immigrant mothers, their unique experiences raising daughters in the U.S., parenting daughters on sexuality, how their own experiences shape how they discuss sexuality, and their reported processes of sex-communication. Despite identified limitations, the current study adds to the knowledge of research of mother-daughter sex-communication of immigrant mothers of Mexican descent.

Conclusion

This study helped identify nuanced experiences of parent-adolescent sex-communication for immigrant mothers of Mexican descent living in and raising young daughters in the U.S. [predominately from the Metro-Detroit area]. This study adds to the general knowledge of unique sex-communication processes between immigrant Mexican mothers and their adolescent daughters. The study also sheds light on what Latina mothers think about the sexual experiences of their daughters and how their own experiences shape the way they discuss sexuality. Understanding this will bring much needed information to family therapy and parent-based sex-education programming. Information learned from this study can help researchers, family therapist, interventionists and other relevant professionals make stronger connection between material conditions including political, socio-economic, ethnicity, gender, cultural factors, etc. that are tied to sexual health disparities in U.S. Latino communities. The social processes learned in this study also have important implications for theory and public health interventions. Finally, exploring these dynamics help support a systemic understanding of these communication processes and advance the field of MFT, as a more comprehensive understanding of these practices can help inform parent-adolescent sex-communication facilitation needs, and interventions that target parent-based sex-education for immigrant Latino families.

CHAPTER 4: STUDY 1

“Never, Never, Never, in Fact She Never Spoke to Me [About Sex], Not Even That I Was Going To Have My Period”: Learning From the Voices of Mexican Immigrant Mothers and the Experiences that Shape Their Views on Sexuality and Parenting

Statement of the Problem

High rates of early sexual debut (i.e., as early as, or before the age of 13) in young Latinas¹⁴, increases their risks for negative sexual and reproductive health outcomes (e.g., Lindberg, Maddow-Zimet, & Marcell, 2017; Marston, Beguy, Kabiru, & Cleland, 2013). These outcomes are related to unprotected sexual activity and multiple sexual partners which place these young women at risk for, unprotected sex (including oral sex, anal sex, casual sex), and sexually transmitted infections (STIs) contraction and unintended pregnancies (Charles & Blum, 2008; Schwartz et al., 2011). Unintended pregnancy at an early age is associated with poor educational outcomes and employment opportunities for these young women (Gilliam, Berlin, Kozloski, Hernandez, & Grundy, 2007; Hubert, Villalobos, Abreu, Suárez-López, & Castro, 2019). Latina adolescents are the fastest growing female populations in the United States (U.S.) (Jackson, 2013; Kost & Henshaw, 2014) and remain disproportionately affected by high rates of early sexual debut, teen pregnancies and STIs, including HIV (Center for Disease and Control Prevention [CDC], 2018; Morales-Aleman & Scarinci, 2016; The National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy, 2016). These growing rates points to the significance of the welfare and [sexual] health of young Latinas at the national level (Becker, Thing, Baezconde-Garbanati,

¹⁴ Debate exists regarding the application of the term Latino vs Hispanic (see Alcoff, 2005; Garcia-Navarro, 2015; Marrow, 2004), and more recently, the gender nonbinary term Latinx (see Salinas Jr. & Lozano, 2017). Given the novelty of the “Latinx” label and ethical implications of imposing a U.S.-based term across Latin American cultures, for the purpose of this study, we will refer to Latino/a as anyone of Latin American descent or Spanish-speaking origin (with the exception of Spain) currently living in the United States (Suarez-Orozco & Paez, 2002; Garcia-Navarro, 2015). The term Hispanic will only be used when referencing studies that identify them as such.

Schwartz, Soto, & Unger, 2014). Therefore, learning more about factors that can promote sexual health among adolescent Latinas living in the U.S. is critical for their long-term wellbeing.

Evidence points to parents as critical component in the promotion of sexual health for young Latinas (e.g., Lee Dancy, Florez, & Holm, 2013; Scull, Carl, Keefe, & Malik, 2022; Widman, Evans, Javidi, & Choukas-Bradley, 2019). Mothers have been found to have a significant influence on their children's sexual behaviors and attitudes (Alcade & Quelopana, 2013; Wisnieski et al., 2015; Sanchez, Whittaker, & Crosnoe, 2020). However, the relationship with their children has different impacts based on gender. Studies report mothers communicate more often with their daughters than with sons and their relationships are often more influential in their daughter's health outcomes compared to their son's health (Kincaid, Jones, Sterrett, & McKee, 2012; Updegraff, Delgado, & Wheeler, 2009). The quality and quantity of parent-child sex-communication has been consistently cited as one of the "best" predictors of adolescent sexual behavior, particularly for Latinas (Gaiosio, Wilson, Villarruel, & Childs, 2017). As primary care takers, transmitter of values, sex socializer and sex-communicator of their children (Hossain, Lee, & Martin-Cuellar, 2015, Kincaid, Jones, Sterrett, & McKee, 2012; Scull, Carl, Keefe, & Malik, 2022; Updegraff, Delgado, & Wheeler, 2009), Latina mothers are critical in the promotion of sexual health for their daughters.

Latinas are rich in diversity including but not limited to ethnicity, language, education, generational status, sexual orientation, immigration status, and social class (Lucero-Liu & Christensen, 2009; Nieman, 2004). Although they may have similar lived experiences based on gender and racial oppression, they are still a heterogeneous group with distinct social experiences. Failure to acknowledge the multiple realities and contextual factors including (but not limited to) race, gender, class, culture, patriarchy, heteronormativity, colonialism, and

language proficiency: 1) reduces the understanding of sexual health disparities and the factors that maintain it, 2) supports a constricted narrative of Latina sexuality (e.g., portrayed as promiscuous, sexually deviant, or virginal), and 3) makes effective prevention more difficult.

Among adolescent Latinas living in the U.S., Mexican Latinas, between the ages of 15-19, in particular, have some of the highest risk of teen pregnancy (Frost & Driscoll, 2006; Romero et al., 2016) which suggests a need to focus on this growing sub-group. First generation U.S. Latinas encounter unique challenges that can influence their process of sexual development, as their socialization likely includes messaging from at least two (or more) cultures with contradictory ideologies (Hussian et al., 2015) (e.g., American culture encouraging sexual liberation vs. traditional Latino cultural sanctioning sexual purity). However, information on the processes of sex-communication between Mexican immigrant mothers and their adolescent daughters is limited. To help fill this gap, the current study explores the experiences of U.S. immigrant mothers of Mexican origin broaching the topic of sexuality with their adolescent daughters. Through self-report, participants reflected and shared their own experiences of sexual development and how these experience shape views and values on sexuality and how they transmitted these values to their adolescent daughters. Using an intersectional lens (Collins & Bilge, 2016) to guide data analysis, this study highlights mothers' lived experiences, acknowledges participants' multiple intersecting identities, and explores varying views on gender and sex-related topics. By acknowledging the intersectionality of the participants of this study, we expand the scholarly discussion by calling into question the utility of culture as a sole determinant of behavior and urge researchers and policy makers to consider the various social identities and structures that contextualize and perpetuate dominant narratives and rhetoric related to the experience of Mexican-origin immigrant mothers.

Background

Immigrant Latino Families

Latino immigrants are an integral part of the U.S. socioeconomic system yet, current challenges associated with human rights violations of vulnerable immigrants have perpetuated the harmful narrative that they are a burden to society (McHuge, 2019). Across the U.S., many immigrant Latinos are faced with numerous contextual and socio-political challenges. Political context and resurgence of anti-immigration narratives throughout the U.S. has resulted in numerous adverse consequences for the overall well-being of Latino immigrants and created disruptions to their parenting practices (Parra-Cardona, 2019, Cardoso, Scott, Faulkner, & Lane, 2018). Increased understanding of immigrant Latino families' unique challenges (e.g., discrimination, isolation, language proficiency, migration) and experiences pertaining to parenting and sexual socialization practices with their adolescents are needed. Learning how various experiences, among other contextual factors, shape the ways Mexican mothers engage-in and support their adolescent's sexual development, is important for tailoring effective prevention and parent-based sex-education programming.

The parenting literature has consistently identified mothers as taking on the majority of responsibly in educating children on sex-relation topics both in Latino and non-Latino families (e.g., Akers, Holland, Bost, 2011; Tanton et al., 2015). While these finding confirm previous studies that point to the organizing nature of gender in Latino families in parent-child sex-communication (e.g., Akers, Holland, Bost, 2011, Deutsch & Crockett, 2016; Stauss et al., 2011), findings in the present study aim to shed light on other potential contributing factors that shape how mothers think about and broach the topic of sexuality with their adolescent daughters.

Negative consequences associated with sexual risks in young Latinas emphasize a need to better understand sexual socialization processes between mothers and their adolescent daughters. To do so, it is essential for research to highlight the nuanced contextual elements of sexual socialization processes in the context in which immigrant mothers of Mexican origin parent and communicate about sex with their adolescent daughters. The central influence mothers hold in Latino families (McKee & Karasz, 2006; Siantz et al., 2013) illustrates the need to account for immigrant mothers' unique experiences and perspectives on sex-related topics. Understanding the views, values, behaviors, knowledge of sex and sexuality, and sex-communication processes Mexican immigrant mothers engage in, or not, generates insight that can help inform sex education and prevention efforts tailored to this underserved population. Therefore, consideration of mothers' lived experiences and the extent these experiences connect to sex-communication and messages transmitted to their adolescent daughters is critical in educational and sexual health promotion efforts tailored to immigrant families of Mexican origin.

Sexual Scripting Theory and Latino Gender Scripts

Gender is an organizing feature in Mexican families (Cauce & Domenech-Rodriguez, 2002; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007) and gender roles inform the sexual behaviors of Latino youth (Lee, Dancy, Florez, & Holm, 2013; Villarruel, Jemmott, Jemmott, & Ronis, 2007). Marianismo is a gender script (commonly observed in Latino populations), that socializes women to exhibit feminine demeanor (e.g., to be nurturing, obedient) and be virginal, whereas machismo socializes men to comport themselves in masculine ways (e.g., to be aggressive, dominant, and virile) (Hernandez et al., 2012). These scripts reinforce gendered expectations of sexual processes (Gagnon, 1990). Yet, the ways in which gender unravels varies among families and other intersecting factors account for the variability in behaviors or expression observed in

Latino families. Although traditional gender role attitudes are considered a significant cultural value in Latino families (Cauce & Domenech-Rodriguez, 2002; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007), machismo and marianismo are dated terms. They illustrate heteronormative gender and sexual scripts (or norms that dictate behavior) that may not accurately reflect the way gender plays out in modern day immigrant Mexican families. In other words, it is possible that the impact of heteronormative ideologies and social pressure of a patriarchal society may account for how the roles associated with machismo and marianismo are understood and described in Latino families. Given a national culture shift towards establishing more gender equality and sexual rights, Latino youth have more exposure to these dominant values (Cense & Bay-Cheng, 2018). This societal shift emphasizes the dated ideology of “traditional” Latino gendered roles and calls into question the extent these values play a role in mother-daughter sex communication in immigrant Latino families at present day.

Historically, bodies of research have suggested cultural factors to explain variations in parent-adolescent communication patterns that serve to buffer against adolescent risk behaviors in young Latinas (Ryan et al. 2015). For example, Mexican immigrant families in the U.S. (and globally), are observed to have stricter rules for dating and apply more supervision for daughters than sons (Ayala, 2006; Foner, 2009)—factors that are suggested to have the potential to reduce risk of early sexual initiation for young Latinas (Coleman-Minahan, 2017). However, cultural gendered expectations that encourage virginity until marriage, sexual modesty, and the value of *respeto* (respect) have been identified as potential barriers in sex-communication between parents and adolescents (Benavides, 2001; Marin & Gomez, 1999; Marin et al., 1993). Cultural gender roles such as (machismo & marianismo), *pena* (i.e., embarrassment), and adolescents’ fears of being disrespectful have also been tied to sex-related parent-child socialization and

communication processes (Moncloa, Wilkinson-Lee, & Russell, 2010; Givaudan, Pick, Alvarez Izazaga, & Collado, 1994; CDC, 2018; Hernandez, et al., 2012). However, research on Latina sexuality is complicated by the intersection of class, culture, and acculturation processes (Moncloa, Wilkinson-Lee & Russell, 2010). Other factors may also be playing a role, including mothers experiences and exposure to sex-knowledge. Exploration of sex-communication processes immigrant mothers engage in, or not, provide insights that are beneficial to support facilitation of effective sex-communication effort for these families. The need to consider the lived experiences that shape mothers' views, values, behaviors, knowledge of sexuality, and sex-communication with adolescent daughters is critical to effectively tailor prevention efforts for immigrant families of Mexican origin.

Gender inequalities, i.e., institutional and relationship differences in power, differences in expectation of social and cultural norms, and economic inequalities in the home and workplace illustrate a unique context for the development of healthy sexual behavior for Latinas (Wingood & DiClemente, 2000). Household gender inequalities increase the risk of early sexual initiation for young Latinas (Coleman-Minahan, 2017). Those who grew up in households with more extreme gender inequality (i.e., where men exert dominance through violence, do not contribute to household tasks, and do not allow women to work outside the home) were found to have initiated sex about a year earlier and experienced adolescent birth at higher rates compared to moderately gendered households (Coleman-Minahan, 2017). Structural factors including limited socioeconomic opportunities also play a significant role in higher unintended pregnancy rates of young Latina women (Minnis et al., 2013). These findings highlight the complexity of sexual behavior and sexual expectations by identifying additional structural factors (i.e., gender inequality, family stability, socioeconomic status) beyond culture, to account for sexual and

reproductive health disparities observed in Latinas. Findings reveal the limitations of a culturalist approach and challenge its utility in the study of Latina sexuality (Coleman-Minahan, 2017).

Mother-Daughter Sex-Communication

Mothers, including those of Mexican origin, have a significant influence on their children's sexual behaviors and attitudes (Alcade & Quelopana, 2013; DiIorio, Pluhar, & Belcher, 2003). Compared to fathers, mother communicate more with their children about sex, and are more likely to talk with their daughters compared to their sons; highlighting gender as an organizing feature of sex-communication in Latino families (Azmitia & Brown 2002; Cauce & Domenech-Rodriguez 2000; McHale et al., 2005; Valenzuela, 1999; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). Greater levels of parenting processes (i.e., monitoring, support, and strictness) are associated with adolescents' lower level of engagement in risky sexual behaviors with stronger associations for girls than for boys (DiClemente et al., 2001, Killoren & Deutsch, 2014). Gender differences are also observed in sex-related messaging youth receive such that young Latinas are encouraged to remain abstinent without parental dialogue and instruction; whereas young boys experience more discussion from parents about protective methods during sexual activity and they are met with leniency when they engage in sexual activity (Killoren & Deutsch, 2014; Murphy-Erby et al. 2011). The impact gender has at the interplay of sex-communication within Latino families, points to the significance of immigrant mothers in the promotion of sexual health for young Latinas.

For some mothers, limited sex education and knowledge poses a barrier to broaching these topics with daughters (Hernandez, Zule, Karg, Browne, & Wechsberg, 2012). Mothers may find themselves at odds in their parenting practice to engage in sex-communication with their daughters or experience uncertainty about the knowledge they possess. Other barriers include

parents' lack of confidence (i.e., not knowing how to talk about the subject with children), lack or limited experiences of positive sex-communication within their own lives, lack of practice in effective communication skills, lack of time, belief that their child is not ready to learn about sex-related topics, and mother-daughter disagreement on sex-related topics (Baumeister et al., 1995; Givaudan, Pick, Alvarez Izazaga, & Collado, 1994; Wilson, Dalberth, Koo, & Gard, 2010)—although not exclusive to Mexican families, as similar findings have also been reported in Black and White families (Wilson et al., 2010). These barriers are likely complicated if mother's own lack of sex knowledge is coupled with negative experiences or unaddressed trauma (e.g., sexual abuse, unintended pregnancy due to lack of reproduction knowledge), and add to the difficulties mothers may encounter when they engage in sex-communication with their daughters. The extent to which immigrant mothers' own sexual development experiences shape their sex-communication processes with their adolescent daughters requires further investigation.

The literature has consistently recognized parenting practices to be protective for young Latinas. Still, more research is needed to learn about the specific experiences, socialization processes, cultural values, and barriers faced by immigrant mothers with regards to their sex-communication with their daughters. The current study attempts to answer the following question: (1) What are U.S. immigrant Latina mothers' views of sexuality and experiences of parenting sexuality? Although this study attempted to recruit both mothers and fathers, only mothers volunteered. To accurately reflect the study's demographics, the current paper explored the following research aims: 1) Mexican¹⁵ immigrant mothers' views and experiences of sexuality; and 2) the experience of Mexican immigrant mothers' living and raising daughters in the U.S.

¹⁵ Although Mexican ethnicity was not a criterion of the study, to accurately reflect the present sample, the Mexican identity was added to the original aim after completion of data collection.

Methods

Data Analysis

The researcher entered data analysis initially with a theoretical approach that informed initial coding for each specific research question, and then shifted into an inductive approach such that the answers to the research questions continued to evolve throughout the coding process (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Integration of sexual scripting theory (Gagnon & Simon 1973) and intersectionality (Collins & Bilge 2016; Crenshaw, 1991) informed analysis of the data collected by way of theory triangulation (Snape & Spencer, 2003). These theories helped guide analysis and to check the integrity of, or extend inferences drawn from the data—this lent itself to some deductive reasoning. Identifying ways in which material conditions including political, socio-economic, ethnicity, gender, etc. play a role in the beliefs, behavior, and experiences of Mexican immigrant mothers (i.e., using an intersectional lens) was an essential component of qualitative data analysis (Snape & Spencer, 2003).

The data underwent six phases of coding as outlined by Braun and Clark (2006; 2012) until no new themes or an increased understanding problem being investigated under study emerged, also known as theoretical saturation (Glaser, 1965). In the initial coding phase, transcripts were coded line by line by the first author, via an open-coding approach. Data were organized first by structural codes corresponding to study questions; subsequently a list of emerging thematic codes were identified and refined through iterative reviews of study transcripts, structural coded sections, and memos produced by the research team. Clarification of the intent and subtle meanings implicit in the narrative for key passages were provided to non-Spanish speaking research team members. Procedures for data analysis involved two levels of analysis. First, data were analyzed at a semantic or explicit level (Boyatzis, 1998), followed by a latent level of

analysis in which unique conceptualizations, underlying ideas, and assumptions that may have informed the semantic content of the data were identified (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The latent approach was useful for interpretation of participants' nonverbals such as laughter and the appearance of hesitancy or discomfort. Theoretical ideas related to intersectionality and assumptions of heteronormativity and patriarchy also informed the interpretations of participant quotes and theme development.

Participants and Procedures

A total of 15 women participated in this study: no men responded to recruitment. This sample size is commonly acceptable in thematic analysis studies (Braun & Clarke, 2013). A sample size of 15 participants was considered feasible for this study because there was no precedent of studies with this population recruited during a global pandemic, and similar sample sizes have been used in previous studies (e.g., Doering-White et al., 2016; Murphy-Erby, Stauss, Boyas, & Bivens, 2011; Shaffer et al., 2018; Moncloa, Wilkinson-Lee, & Russell, 2010). In addition, saturation of themes was achieved by 15 interviews.

All participants were born in Mexico, were native Spanish speakers, and had varying degrees of English proficiency (see Table 2). Participants were recruited through snowball sampling. To be eligible for this study, participants had to identify as Latino/a, as an immigrant (i.e., not born in the U.S.), be at least 18 years of age, have at least one adolescent daughter between 11 and 18 years of age, and immigrated to the U.S. before or within the first year of birth of the target adolescent daughter.

Two thirds of participants in this study self-reported that their family income was less than twice the federal poverty threshold (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018b, National Center for children in Poverty [NCCP], 2018), and all participants self-identified as heterosexual cis-

gendered women. Due to the sensitivity and threat of disclosure, questions about citizenship were not asked in this study. However, some participants chose to share the information voluntarily during their interview. For additional demographics see Table 2.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted via telephone and video conference, based on participants' preference and accessibility. Interviews lasted between 60-90 minutes with the average time of 71 minutes. All interviews were conducted in Spanish by the study Principal Investigator (the first author) who is a native Spanish speaker. Participants consented to audio-recordings and interviews were professionally transcribed, first into Spanish, and then translated into English by the Principal Investigator—an experienced translator.

Table 2

Sociodemographic Characteristics of Participants

Pseudo-name	Age	Country of origin	Primary Language	Status	Age/sex of child(ren)	Household income	Education
Ariana	33	Mexico (mom/dad)	Spanish	Married*	15F±; 13F; 11F; 7F	\$21,000- \$ 30,000	Middle school
Beatriz	43	Mexico (mom/dad)	English/Spanish	Married	23M; 20M; 14F±; 9M	\$21,000- \$ 30,000	Bachelor's degree
Lucia	35	Mexico-mom Salvador-dad	Spanish	Single*	13F±	\$61,000- \$70,000	Middle school
Julissa	42	Mexico mom/dad	Spanish	Cohabiting*	6F, 9F, 12F±	< \$10,000	Elementary
Karina	39	Mexico (both parents)	Spanish	Divorced, Single*	20M; 17F±; 14M, 8F	\$41,000- \$ 50,000	Nursing tech/trade school
Veronica	46	Mexico Mom; Chile (raised in Brazil)-Dad	English/Spanish	Married	18F±; 16M	\$71,000- \$ 80,000	Bachelor's degree
Lety	42	Mexico (both parents)	Spanish	Married	17F±; 16M; 14F; 13M; 7M	\$41,000- \$ 50,000	Middle school
Claudia	45	Mexico (both parents)	English/Spanish	Married	11F±; 9M	\$31,000-40,000	University

Table 2 (cont'd)

Paz	41	Mexico (both parents)	Spanish	Married	11F±, 19M	\$31,000-40,000	High school
Gloria	50	Mexico (both parents)	Spanish	married	19F; 17F±	\$80,000+	University
Sofia	36	Mexico (both parents)	Spanish	married*	15M; 13F±; 8F;8F	\$31,000-40,000	Middle school
Marta	40	Mexico (both parents)	Spanish	married	12F±; 9M; 6F	\$51,000- \$ 60,000	High school
Rosa	36	Mexico (both parents)	Spanish	married	12F±	\$80,000+	University
Norma	41	Mexico (both parents)	Spanish	married	20F; 18M; 16F±; 14M; 8M; 6F	\$51,000- \$ 60,000	Some college (2 years)
Patricia	52	Mexico (both parents)	English/ Spanish	married	22M; 21F; 19M;16F±	\$71,000- \$ 80,000	Masters degree

Note. * indicates self-reported immigrating to U.S. undocumented; ± indicates target adolescent

Role of the Researcher

The researcher is the primary instrument in the analytical processes data collection of qualitative research (Merriam, 2009). Thus, monitoring my personal biases and beliefs that could influence the research process was an essential practice throughout this study (Braun & Clarke, 2012). I engaged in various reflexivity practices during this study. This included writing memos, and journaling about my assumptions regarding immigrant Latina women, heteronormativity, racism, discrimination, and colonialism. In documenting my reflections throughout the data collection and analytical procedures, I focused on how my values and life experiences may influence the implementation of the study, data analysis, and reporting of results.

Positionality Statement

As a researcher, I am positioned in a place of privilege for transmitting participants' testimonies of their lived experiences. Given my social positionality as an educated, middle-

class, Latina, I am also at risk of replicating dynamics of oppression. It is also critical to note that my analysis was also informed by my experience as a daughter of Mexican immigrants, my experience as a licensed Marriage and Family Therapist, my decade of clinical work and research with immigrant Latino populations, and my training as a scholar in predominately White institutions. Therefore, I aimed to balance my position of power by seeking advice from scholars of Color, community leaders, members from the community from which I sampled, and my doctoral dissertation committee. To maintain fidelity of the meaning of participants' expressions, I corroborated with other native and bilingual speakers to ensure that translated data did not lose the contextual meaning originally expressed by participants. I aimed to create a safe and empowering environment for participants during the interviews, which was confirmed via personal accounts expressed by participants. My therapeutic training was critically during moments in which the information that participants shared evoked intense and emotional reactions. I remained present and supportive towards participants, without disrupting the interview process. I also adhered to critical guidelines for placing participants' well-being above research goals by reminding participants of their rights throughout the study. As a Mexican-American woman, and proud daughter of immigrants, I inevitably brought some bias related to the research questions that could potentially influence the way in which the data were collected and analyzed, and the conclusions that were drawn from that data. As an integrative part of a qualitative methodology, I continuously bracketed myself out of the study and checked-in with the research team regarding views of the study findings.

Results

To contextualize our understanding of U.S. immigrant Latina mothers' views and experiences of sexuality and parenting, we begin our results by describing the immigrant

experiences of participants, including the participants' identity as immigrants and its connection to their personal views on sexuality. Proceeding, the results describe three additional themes: 1) mothers' views of sexuality shaped by their intergenerational experiences—subthemes a) silence and misinformation, and b) striving for *confianza* to facilitate positive sex-communication experiences with daughter(s), 2) mothers' self-doubt and discomfort with sex-communication—subtheme a) answering with uncertainty and insecurity; and 3) the straddling of two worlds generates internal conflict concerning mothers' views of sexuality and parenting—subthemes a) fears of sexual violence shape how mothers parent and communicate with daughters, and b) apprehension towards new perspectives on gender and sexuality. The theme names were established predominately via the latent level of analysis in which interpretations of participants' dialogue, observations of participants' laughing, pauses, and hesitancy, were viewed through a clinical lens as I am a licensed marriage and family therapist. Use of reflexivity practices as described early also allowed for a more latent understanding with informed theme development. This qualitative study provides an opportunity to have a more in-depth analysis of unique processes immigrant Mexican mothers experience and the extent to which that shapes their views on sexuality and parenting sexuality.

Challenges of the Immigrant Identity

Participants were asked to reflect on their experiences as immigrants in the US and common challenges associated with their immigrant identity were identified. Difficulties included: speaking the dominant language, immigration status, isolation, and little-to-no social support (i.e., most extended family members resided in their country of origin). Participants were also asked whether they believed their experiences as immigrants (both negative and positive) influenced their child rearing. Although all 15 mothers did not overtly tie their experience as

immigrants directly to sex-communication with their adolescents, the experiences identified provide important contextual information about how they raise their children and in turn, think about sexuality and parenting. Gloria (50, married, heterosexual, mother of two adolescent daughters), discussed the difficulties she experienced as an immigrant in a new country: “Yes, [it was] a process, leaving my career, my country, uh, reinventing myself too. My husband traveled all the time. Yes, quite a few difficulties that we have been overcoming.” She explained how her identity formation was impacted as she adapted to a new country:

“Well, adapt to the culture, um, the language. Although I spoke English, it is not the same when...you have to speak everything-all the time...to try to express yourself with the same ease that I express in Spanish...to see myself alone without-without family.”

Like Gloria, many participants in this study identified the English language as a common barrier they had to overcome. Sofia (36, married, heterosexual, mother of four), reported not knowing any English when she arrived in the US. This barrier led to further isolation and forced dependency on her husband, “...it was difficult because I always had to be shielded by him...I have absolutely no, ah, no direct relatives here...I practically had to get by on my own.” She was also impacted by her documentation status. Although legally living in the US at time of the study, Sofia disclosed that entering the U.S. undocumented impacted her wellbeing:

“...[it was] difficult at the beginning... it is more than physical suffering, uh, it is like psychological, right?...That you cannot have the same rights as another person, eh, you are afraid all the time that something is going to happen to you...”

For most participants in this study, immigrating to the U.S. meant leaving their country of origin without family members and friends. Marta (41, married, heterosexual, mother of three) identified “...the missing [of family] and the language,” as the primary difficulties she faced. Rosa (36, married, heterosexual, mother of 1) shared a similar experience. Having arrived in the

U.S. at seven months pregnant, Rosa shared “...*leaving the family behind and having a baby practically alone, without a family, it was very complicated.*”

In addition to the social isolation and language barriers, some participants experienced hardships obtaining a job. Veronica (46, married, heterosexual, mother of two, college educated) reflected on her educational status and her identity of being “*someone*” while living in Mexico: “*I have my two years of specialization which is almost a master's degree....[and I am told] "No, thanks...it doesn't count, it has to be here."* Difficulties securing employment shaped Veronica’s experience in the U.S. “*Wow I had a job there... and not here. You have nothing. It was difficult...*” She recognized many immigrant women encountered these difficulties and described various factors that contributed to her ability to adapt and overcome these challenges including having a license in order to drive, securing a job and finding support within a church community: “*I have friends, I take a Bible study with Hispanic women, which is what helped me a lot...where they welcome you, where you go to a meeting and you hug.*”

Mothers’ Views of Sexuality Shaped by Their Intergenerational Experiences

Participants in this study reported a lack of sex-communication within their families of origin (i.e., *intergenerational silence*), and described how this absence played a role in how they viewed sexuality in their lives. Rosa (32, college educated, married, heterosexual, mother of 12-year-old daughter), attributed many “*errors*” in her life to the absence of sex-communication and lack of *confianza* (i.e., comfort to confide in; trust) with her parents. She reported never having conversations about sex with her parents except for one piece of information from her mother who said, “...*it was not worth it because of how short it lasted. [laughs] I-I don’t know if she told me more ...how could that be the only advice from her? [laughs].*” She speculated that sex-

communication with her parents would have generated *confianza* to talk to them and could have prevented “*..so many mistakes.*”

Norma appeared to internalize her experience of intergenerational silence and assumed the lack of sex-communication and sex-education was unique to her:

“... and you think...maybe it only happened to me. And it turns out no, right? In other words, at 40 you talk with your friends more openly, then, since these are topics that were not discussed, you think that you are the only one.”

Lucia (32, single, heterosexual, mother of 13-year-old daughter), indicated she wished her parents had communicated more about sex. She described being “*involved with many men*” at a young age and disclosed childhood sexual abuse (CSA). The experience of intergenerational silence made it difficult for Lucia to confide in her mother about the abuse or any sex related topics:

“Never, never, never, in fact she never spoke to me [about sex], not even that I was going to have my period. So, when I began menstruating, I didn't tell her because I didn't have the confidence to say it.”

Veronica (46, college educated, heterosexual, married, mother of two), reported sex-related conversations with her mother were exclusively about menstruation. Veronica shared “*I would have loved it, if my mother...would have told me... ‘Get to know yourself and this is normal and this yes and this no, ’*” She shared how the absence of sex-communication and information left her unprepared to navigate a sexual relationship at the initiation of her marriage: “*You get married and you don't know everything...I was trembling, imagine that...I was shaking, and you don't know...you arrive to your wedding night and I trembled and said, “Now what?”*

Intergenerational Silence and Misinformation

In addition to intergenerational silence, participants reported receiving inaccurate information on sex-related topics. Karina (39, divorced, single, heterosexual, mother of four),

reflected on the lack of sex information and communication in her life. She remembered asking her mother “*where do babies enter?*” and being told “*where they exit.*” The limited explanation left Karina with unanswered questions—“*...there were many-many things left in the [air]—and it was a fear.*” Karina explained more fear was created when her mother detailed the consequences for engaging in sexual activity:

“The day you have your first sexual relationship, it’s like-you lose everything, because the-the-body is like you give it a candy and then it will ask for it and it will ask for it and it will ask for it.”

Karina shared that it was “*scary*” to learn that information as it caused confusion and fear that her “*body [was] going to ask for it...*” This prevented Karina’s sexual exploration “*...I wasn’t curious, because I was scared.*” Additionally, her parents warned if she lost her virginity “*no one is going to love you.*” This messaging was specific to women as she explained “*...they never said, ‘Oh, as a man you already had your first sexual relationship, you cannot continue having [sex].’*” She explained that hearing these messages left her with thoughts including “*I already messed up and I’m no longer worth anything,*” and “*I’m going to stay alone, or no one is going to love me.*” However, as an adult she recognized “*...our worth is not that [i.e., virginity].*”

Beatriz (43, married, heterosexual, mother of four), also recounted misinformation she received. Her mother advised against sitting on the toilet in public restrooms and to avoid public pools to prevent pregnancy. For Beatriz, misinformation had lasting impacts that carried into adulthood. Beatriz described her mother’s reaction to her first pregnancy:

“My poor little daughter.” I said, “Oh, maybe I’m going to die,” right? I mean, extreme, but- ... - or, ‘something bad is going to happen to me after pregnancy,’ but I never had that information that I would have liked, which I think maybe it was also on me not to ask.”

For Veronica (46, college educated, heterosexual, married, mother of two), sex-communication with her mother were primarily about menstruation. The absence of

conversations on sex related topics created confusion and made it difficult for Veronica to discern misinformation; including from friends—“*...be very careful if they kiss your neck, because if they kiss your neck, the woman gives herself up. 'Imagine that. But they didn't tell you why.'*” These messages lead to apprehension and confusion about sex for Veronica.

Striving for *Confianza* to Facilitate Positive Sex-Communication Experiences with Daughter(s)

The intergenerational experiences of sexual silence and sex-misinformation motivated mothers to approach sex-communication with their daughters in different ways. Mothers had a collective goal of creating *confianza* i.e., trust or comfort to confide in, in order to create a safe space for their daughters to talk to them about sex. Lucia (32, single, heterosexual, mother of a 13-year -old daughter, CSA survivor), suspected her life would have been different if her mother had been more open about sex, explaining it would have given her more “*confianza*,” or trust to confide in her mother. In an effort to generate more *confianza* with her own daughter, Lucia reported how she initiated conversations about menstruation when her daughter was 8 years old. Lucia hoped conversations on this topic would create trust for her daughter to ask question so that, “*...the day she does [asks question about sex], well, I'm going to feel good...Because I know she confides in me.*”

Experiences of intergenerational silence motivated Beatriz (43, married, heterosexual, mother of four), to provide a different experience for her children, in that she actively engaged in sex-communication with her daughter. She also described attending school programing for parents to learn about the sex education content their children were going receive.

Norma (41, married, heterosexual, mother of six), reported dating boys at a young age and relying on peers for sex information as an adolescent. She explained her lack of sexual

knowledge made it difficult to contemplate these conversations with her own daughter in that she did not have positive information to share with her daughter based on her own experience:

“It is also difficult because when you don’t grow up with that culture it’s difficult to start, it is difficult, you don’t know how, you don’t know where, maybe you don’t have much information other than your experiences, and as I said, I’m not going to tell her about my experiences because I started very young... I already had a boyfriend at 13.” [laughs]

Not all participants in this study experienced intergenerational silence on sexuality. Marta (40, married, heterosexual, mother of 3), reported an experience of open communication with her parents on sex-related topics:

“My mom and dad were always very open, and since a little girl they taught me the parts of my body, what they are called. They explained menstruation to me, about childbirth, about relationships. And on that subject, I did not feel so blocked or so scared...”

Marta reports feeling “grateful” for her parents being “very open-minded.” She explained that as the youngest sibling, she was exposed to sex-related topics in the house via communication with her older siblings and the conversations she witnessed between her parents and siblings. For Marta the open communication with her parent and older siblings increased her comfort level with sex-communication. Her experience served as a model and motivation to openly provide sex-communication with her own kids:

“And I want to give that kind of education with my children, to have a little more communication and, uh, that they have that trust...it is what I have been trying to do with my children since they were little, and I hope it works like in [my] home.”

This passage illustrates an intergenerational cycle of parenting—a cycle Marta applied to her parenting. The impact of family structure in sex-communication is also illustrated, i.e., noting that she learned from both of her parents and older siblings who engaged her in open communication on sex-related topics.

Mothers' Self-Doubts and Discomfort with Sex-Communication

Reflecting on their values and views on sexuality throughout the interview process, mothers commonly expressed self-doubts and discomfort. Julissa (42, single, heterosexual, mother of three), displayed uncertainty in her answer when asked about beliefs in gender roles:

“Interviewer: And do you, uh, believe in the idea of gender roles? Julissa: Ah, what do I think? Interviewer: Uhum, I mean, if-do you think that there are roles for men and women that they must fulfill in the family? Julissa: What do I think, you said? Interviewer: Uhum, yeah, do you believe in that? Julissa: Ah, well, I think not.”

Here, Julissa appeared unsure of both the question asked and her answer to the question. When asked to elaborate, she responded by asking *“Do I have to answer that?”* Julissa also preferred not to answer questions about defining sexuality and declined to answer any questions regarding how she learned about sex. These exchanges showcase internal processes that resemble uncertainty, doubt, and apprehension. Contextual factors are important to note here. Julissa does not have an education beyond elementary and reported minimal sex-communication with her own parents as an adolescent. She explained her parents were *“not very clear,”* about sex-related topics. Julissa wished she would have had more sex-communication with her parents and believed it would have helped prepare her for sex-communication with her own daughters.

Answering with Uncertainty and Insecurity

Other forms of doubt and discomfort were exhibited in the difficulties and uncertainty participants displayed while answering some questions throughout the interview. The most common questions participants demonstrated uncertainty for was on the subject of culture and gender, specifically regarding if and how culture impacted their views of sexuality and views on gender roles. For example, when asked about if and how her culture influenced her point of view about sex, Julissa (42, married, heterosexual, mother of three), responded *“yes,”* yet appeared

confused when asked to explain *how*. She responded by restating the question and explained how she attempted to teach her daughter how to “*protect*” herself in sexual relationships.

Similarly, when Paz (41, married, heterosexual, mother of two) was asked about her thoughts on the gender roles that women versus men should fulfill, she responded “*well, I have no idea about that.*” When asked the same questions, Ariana (33, married, heterosexual, mother of four) responded comparably “*How? [laughs] I didn't understand.*” Marta (40, married, heterosexual, mother of three) confused the term gender roles with gender identity and asked the interviewer: “*Are you referring to the question about the different, ah, ah, sexuality situations?*” Marta’s internal processes resembles uncertainty of sex-related terminology and agency to clarify.

The Straddling of Two Worlds Generates Internal Conflict Concerning Mothers’ Views of Sexuality and Parenting

The straddling of two worlds (i.e., country-of-origin vs host country) generated internal conflict for mothers in their views of sexuality and parenting on sex-related topics. This theme was most salient in the discrepancies observed between participants’ expressed views on gender roles and their reported behaviors. For example, when asked if they believed in gender roles, Gloria (50, a college educated, married, heterosexual, mother of two), giggled and answered, “*yes and no...times are changing, and we need to adapt.*” This passage illustrates an internal conflict between Gloria’s views and behaviors by her apparent acceptance and support of a shift towards egalitarian gender roles, while simultaneously reporting to engage in traditional gender roles:

“...well, I am the woman and I have a role, my husband is the man and he has another role, right?...I have met very successful women who work and the husband is the one who stays at home and they take on the role very well...I think that-that it’s positive if-if it can be done well...and they both agree, I think that’s good.”

Contextual factors (i.e., gender, class) and structural factors (i.e., gender pay gap) may account for some of the discrepancy between her views and behavior. Gloria recognized she was not likely to match her husband's income, despite her work experience and college degree: "*The moment I earn what he earns, then he could stay at home doing what I do, right?*" Nonetheless, Gloria reinforced her sense of agency and autonomy through her choice to stay home: "*if I am here with my kids, it is because that's what I want.*" Gloria explained that her daughters perceived the choice to be a homemaker as an imposed directive from their father to "*not let her work,*" and viewed her participation in traditional gender roles as "*an attack on feminism.*" However, Gloria's apparent rejection of feminism does not align with the demonstration of her autonomy in choosing not to work outside the home and devote herself to raising her daughters. Internal conflict is also illustrated in her mixed messaging to her daughters regarding sex-communication: "*Come and ask me anything that you have, that you want to know. Come and ask me. Here I am to answer it.*" Here, Gloria asserts a view of openness and encourages her daughters to ask her "*anything.*" However, the behavior she described of choosing to not engage in conversation about sexual relationships with her 17-year-old daughter is incongruent:

"...without having finished high school yet...I did not feel that it was the time... you kind of step back and say, 'You know what? I'm not going to touch on this topic right now, because I don't think it's convenient...at least not right now that you're 17, 18, right?'"

Gloria appeared unaware of how open communication about sexuality could prepare her daughter to navigate sex-related topics and experiences. Yet, she acknowledged the importance of sex-communication and reported a desire to have more conversations with her daughters: "*...well I think it's important, very important.*" Here, Gloria is straddling two worlds. She is simultaneously negotiating several ideas, beliefs, and desires, which are not necessarily congruent with each other. She has clear ideas about what is "*right*" (i.e., sex abstinence), yet

wants to educate her daughters about sexuality and believes that sex education is important; just not right now. Despite her belief that sex-communication and education is “*important*,” she reported intentionally using inaccurate terminology for genitalia with her daughter due to concerns that accurate or “*professional*” terms would confuse her:

“...I don't use the right ones...I know they have their own name...it feels ugly... for me it is not normal. So yes...I don't use proper names, [laughs] but, uh, normal words, your chest—I mean, things like that...no, I do not use a vulva...No professional names...Because my - my point, my goal, is for her to understand me...The point is the truth, it is not to confuse with words that maybe they don't know, because my words are going to be in Spanish...I prefer not to confuse them...I try to be clear...especially about these issues, because she's translating.”

Although Gloria's intention is to use terminology that she thought her daughter would understand, when asked about barriers experienced communicating with her daughter, Gloria reported “*no barriers*,” which contradicts the Spanish language barrier previously described.

Views expressed on gendered labor also revealed dissonance in the behaviors for some participants in this study. Lucia (35, single, heterosexual, mother of 13-year-old daughter), expressed egalitarian views on gender roles and stated, “*everyone is the same*.” She reported she did not believe in gender roles yet described ideas of gendered labor when selecting chores for her daughter. Lucia explained she did not assign her “*guy things*,” rather she appointed “*...the typical [chores]...clean, sweep, mop*.” She also explained that as a single mother, she took on the responsibilities of man and woman. As Lucia processed with the interviewer, she became aware of her participation in gender roles: “*...now that you tell me, it's like, I fall into that*,” [laughs]. Lucia's apparent egalitarian beliefs exist alongside behaviors that do not match those beliefs. For example, she has socialized her daughter to “*typical*” gendered chores of cleaning, sweeping and mopping instead of “*guy things*.”

Similarly, other participants reported socializing their daughters into gender roles [seemingly unintentionally] while simultaneously supporting egalitarian views. Veronica (46, college educated, married, heterosexual, mother of 18-year-old female, 16-year-old male) described her attempt to dismantle machismo practices by applying egalitarian practices within her parenting. She explained her rules and communication approach with her kids were not gender specific rather she described them as “*all equal*.” However, she reported assigning certain tasks for her son (i.e., mowing the grass) and reports other tasks for her daughter:

“...serve your brother [food]’ ... I text her if I’m working, ‘Please give your brother the bottle of ice water,’ and she responds, ‘Let him stand up and do it. He has two hands,’ ... these are things that maybe as a mother I want exercise the role of a mom...and there are things that I say, “Yeah, umm...they are going to do it independently.”

The daughter's role ceases to be that of a child as she is held to the expectation of "mothering" her brother. Veronica's desire to "mother" her son results in a projection of that role onto her daughter, against mom's stated belief of gender equality. Veronica is straddling two worlds, one world of traditional gendered role expectations and another world of egalitarian ideas and behaviors where her children will behave independent of gendered expectations.

Patricia (52, married, heterosexual, mother of four) described her experiences parenting her daughter on sexuality in the U.S. From Patricia's point of view “...*the exposure is more here [i.e., U.S.] than there [i.e., Mexico] regarding the risk of sexuality...*” Patricia is caught between two worlds, one world informs her own ideas values on sexuality and parenting, while the world she parents in (i.e., U.S.), contradicts these values: “...*they are going on the sensual side, on the satisfaction side and pleasing your body...*” These seemingly opposing worlds create conflict regarding sexuality and causes concern that her children are “*losing*” their values due to “...*the over saturation of [sex-]information,*” and the American belief that “*everything is normal.*”

Mothers' Apprehension Towards New Perspectives on Gender and Sexuality

Arianna (33, married, heterosexual, mother of four), appeared to struggle with ideas about her daughter's gender expression. Regarding her thoughts if her daughter was prepared to navigate sexual encounters Ariana replied: *"I do not think so, because she is bashful too... This one is more bashful and machetona [i.e. tomboy]. She turned out to be the most machetona of all [my children]."* It appears that Arianna's perception of her daughter as a tomboy or *"machetona,"* plays a role in her perception of her daughter's interest or readiness for sexual encounters. Arianna also discussed her daughter's dream of going into the Navy. She confessed her wish for her daughter not to enlist in the Navy but wanted to remain supportive of her daughter's dreams. She also shared a desire for her daughter to have a family with kids—a heteronormative expectation. When asked a similar question on Ariana's thoughts of her daughter's preparedness to navigate *desired* or *undesired* sexual encounters, a different response was yielded. In her new response, Ariana explained that she *does* think her daughter is prepared due to a time she witnessed her daughter set boundaries with a male peer who she did not allow to kiss her. This example reveals [possibly subconscious] expectations of her daughter's sexual identity and sexual expression which mom uses to assess preparedness to navigate sexual encounters.

Patricia (52, married, heterosexual, masters' degree, fluent in Spanish and English, mother of four) demonstrated apprehension of her children deviating from heteronormativity due to religious influence: *"... one of my big concerns is, right now with so much, ahm, homosexuality, that you no longer know if you are a man or a woman."*

Fears of Sexual Violence Shape How Mothers' Parent and Communicate with Daughters

Common concerns participants expressed were fears about the possibility of sexual abuse of their daughters. These fears were largely revealed in disapproval of sleep overs. Patricia (52, married, heterosexual, mother of four) described her disapproval of sleepovers as protective:

“Precisely because of the sexual area, because we don't know, uh, what our children are going to be exposed to...you don't know if there is going to be an adult where my children are going to be in danger...it's to protect them around the ah, sexual area, definitely.”

Similarly, Norma (41, married, heterosexual, mother of six) shared “...my daughters have never been to a sleepover.” Norma explained that some of her Mexican friends allow sleepovers but that she and her husband had difference preferences: “...let everyone who wants to come here, because here I have no problem, I am taking care of them here.”

Other participants had different ideas about sexual abuse prevention. For example, Beatriz (43, married, heterosexual, mother of four), described educating her children with accurate terminology to describe body parts “...so that they do not get confused... also prevent sexual harassment or abuse.” For many participants, the threat of sexual abuse was a serious concern to protect their children against. Although the protective parenting practices exhibited varied across participants, they all appeared motivated by the same fear.

Discussion

The pursuit to explore U.S. immigrant Latina mothers' views on sexuality and sexuality parenting yielded data that reveal their ideas on sexual scripts highlighted participants' internal or *intrapsychic processes* (i.e., insight, stream of associations, memories, cognition and affect) (Bolognini, 2004). Sexual scripts help individuals understand and shape sexual interactions through the use of organized cognitive schemas or scripts, and interact at three different levels: cultural, interpersonal, and intrapsychic (Simon & Gagnon 1986, 2003). Therefore, our

qualitative analysis for this study was guided by sexual scripting theory to provide more in-depth analysis of the intrapsychic processes mothers experience, including the sexual scripts they hold, and how that informed their views of sexuality and sexuality parenting with their adolescent daughters. These intrapsychic processes are displayed in the 1) challenges associated with their immigrant identity, 2) intergenerational experiences and how it shaped their views on parenting and sexuality, 3) self-doubt and discomfort with sex-communication, and 4) internal conflicts concerning views of sexuality and parenting generated by their straddling of two worlds.

Challenges of the Immigrant Identity

Immigrating to a new country posed unique challenges for study participants. Mothers described varying impacts that the immigrant identity had on them individually. Hardships ranged from difficulties obtaining a job, identity reformation, loss of extended family, language barriers, threat of deportation and psychological distress. Adversaries are amplified for many undocumented immigrants, including poverty, lack of access to needed services such as health care, and fear of deportation create ongoing stressful conditions that are emotional and physically taxing (Martinez Tyson, Arriola, & Corvin, 2016; Perez & Fortuna, 2011). These adversities, in addition to reports of emotional and physical trauma via migration process, racial discrimination, unconventional work hours, limited transportation options, have been widely reported by U.S. Latinos immigrants (CDC, 2018; Knox, Guerra & Toro, 2011; Leidy, Guerra, & Toro, 2010; Philbin et al., 2018). Although participants did not overtly tie these hardships to their views on sexuality and parenting, their stories contextualize the often emotional and physically taxing conditions in which they parent and approach sex-communication with their daughters.

The discrimination participants experienced due to their immigrant identity, negatively impacted some participants' ability to secure jobs, advance in their careers, and inevitably forced

mothers to reform their identity. Despite having sufficient training, education and experience, mothers found their credentials were non-transferrable or unacceptable in the U.S. These rejections are discriminatory and illustrate one of many, structural barriers that help maintain social and economic divisions (i.e., gender and financial inequalities) for these populations. For some mothers, these barriers led to an increased dependence on their spouses (if partnered) and led to increased independence for other participants. These social, racial, and economic divisions have negative implications on the quality of life and wellbeing of immigrant Latinos (Garcini et al., 2018; Molina et al., 2019), and have been tied to sexual and reproductive health disparities in Mexican origin women (Coleman-Minahan, 2017). While it is unclear from the data how these challenges directly affected the parenting of our participants, there are challenges of immigration that can get in the way of effective parenting.

It is important to note the migration and immigration experience was unique for each family. For some families, immigration was not a traumatic experience, as other protective factors (i.e., access to Latinx community, support systems, socioeconomic status) buffered the impact of the experience. Nonetheless, the study participants collectively agreed that immigrating to a country different from their native land was a difficult experience and presented both similar and unique challenges for each of them.

Intergenerational Experiences Shape Mothers' Views on Sexuality, Self-Doubts, and Discomfort with Sex-Communication

The intergenerational experiences reported help contextualize some of factors that shape immigrant mothers of Mexican-origin views of sexuality and parenting. Consistent with previous findings, our study revealed limited sex-communication throughout their adolescence and informal sex education received, often led mothers to rely on personal experiences, friends, or

schools for sex-related information (e.g., Moncloa, Wilkinson-Lee, & Russell, 2010; Rojas-Guyler & King, 2007; Villar, & Concha, 2012). Some negative impacts of their intergenerational experiences included sex-misinformation, a limited understanding of sexual development and fears and confusion about sexuality. These experiences carried into adulthood and appeared to lead to mothers' insecurities and a lack of preparedness to engage in sex-communication with their daughter(s).

Participants' self-doubt and uncertainty can be observed via their *intrapsychic processes* (i.e., insights, stream of associations, memories, cognitions, affect) and the dissonance, or psychological discomfort (Elliot & Devine, 1994; Festinger, 1957; Harmon-Jones, & Mills, 2019) participants displayed throughout the study. These processes were observed in various behaviors when reflecting on their values and views on sexuality during the interview process. The behaviors appeared to resemble discomfort, doubts in knowledge, insecurity, humor (e.g., laughing), validation seeking, fear, hesitancy, difficulties answering questions and dissonance expressed. Uncertainty across participants often presented when participants checked-in with the interviewer for reassurance with expressions such as "*I am not sure if this is right...*" or "*...I am not sure if you understand me.*" The doubts and discomfort reflected may be attributed to participants' intergenerational experiences of sexual silence and misinformation and lack of experience with sex-communication in general. Given that mothers are often the primary care takers, transmitter of values, and sex socializer of their children (Hossain, Lee, S., & Martin-Cuellar, 2015; Kincaid, Jones, Sterrett, & McKee, 2012; Updegraff, Delgado, & Wheeler, 2009), the intergenerational silence on sexuality is critical to note and consider in future research.

Misinformation, dated assumptions, stereotypes and inaccurate medical information are often embedded in abstinence only curricula (Fields, 2008), which contribute to larger societal

problems including sexism and heterosexism in the general population (Hoefer & Hoefer, 2017). These societal problems—inclusive but not exclusive to Latinas—are sustained by patriarchy and make it difficult for adolescents to engage in safe, consenting, and healthy intimacy even into adulthood (Hoefer & Hoefer, 2017). Understanding the potential for these difficulties to lead into adulthood, creates a context for the difficulties Mexican immigrant mothers may experience when engaging in sex-communication with their adolescent daughters, particularly if mothers' sex education was nonexistent, or based in heteronormative and abstinence only messaging. As supported by this study, parenting practices are often informed by ways in which individuals were parented (whether conscious or unconscious). For example, intergenerational silence and sex-misinformation shaped mothers' ideas about broaching sex-communication with their adolescent daughters and served as motivation for many participants to break the cycle of intergenerational silence. Thus, effective sex-communication and education efforts should move towards trauma informed approaches that consider parent's own experiences with sex education and be mindful of potentially traumatic sex-related experiences (i.e., sexual assault, unintended pregnancy, contraction of STIs, etc.).

The Straddling of Two Worlds Generates Internal Conflict Concerning Mothers' Views of Sexuality and Parenting

Mothers' negotiation or straddling of two worlds (i.e., country of origin vs host country) presented in form of incongruencies of values and behaviors, i.e., dissonance. Dissonance in parenting has been observed and reported in families globally (Bornstein, 1996). The display of dissonance reflects a phenomenon of discrepancies in cognitions regularly experienced by people and can display as psychological discomfort (Elliot & Devine, 1994; Festinger, 1957; Harmon-Jones, & Mills, 2019). Dissonance and psychological discomfort illustrate the internal conflict

mothers experienced with regards to their views on sexuality and parenting on sexuality. This theme was most notable in the incongruencies observed between mothers' expressed values on sexuality and the reported behaviors in parenting and sex-communication with their daughters.

Many mothers in this study reported misinformation, limited information, or an absence of information on a sex-related topic. Thus, it is reasonable that a lack of information or experience with sex-communication would result in the participants displays of various intrapsychic processes (i.e., insight, stream of associations, memories, cognitions, and affect; Bolognini, 2004) throughout the study including hesitancy, ambivalence, confusion, etc. This gives context to the dissonance manifested as lack of preparation or confidence about sex communication, some of these participants displayed. These areas of dissonance are insightful, as they demonstrate mothers' desires to educate their children while also highlighting structural and contextual barriers, they may not be aware of including but not limited to patriarchy, internalized heteronormative gendered norms, structural inequalities, socioeconomic disparities, and limited sexual knowledge. The theme of dissonance also reflects other research that highlights discrepancies in parent vs adolescent reporting. In one study, researchers found that mothers reported having open and fluid sex-communication with their adolescent whereas their adolescent reported an absence of sex-communication (Moncloa, Wilkinson-Lee, & Russell, 2010). As such, mothers may believe they are actively communicating with their daughter(s), but their daughter may have a different perspective. This reflects the value in understanding the dyadic experience (i.e., mother *and* daughter) and showcases the varying perspectives (i.e., communicator vs the receiver) that can take place during sex-communication.

Mothers' Apprehensions Towards New Perspectives on Gender and Sexuality

Overall, many participants appeared to struggle to understand and answer questions regarding gender roles. Many participants displayed dissonance, or inconsistencies, in their views when reporting on gender roles. Mothers in this study shared ambivalence for the potential of having non-heterosexual children. The ambivalence ranged from a lack of understanding, to cultural stigma, and religion-imposed expectations, which likely stemmed from their own mothers' sexual scripts. For example, Patricia, a married mother of four, who holds a master's degree, is fluent in both Spanish and English, and reported a higher socioeconomic status than the majority of participants in the study described fear that deviation from heteronormative would impede her daughter's salvation. The contextual factors are important here, as without the identified demographics, Patricia's beliefs may be minimized to a lack of education or resources. However, this demonstrates that even with more accessible resources by nature of their higher SES and educational attainment, people can still hold conservative values. This helps underscore the importance of recognizing the intersectionality among all participants and demonstrates how values and beliefs can and will vary greatly among even this seemingly homogenous sample (i.e., immigrant, heterosexual, mothers of Mexican origin with adolescent daughters).

While recent interventions have begun to slowly integrate more inclusive and diverse perspectives on gender and sexuality (e.g., Flores et al., 2021; Hobaica, Alman, Jackowich, & Kwon, 2018), interventions for Mexican origin populations are lacking in non-heteronormative sexuality education. One study on lesbian, bisexual and queer Latinas found that the majority of sex-knowledge participants received were largely heteronormative, leaving them with limited information on how to engage in safe sex practices in same sex relationship (Santos, Williams, Rodriguez, & Ornelas, 2017). A meta-analysis of sexual health programs for Latinx Adolescents,

revealed of the 12 studies reviewed, none included content on non-heteronormative sexuality (Evans et al., 2020) which showcases a gap in the literature. The current study revealed that mothers are impacted by this gap in queer sex-knowledge as demonstrated in their apprehension on about gender and sexual diversity. The lack of knowledge on gender diversity and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and/or queer (LGBTQ+) related topics generated some level of discomfort for mothers. Our findings corroborate previous research that identify parents' discomfort as a barriers to effective sex-communication with their children, particularly if they are LGBTQ+ identified (Malacane & Beckmeyer, 2016; Newcomb et al., 2018). This could be due to various factors including lack of education, lack of exposure or religious influence. Researchers, interventionists, family therapist and other helping professionals should be aware that mothers may have unexplored biases or fears that play a role in their understanding and views of non-heteronormative sexuality. This gap in knowledge can make navigating LGBTQ+ topics with daughters challenging. Our findings highlight the need to integrate more inclusive and diverse perspectives on gender and sexuality in parent-based sex-education for Latinos. The reoccurrence of this theme observed within this small sample suggests sexual health promotion efforts geared toward Mexican-origin families should consider integrating LGBTQ+ topics in the content delivered.

Fears of Sexual Violence Shape How Mothers Parent and Communicate with Daughters

The fears surrounding sexual violence appeared to be rooted in the intergenerational silence participants in the study reported and traumatic experiences throughout their own sexual development. While trauma-informed¹⁶ sex-education programing is on the rise, trauma

¹⁶ Trauma informed refers to securing "...the necessary resources, partnerships, and agencies to circumvent the effects of trauma. It means being woke to issues of trauma, knowing how to appropriately respond to and for individuals and traumatic events or occurrences." (Hurd, Brinegar, & Harrison, 2019, p. 2)

informed curricula primarily focus on the recipient of the education (i.e., the child) (e.g., Broussard, Eitmann, & Shervington, 2019; Fava, & Bay-Cheng, 2013; Martin, Ashley, White, Axelson, Clark, & Burrus, 2017), instead of focusing on the person educating the child (i.e., mom/parent). Studies suggest Latinas do not often receive comprehensive sex education and instead rely on personal experiences, school, friends, or media for information about sexuality (Rojas-Guyler & King, 2007; Villar, & Concha, 2012; Moncloa, Wilkinson-Lee, & Russell, 2010). Limited sex education and knowledge poses a barrier to broaching these topics with daughters (Hernandez, Zule, Karg, Browne, & Wechsberg, 2012). Although mothers in this study recognized the importance of sex-communication with their daughters' insecurities about their sexual knowledge appeared to pose as a barrier for some participants. These barriers are likely complicated if mother's own lack of sex education is coupled with negative experiences or unaddressed trauma (e.g., sexual abuse, unintended pregnancy due to lack of reproduction knowledge), creating added difficulty to engage in sex-communication.

Limitations

There are strengths and limitations to this study design. Only mothers volunteered to participate in the study. As a result, study findings contribute to the gap in the literature of Mexican fathers' sex-communication with daughters. We also chose to focus on the relationship between mother and daughter instead of son. There was likely a selection bias—namely, those participants who are interested in the topic of parent-adolescent sex communication were more prone to select into the study. Even with this selection bias, we learned meaningful information about Mexican immigrant mothers, their unique experiences raising daughters in the U.S. and their needs for enhancing sex communication with their adolescent(s). The study sample yielded valuable insights into mother-daughter sex communication of an important subgroup: *immigrant*

mothers of Mexican-origin. Meaningful information about their unique experiences raising daughters in the U.S. and how factors including heteronormative gender roles, family structure, lived experiences (i.e., trauma, migration), oppression, and culture inform their communication (or lack of) regarding sex with their adolescent(s) were learned. We also learned parental needs for engagement in communication about sexuality with their adolescent daughters.

Although the original aim was to target both mothers and fathers, a limitation of the study was that only no fathers responded to recruitment. Historically, Latino fathers have been underrepresented in parenting and sex-communication research. Given that data was collected during COVID-19 global pandemic shut down, researchers had to readjust recruitment strategies and recruited via online platforms (i.e., Facebook, Instagram, and email). Given that the participants in this study reported new exposures to technology i.e., zoom, it is possible mothers were more active on these online platforms and therefore more likely to be exposed to recruitment material than fathers. Many mothers in this study were married and self-reported throughout the interviews that their husbands were the primary breadwinners. Thus, long and unconventional workhours may have made it more difficult or less appealing for fathers to participant in this study. However, we did not collect information on participant's current employment status so we cannot make direct conclusions. Also, because snowball sampling was a primary way of recruitment, it is possible mothers felt more comfortable discussing and recommending this study to other women instead of men. Lastly, it is possible that gender mismatching between researcher and participant played a role in fathers' participation or interest in this study.

Implications for Family Therapy and Future Research

Latinos are often exposed to contextual stressors and health disparities (Rodriguez, et al., 2011; Guerra & Knox, 2008), which may hinder parental engagement in the formal sex-communication with their own children. Some Latinos may even evade treatment, counseling, or medical testing due to fear of discrimination, stigma, or their immigration status (CDC, 2018). However, evidenced based parenting programs have effectively overcome some of these barriers and demonstrated efficacious outcomes with both Spanish-speaking and English-speaking Latino communities (e.g., Domenech Rodríguez, Baumann, & Schwartz, 2011; Parra Cardona et al., 2012; Parra Cardona et al., 2015). The study findings demonstrate that immigrant Latina mothers want to discuss sex-related topics with their adolescents but may lack the necessary knowledge or communication skills to do so. Interventionists, including marriage and family therapists can integrate these findings in their work with Latino immigrant families to help strengthen parents' communication skills and facilitate sex-communication between parent and child. Given the diversity among Latinos, interventionists and family therapists should acknowledge and account for the intersectionality and positionality unique to each family.

Parent-based sex-education should not only be aimed at protecting and empowering young Latinas, but would also benefit from operating from a trauma-informed lens. Trauma refers to conditions or events that are “*experienced by an individual as physically or emotionally harmful or life-threatening and that has lasting adverse effects on the individual’s functioning and mental, physical, social, emotional, or spiritual well-being.*” (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration [SAMHSA], 2014, p. 7). Family therapists working towards sexual health promotion efforts in Latino families should consider the varying experiences (i.e., sexual trauma, intergenerational silence) and sexual knowledge mothers have and how that plays

a role in their parenting of their children. A trauma informed practice could normalize the experience many parents may have had (i.e., a lack of sex education). When parents laugh, trauma informed practices would encourage family therapists to become curious about what the laughter means, by normalizing the laughter and modeling or role-playing scenarios for parents to practice sex-communication. Recognizing the moments of uneasiness can be normalized and could also be connected to experiences of trauma. Trauma informed approaches should also solicit parents' input for desired sex education content—input that will likely vary by family.

Interventions and family therapy practices should also apply an intersectional approach which critically examines and acknowledge the role of culture, as the intersection of race, class, region, and religion—among other social divisions. The organizing feature of gender should also be considered, yet interventions should not constrict itself to traditional gender norms as this study suggests parents may have more egalitarian views that previously suggested in the literature. This can both enable and support a mother's own agency and help diminish the dissonance or psychological discomfort observed. Per the data revealed in this study, I propose that mothers would benefit from participating in their own seminars of comprehensive sex education, particularly in like-minded communities (i.e., similar language, SES, neighborhoods, cultural/racial ethnicity, religious affiliation). More conversation and inquiry about sexual pleasure and desire may yield useful information that can support tailored interventions that introduce these concepts in culturally relevant ways.

The growing globalization of gender equality values (Cense & Bay-Cheng, 2018) highlights the dated ideology of “traditional” Latino gendered roles of machismo and marianismo. It may also account for the dissonance observed between reported views and behaviors related to gender roles. Machismo and marianismo are academic terms (Hussain,

Leija, Lewis & Sanchez, 2015) that have often been used to depict problematic power dynamics. Thus, the lay person is likely unaware of the definition. Therapists are encouraged to recognize machismo and marianismo as historical concepts that illustrate origins of traditional gender roles. Although traditional gender role attitudes are considered a significant cultural value in Latino families (Cauce & Domenech-Rodriguez, 2002; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007), machismo and marianismo are dated terms. They illustrate heteronormative gender and sexual scripts (or norms that dictate behavior) that may not accurately reflect the way gender plays out in modern day immigrant Mexican families. Given that ideologies of machismo and marianismo are dated, these roles run the risk of depicting harmful stereotypes and therefore it is important to understand the patriarchal and heteronormative ideological concepts in which these roles are embedded in. Given a national culture shift towards establishing more gender equality and sexual rights, Latino youth have more exposure to these dominant values (Cense & Bay-Cheng, 2018). This societal shift emphasizes the dated ideology of “traditional” Latino gendered roles and calls into question the extent these values play a role in mother-daughter sex communication in immigrant Latino families at present day. However, therapists should refrain from assumptions that all Latino families operate under these roles. Family therapists could help facilitate discussion regarding gender roles and expectations. Helping families explore their biases and dismantling misinformation may be helpful for assisting mothers in exploring conflicts they experience from their more conservative upbringing while raising daughters in a more liberal and sexualized society (i.e., U.S.).

Data from this study supports a shift away from traditional gender roles such that mothers expressed acceptance of egalitarian gender roles. Many mothers rejected ideas of machismo and reported applying egalitarian views within her parenting such that chores and communication

amongst their children were not gender specific, rather “equal.” Despite support and acceptance of egalitarian views, mothers often reported inadvertently socializing their daughters into gender roles. These discrepancies may be a result of generational status, as previous research suggest content of messaging from mothers to daughters vary across generational status (e.g., Raffaelli & Ontai, 2001; Deutsch & Crockett, 2016). Despite discrepancies, the intention for their daughters to be independent, financially stable and pursue higher education reveals a more actualized understanding of Latina femininity that is perhaps more fluid than the literature represents. This also suggests *marianismo* and *machismo* are dated terms that may not accurately reflect gendered roles in modern day U.S. Latinos.

This study aimed to reduce the homogenization of Latinas and attempted to recognize the intersectionality and heterogeneity of these women. As such, the study narrowed its focus specifically on immigrant mothers of Mexican origin who were raising adolescent daughters in the US. Thus, this study is not intended to provide generality, but rather to amplify the voice and complex nature of this specific group of women. Consistently, these data shows diversity even among a seemingly homogenous sample (e.g., immigrant heterosexual cis-gendered mothers of adolescent daughters living in the U.S.). While not dismissing the role and influence of ethnic-racial culture, culture unique to the familial unit may play a more nuanced role in the difference observed between families. Therefore, interventionist, researchers, family therapists and other related professionals are cautioned against grouping Latinos families as a homogenous group. Calls for more tailored approaches to family-based sex-education effort are needed such that consideration of generational status, family structure, time in the U.S., socioeconomic status, religious influences, sexual orientation, etc. are acknowledged and interventions adapted accordingly

CHAPTER 5: STUDY 2

“Oh, Mami ...That’s How They Do It, But in Mexico, Not Here...”: Mexican Immigrant Mothers’ Reported Processes of Sex-Communication with Their Adolescent Daughters

Statement of the Problem

Latino youth report a high prevalence of having had sex at an early age, lower rates of condom use, and more sexual partners, compared to their White non-Latino counterparts (Center for Disease and Control Prevention [CDC], 2018b). Compared to their White counterparts, Young Latinas are disproportionately affected by early sexual debut, teen pregnancy, sexually transmitted infections (STI), and human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) infection (CDC, 2018a; 2018b; 2020; The National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy, 2016; Jackson, 2013). These sexual health risks suggest limitations in our understanding of sexual behavior among young Latinas. This points to a significant area of research, as Latinas are the fastest growing female population in the U.S. (Jackson, 2013; Kost & Henshaw, 2014).

As primary socializing agents, parents are a critical conduit in the transmission of sexual socialization and sex-education of young Latinas (Wisnieski, Sieving, & Garwick, 2015; Maccoby, 2007). Mothers have been identified as a primary influence on their children’s sexual behaviors and attitudes, particularly within Latino families (e.g., Wisnieski et al., 2015; Sanchez, Whittaker, & Crosnoe, 2020). Mothers’ role as the primary transmitter of values, and ethnic-racial and sex socializer of their children (Hossain, Lee, & Martin-Cuellar, 2015, Kincaid, Jones, Sterrett, & McKee, 2012; Updegraff, Delgado, & Wheeler, 2009), highlights the value of their involvement in the sex education of young Latinas.

An increase in parental sex-communication is associated with a delay in sexual activity, particularly for young women between ages 12 and 21 (Lantos et al., 2019). This points to the

critical role of parental sex-communication during adolescent years. U.S. Latinas likely encounter unique challenges that can influence components of sexual development, as their socialization comprises messaging from at least two (or more) cultures with contradictory ideologies (e.g., mainstream American culture promoting sexual liberation vs. traditional Latino cultural endorsing sexual purity; Hussian et al., 2015). It is possible these challenges are more salient in young Latinas of immigrant mothers, given that their ideologies and sexual socialization will likely be informed by both American and Latino perspectives. Learning about how immigrant Latina mothers transmit their values and beliefs regarding sexuality to their adolescent daughters and exploring the factors that play a role in their processes of sex-communication is critical for understanding how to best support parent-based sex-education of immigrant Latino families.

The literature on sexuality has often reported on Latinos as an undifferentiated homogeneous group (e.g., Benavides, Bonazzo, & Torres, 2006; Estrada et al., 2015; Marin, 2003; Trejos-Castillo & Vazsonyi, 2009). However, sexual behaviors vary between foreign and U.S. born adolescents and by country of origin (Lee & Hahm, 2010). The content of messaging that mothers deliver to daughters have also been reported to vary across generational status (e.g., Deutsch & Crockett, 2016; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2001), therefore, accounting for intersectionality (i.e., gender, race, class, generational status) is critical in the study of Latina sexuality. As such, the present study focused specifically on *immigrant* mothers of Mexican descent and explored their reported processes of sex-communication with their adolescent daughters.

Sex-Communication and Socialization in Latino Families

Parental communication is associated with the development of sexual agency in adolescents giving them the ability to make sexual decisions and act on sexual feelings and

desires (Tolman et al., 2015). Sexual agency is an integral component for the development and maintenance of sexual health (Anderson 2013; Klein, Becker, & Stulhofer, 2018). Sexual socialization, or the development of sexual beliefs, attitudes, norms, and behavior, are shaped by socializing agents, with parents being a key socializing group (Maccoby, 2007; Vandebosch, 2018). As primary socializing agents, directives parents give to their child(ren), and their transmission of beliefs, values, culture, and tradition shape the guidelines of what is deemed as acceptable and normative sexual behavior (Maccoby, 2007). These guidelines or sexual scripts, reinforce gendered expectations of sexual processes (Gagnon, 1990) including sexual morals.

Sexual morals in Latino culture, tend to be informed by traditional gender scripts, and can be observed in how parents socialize their daughters differently from their sons (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). These scripts refer to *marianismo* (i.e., demonstration of femininity as chaste, modest, and self-sacrificing), and *machismo* (e.g., demonstration of manliness as strong, aggressive, and virile) (Hernandez et al., 2012)—which is linked to male power in sexual decision making (Villarruel, 1998). Cultural beliefs on sexuality that lead to embarrassment and fears of being disrespectful are also linked to parent-child socialization and sex-communication processes (Givaudan, Pick, Alvarez Izazaga, & Collado, 1994; CDC, 2018; Hernandez, et al., 2012; Moncloa, Wilkinson-Lee, & Russell, 2010). Given that mothers are primary socializing agents in Latino families, understanding how they transmit their beliefs and values on sexuality and sexual scripts to their adolescent daughters can be helpful to identify potentially problematic assumptions that negatively impact parent-adolescent sex-communication in these families.

Cultural Values and Latina Sexuality

Adherence to cultural values including *familismo* (i.e., importance of family as the centrality of life), *respeto* (i.e., respect, emphasizes reverence towards elders), *machismo* and

marianismo are associated with parental sex-communication in Latino families (Benavides, Bonazzo, & Torres, 2006; Estrada et al., 2015; Hernandez et al., 2012; Lescano, Brown, Raffaelli, & Lima, 2009; Stauss, Murphy-Erby, Boyas, & Bivens, 2011; Trejos-Castillo & Vazsonyi, 2009). For young Latinas, compliance to cultural values is associated with a risk of negative sexual outcomes including STIs, teenage pregnancy, and HIV (e.g., Center for Disease Control, 2018; Hernandez et al., 2012; Schwartz, et al., 2011).

The significance of Latino cultural values related to young Latina's sex behavior is mixed. Villarruel and colleagues (2007) found Latina adolescents' condom use was positively predicted by religiosity above and beyond other cultural factors. That is, other than religiosity, no other cultural variables—including gender roles and familismo—had a direct or indirect association with condom use (Villarruel et al., 2007). However, other studies have reported that adherence to marianismo hinders heterosexual Latinas from advocating for their sexual safety (e.g., insisting male partners to use condoms) (Cianelli, Ferrer, & McElmurry 2008; Cianelli, Ferrer, & McElmurry, 2015; Hernandez et al., 2012).

Failing to account for intersectionality i.e., the differences between race, class, gender, and generational status may account for mixed findings. Generational status and time spent in the U.S. may also account for variation in the association between sexual behavior and acculturation. Research shows that compared to U.S. born individuals, recent immigrants are more likely to endorse cultural values including familismo (Gonzales et al., 2008) and traditional gender roles (i.e., machismo and marianismo) (Hernandez, Zule, Karg, Browne, & Wechsberg, 2012; McCullough Cosgrove et al., 2018), and are more likely to adhere to sexual morals of their heritage culture (Villarruel, 1998). Later generations however, may embrace more gender-egalitarian sexual attitudes and be more prone to engage in premarital sex (Detush & Crockett,

2017). Youths' exposure to the growing globalization of gender equality values (Cense & Bay-Cheng, 2018) may also help explain the acceptance of more gender-egalitarian attitudes. Collectively, these studies highlight the significance of generational status in the study of Latina sexuality.

Acculturation and Latina Sexuality

Acculturation, or the adoption of cultural norms of the mainstream community (Harvey et al., 2006) is arguably one of the most important factors associated with risky sexual behaviors and outcomes among young Latinas (Jimenez, Potts, Jimenez, 2002; Lee & Hahm, 2010; Sabogal, Perez-Stable, Otero-Sabogal, & Hiatt, 1995). Given that acculturated youth adopt the sexual morals of mainstream youth, acculturation may be positively related to sexual risk (Deutch & Crockett, 2016). However, research connecting acculturation and sexual activity in Latino youth has yielded mixed findings, and some scholars have questioned its utility in understanding risk-factors in sex research (McCullough Cosgrove et al., 2018). Killoren and Deutch (2016) found that immigrant (i.e., foreign-born) youth reported lower sexual risk compared to U.S. born youth. This is consistent with systemic reviews and meta-analysis which have found Latinas who were more acculturated to U.S. have higher reports of risky sexual behaviors (i.e., multiple partnerships, early sexual initiation, and inconsistent condom use) compared to their less acculturated counterparts (Du & Xiaoming 2015). However, a longitudinal study found Latinas (ages 11–20), who were foreign-born and spoke English at home, were less likely to use condoms and more likely to have had four or more lifetime partners, compared to U.S. born and foreign born Latinas who spoke Spanish at home (Lee & Hahm, 2010). A more recent study reported associations between nativity status (i.e., foreign born vs U.S. born) to the content of parental sex-education adolescents received (Espinoza, 2019). In their study, Espinoza

(2019) found U.S. born Latinas were more likely to receive sex-education on HIV from their parents compared to Foreign born Latinas (Espinoza, 2019). Outcomes associated with acculturation are also complicated by gender. Less acculturated Latino/a boys are more likely to have sex compared to girls, and the difference is smaller among more acculturated youth (Upchurch, Aneshensel, Mudgal, & McNeely, 2001). Variation of acculturation measures use may account for the inconsistent finding in the literature (Du and Xiaoming, 2015).

The complexity of Latina sexuality is complicated by the intersection of class, culture, and associated acculturation processes (Moncloa, Wilkinson-Lee & Russell, 2010) and other factors may also be playing a role, including mothers experiences and exposure to sex-knowledge. In their study, Alcalde and Quelopana (2013) found that mothers' experiences of intergenerational silence on sexuality made it difficult for them to engage in sex-communication with their children. In their study, Gilliam et al., (2007) found that young Latinas tend to receive sex-communication from their mothers only when they openly inquired about sex. Scholars suggest parents who share similar cultural practices and their adolescents may experience an easier time talking to their child(ren) about sex-related topics (Tsai et al., 2017).

Processes of Parent-Adolescent Sex-Communication

Positive parent-adolescent communication is protective against risky sexual behaviors. The occurrence and frequency of parent-adolescent sex-communication has been linked to the number of adolescents' sexual partners, contraception/condom use, and sexual debut (Harris, Sutherland, & Hutchinson, 2013; Hyde et al., 2013; Lantos et al., 2019; Padilla-Walker, 2018; Widman, Choukas-Bradley, Noar, Nesi, & Garrett, 2016). Parental monitoring and tracking of their adolescents' whereabouts, parental warmth, parents' responsiveness (i.e., use of reasoning to guide their adolescents' behavior and ability to meet their adolescents' questions and

perspectives with openness and understanding) during sex discussions are related to decreased risk-taking behaviors in Latino adolescents (Espinosa-Hernández et al., 2017; Fasula & Miller, 2006; Kincaid et al., 2012). Latino parents' low engagement in sex-communication with their adolescents (Alcalde & Quelopana, 2013), leaves young Latinas vulnerable to negative sexual outcomes.

Gender has consistently been observed to shape the way in which Latino parents communicate with their child(ren) (e.g., Estrada-Martínez, Grossman & Richer, 2021; Deutsch & Crockett, 2016, Mango et al., 2015). Mexican immigrant families tend to have stricter rules for dating and engage in more supervision for daughters than sons (Ayala, 2006; Foner, 2009)—these practices have the potential to reduce the risk of early sexual initiation for young Latinas (Coleman-Minahan, 2017). Regarding parental sex-communication, young Latinas are exposed to more traditional, gendered messages that encourage abstinence, emphasize morality, and sexual refusal with minimal guidance and instruction from parents; whereas Latino boys tend to experience more discussion about safe sex practices and do not face the same judgment for engagement in sexual activity compared to girls (Estrada-Martínez, Grossman, & Richer, 2021; Killoren & Deutsch, 2014; Kuhle et al. 2015; Murphy-Erby et al. 2011).

Mothers' relationships with their children have different impacts based on gender (e.g., Kincaid, Jones, Sterrett, & McKee, 2012; Updegraff, Delgado, & Wheeler, 2009). For example, mothers' relationships with daughters have been found to be more influential on their daughters' health outcomes compared to sons. Mothers also engage in sex-communication with their children more frequently compared to fathers and are more likely to talk with their daughters than their sons (McHale et al., 2005; Valenzuela, 1999; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). These findings highlight the unique role mothers play in shaping daughters' sexual behaviors and

beliefs, and point to the complex associations among parenting processes, nativity status, gender, and sexual risks for Latina adolescents (Killoren & Deutsch, 2014).

Immigrant Latino Families

The immigrant experience of many Latino families presents a unique set of stressors that impede optimal functioning in society including effective parent-adolescent sex-communication. Educational barriers including inaccurate sexual health knowledge can hinder sex-communication between parents and their child(ren) (Hernandez, Zule, Karg, Browne, & Wechsberg, 2012). Immigrants encounter difficulties including limited opportunities for full-time or year-round employment, limited English proficiency, clashes in culture, low levels of education, gaps in acculturation, limited or no access to health insurance, and often poverty (Birman, 2006; Hernandez, Denton, & Macartney, 2007; Luque et al., 2015). Immigrant Latinos are often faced with adverse effects both via the migration process and as they adapt to a new host culture including racial discrimination, language adjustment, unconventional work hours, and limited transportation options (Hernandez, Zule, Karg, Browne, & Wechsberg, 2012; Marin & Gomez, 1997; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). Hardships are compounded for undocumented folks who are faced with the threat of deportation, and structural racism (Harrigan et al., 2017; Philbin et al., 2018).

The drastic immigration enforcement practices and recent surge of anti-immigration sentiment in the U.S., have resulted in a significant disruption of parenting practices, long-lasting states of emotional distress, and have had adverse consequences on the overall well-being of immigrant Latinos (Cardoso, Scott, Faulkner, & Lane, 2018; Parra-Cardona, 2019). These varying intersecting realities provide context for variations in immigrant Latinos families and the challenges they face. Thus, sex-communication research on this population should reflect the

intricacies of the Latino experience (Murphy-Erby, Stauss, Boyas, & Bivens, 2011). This includes consideration of environmental, cultural, political factors and other contextual factors faced by this population. Understanding how the immigrant experience plays a role on parenting socialization practices and processes of sex-communication with their adolescent daughters is important for supporting parenting-based sex-education in immigrant Latino families.

Guiding Theories

Application of intersectionality (Collins & Bilge, 2016; Crenshaw, 1991) and sexual scripting theory (Gagnon & Simon 1973; Gagnon, 1990) guided an analytical framework for the present study. Application of intersectionality, i.e., highlighting the intersecting identities and other overlapping social divisions for this population (Collins & Bilge 2016; Crenshaw, 1991), was essential for investigating and describing the unique experiences immigrant Latina mothers face in their processes of sex-communication with their adolescent daughters. Sexual scripting theory outlines the connection between sexual socialization and sexual conduct, which explains how organized cognitive scripts shape sexual interactions (Gagnon & Simon 1973; Gagnon, 1990). This theory was useful to explore the cultural belief and gender scripts that mothers hold regarding sexuality and how they transmit these beliefs in their sex-communication processes with daughters. Together these theories provided a frame of reference that guided the authors' analysis of the lived experiences of immigrant Latina mothers, including factors that informed their parenting socialization practices, and processes of sex-communication with daughters.

Learning about the unique experiences, socialization processes, and barriers immigrant mothers face in their sex-communication with daughters can help support sexual health promotion efforts for Latino families. Although the target population included mothers and fathers, only mothers volunteered to participate in this study. Using qualitative methodology, the

current study explored Mexican-origin immigrant mothers' self-reported processes of socialization and sex-communication with their adolescent daughter(s). The following question guided this investigation: (1) What are the reported processes of sex-communication of Latina immigrant mothers with their adolescent daughters?¹⁷ This research question had two aims: 1) To describe Mexican¹⁸ immigrant mothers processes of sex-communication with their adolescent daughters who are living in the U.S.; and 2) To understand Mexican immigrant mothers' views of gender and sexuality.

Methods

Participants and Procedures

Snowball sampling was the main source of recruitment for this study which yielded a total of 15 female participants: no men responded to recruitment. This size is commonly acceptable in thematic analysis studies (Braun & Clarke, 2013). A sample size of 15 participants was considered feasible for this study because there was no precedent of studies with this population recruited during a global pandemic, and similar sample sizes have been used in previous studies (e.g., Doering-White et al., 2016; Murphy-Erby, Stauss, Boyas, & Bivens, 2011; Shaffer et al., 2018; Moncloa, Wilkinson-Lee, & Russell, 2010). In addition, saturation of themes was achieved by 15 interviews.

To be considered eligible for the study, participants had to be at least 18 years of age, identify as Latina/o, be born outside the U.S., and immigrated to the U.S. before or within the first year of birth of the target adolescent daughter. Participants in this study were all native

¹⁷ Upon completion of data collection, research questions were amended to account for the data emerged. Original question: What are the lived experiences of, and contributing factors on, immigrant Latino parents' communication about sexuality with their adolescent daughters?

¹⁸ Although Mexican ethnicity was not a criterion of the study, to accurately reflect the present sample, the Mexican identity was added to the original aim after completion of data collection.

Spanish speakers and reported varying degrees of English proficiency (see Table 3). Although the study aimed to recruit both mothers and fathers, only mothers solicited interest.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted in Spanish by the study’s Principal Investigator (the first author) who is a native Spanish speaker. Interviews took place via telephone or online video conference platform, based on participants’ accessibility and preference. Semi-structured interviews were conducted via telephone and video conference, based on participants’ preference and accessibility. Interviews lasted between 60-90 minutes with the average time of 71 minutes. Participants consented to audio-recordings and interviews were professionally transcribed, first into Spanish, and then translated into English by the Principal Investigator—an experienced translator.

All participants self-identified as heterosexual cis-gendered women and two thirds reported a family income that was less than twice the federal poverty threshold (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018b, National Center for children in Poverty [NCCP], 2018). Questions regarding citizenship were not asked in this study, due to the sensitivity and threat of disclosure, however some participants disclosed this information voluntarily during their interview. Additional participants demographics can be found in Table 3.

Table 3

Sociodemographic Characteristics of Participants

Pseudo-name	Age	Country of origin	Primary Language	Status	Age/sex of child(ren)	Household income	Education
Ariana	33	Mexico (mom/dad)	Spanish	Married*	15F±; 13F; 11F; 7F	\$21,000- \$ 30,000	Middle school
Beatriz	43	Mexico (mom/dad)	English/ Spanish	Married	23M; 20M; 14F±; 9M	\$21,000- \$ 30,000	Bachelor’s degree

Table 3 (cont'd)

Lucia	35	Mexico-mom El Salvador-dad	Spanish	Single*	13F±	\$61,000- \$70,000	Middle school
Julissa	42	Mexico mom/dad	Spanish	Cohabiting *	6F, 9F, 12F±	< \$10,000	Elementary
Karina	39	Mexico (mom/dad)	Spanish	Divorced, Single*	20M; 17F±; 14M, 8F	\$41,000- \$ 50,000	Nursing tech/trade school
Veronica	46	Mexico Mom; Chile (raised in Brazil)-Dad	English/Spanish	Married	18F±; 16M	\$71,000- \$ 80,000	Bachelor's degree
Lety	42	Mexico (mom/dad)	Spanish	Married	17F±; 16M; 14F; 13M; 7M	\$41,000- \$ 50,000	Middle school
Claudia	45	Mexico (mom/dad)	English/Spanish	Married	11F±; 9M	\$31,000-40,000	University
Paz	41	Mexico (mom/dad)	Spanish	Married	11F±, 19M	\$31,000-40,000	High school
Gloria	50	Mexico (mom/dad)	Spanish	Married	19F; 17F±	\$80,000+	University
Sofia	36	Mexico (mom/dad)	Spanish	Married*	15M; 13F±; 8F; 8F	\$31,000-40,000	Middle school
Marta	40	Mexico (mom/dad)	Spanish	Married	12F±; 9M; 6F	\$51,000- \$ 60,000	High school
Rosa	36	Mexico (mom/dad)	Spanish	Married	12F±	\$80,000+	University
Norma	41	Mexico (mom/dad)	Spanish	Married	20F; 18M; 16F±; 14M; 8M; 6F	\$51,000- \$ 60,000	Some college (2 years)
Patricia	52	Mexico (mom/dad)	English/Spanish	Married	22M; 21F; 19M; 16F±	\$71,000- \$ 80,000	Masters degree

Note. * Indicates self-reported immigrating to U.S. undocumented; ± indicates target adolescent

Data analysis

The data analysis of the current study was guided by core components of thematic analysis (TA; Braun & Clarke, 2006) and tenants of intersectionality (Collins & Bilge, 2016)

such that participants' multiple intersecting identities (i.e., race, socioeconomic status, generational status, gender, sexual orientation) were acknowledged. Audio-recordings from participant interviews were transcribed and then translated from Spanish to English by the Principal Investigator (i.e., first author) who is a native Spanish speaker.

The data underwent six phases of coding as outlined by Braun and Clark (2006; 2012) until no new themes or an increased understanding problem being investigated under study emerged, also known as theoretical saturation (Glaser, 1965). Data were organized by corresponding research questions and analyzed according to the thematic analysis approach used to provide a detailed and nuanced account of the lived experiences expressed by research participants (Braun & Clarke, 2006). First, data was analyzed at a semantic or explicit level (Boyatzis, 1998), followed by a latent level of analysis in which unique conceptualizations, underlying ideas, and assumptions that may have informed the semantic content of the data were identified (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The latent approach was useful for interpretation participants' laughing, and appearance of hesitancy or discomfort. Guided by ideas of intersectionality, assumptions of heteronormativity and patriarchy also informed the interpretations of participant quotes and theme development. Given that the interviews were conducted in Spanish, the PI provided clarification of the implicit and subtle meanings for key passages to non-Spanish speaking research team members.

Role of the Researcher

The researcher is the primary instrument in the analytical processes data collection of qualitative research (Merriam, 2009). Thus, monitoring my personal biases and beliefs that could influence the research process was an essential practice throughout this study (Braun & Clarke, 2012). I engaged in various reflexivity practices during this study. This included writing memos,

journaling assumptions regarding immigrant Latina women, heteronormativity, racism, discrimination, and colonialism and the role of the interventionists. In documenting my reflections throughout the data collection and analytical procedures, I focused on how my values and life experiences may influence the implementation of the study, data analysis, and reporting of results.

Positionality Statement

As a researcher, I am positioned in a place of privilege for transmitting participants' testimonies of their lived experiences. I am also at risk of replicating dynamics of oppression given my social positionality as an educated, middle-class, Latina. It is also critical to note that my analysis was also informed by my experience as a daughter of Mexican immigrants, my experience as a licensed Marriage and Family Therapist, my decade of clinical work and research with immigrant Latino populations, and my training as a scholar in in predominately White institutions. Therefore, I aimed to balance my position of power by seeking advice from scholars of Color, community leaders, members from the community from which I sampled and my doctoral dissertation committee. To maintain fidelity of the meaning of participants' expressions, I corroborated with other native and bilingual speakers to ensure that translated data did not lose the contextual meaning originally expressed by participants. My therapeutic training proved to be critically useful for the moments when information shared by participants evoked intense and emotional reactions. I was able to remain present and supportive towards participants, without disrupting the interview process. I also adhered to critical guidelines for placing participants' well-being above research goals by emphasizing participants rights. As a Latina, and proud daughter of immigrants, I inevitably brought some bias related to the research questions that could potentially influence the way in which the data were collected and analyzed,

and the conclusions that were drawn from that data. As an integrative part of a qualitative methodology, I continuously bracketed myself out of the study and checked-in with the research team (i.e., committee members) regarding views of the study findings.

Results

To describe the reported processes of sex-communication of immigrant Mexican mothers with their adolescent daughters, the study findings generated five main themes: 1) Lecturing daughters about sexuality with the intent to protect—subtheme a) sex-communication with daughter(s) may inadvertently instill fear, b) daughters expected to uphold reputation of modesty and self-respect without clear instruction, i) messaging on modesty and self-respect may unintentionally instill shame, ii) father’s role in relaying reputation management messages to daughters; 2) Apprehension from personal experiences hinders positive sex-communication with daughters; 3) Heteronormative sexual identity and experiences for daughter are favored; 4) Grappling with Mexican/American sex values and family values—subthemes a) religious culture guides explanations for sex, b) uncertainty about age-appropriate timing for sex-communication with daughters; and 5) Mothers wait for certain cues from daughters to initiation sex-communication. The theme names were established predominately via the latent level of analysis in which interpretations of participants’ dialogue, observations of participants’ laughing, pauses, and hesitancy, were viewed through a clinical lens as I am a licensed marriage and family therapist. Use of reflexivity practices as described earlier also allowed for a more latent understanding.

Lecturing Daughters About Sexuality with the Intent to Protect

The sex-communication approach mothers reported to engage in appeared to be motivated by their sense of responsibility to protect daughters from negative sex-related

consequences, i.e., unintended pregnancies, sexual abuse, and STIs. This responsibility took shape in my interpretation of participants' dialogue that reflected protective messaging that emphasized risk. Mothers described advising their daughter(s), often without bidirectional communication which appeared to resemble a lecturing approach or authoritarian style of parenting.

Mothers' concerns shaped common messages for daughters to '*cuidarse*,' i.e., take care of themselves. Although approaches of communicating this message varied, the directive to "*cuidarse*," primarily translated to conversations about pregnancy prevention. For Claudia, (45, married, heterosexual, mother of two), conversations about sexuality began once her daughter began her menses. She encouraged her daughter "... *to be careful, that there are pregnancies, eh, that there are diseases,*" however, Claudia does not elaborate on what being careful entails or invite questions beyond this statement.

Sex-Communication with Daughter(s) may Inadvertently Instill Fear

Although protective, the lecturing or unidirectional approach to sex-communication has the potential to hinder discussions between mother and daughter and unintentionally instill fear. In Ariana's (33, married, heterosexual, mother of four) message to "*cuidarse*," she tells her daughter: "*There are many methods for you to take care of yourself...but right now you are 16 years old.*" Given her daughter's age, Ariana presents abstinence as the most age-appropriate pregnancy prevention and highlights negative consequences about sex "... *to bring a creature into the world, you are going to struggle...interrupt your career...your studies, —the Navy. And then all that, erase it. It is better to be preventative.*" Despite mom's disapproval of sexual activity at a young age, she still delivers information that is useful and protective if her daughter becomes sexually active: "*After the age of 18, if you get the itch well, I'll take you to family*

planning for the pills, patches or injection, so that you can start taking care of yourself just in case.” Here, Arianna is engaging in protective messaging by equipping her adolescent daughter with information on the various methods of contraceptives. Although Arianna is willing, wanting, and open to talk about sex with her daughter, the approach leaves little room for discussion and excludes positive outcomes of sex (i.e., pleasure and connection) and as a consequence, unintentionally incites fear.

Patricia (52, married, heterosexual, mother of four), cautioned her daughter to be mindful of her attire. She referenced a family friend who became pregnant at 15 years old as a model of how not to behave: *“Do you want to see yourself like this?... at 17 years old, she already had two children and different fathers... That's why you also have to take care of the way you dress...”*

Daughters Expected to Uphold Reputation of Modesty and Self-Respect Without Clear Instruction on How to Do So

Mothers often urged daughters to practice self-respect particularly in regards to dating and establishing romantic relationships; however, discussions seldom had clear direction on *how* to achieve this. Julissa (42, married, heterosexual, mother of three), described, having a “*good relationship*” with her daughter, one filled with “*a lot of communication.*” She shared a conversation regarding romantic relationships she had with her 12-year-old daughter: “*...you have to protect yourself to avoid, eh, ahm and, uh, infections. Eh, at an early age, uh, having a family.*” Although an important message, there was no communication or explanation on what ‘protecting’ oneself consisted of (i.e., abstinence, contraceptives, etc.). The intergenerational silence Julissa reported in her own up-bringing left her feeling “*unprepared*” to navigate these conversations and appeared to play a role in the way she broached sex-communication with her

daughter. She speculated increased sex-communication with her own parents would have prepared her to broach these topics with her daughters “...to know more...to be able to help my girls more.” Ariana (33, married, heterosexual, mother of four), held similar views and outlined expectations for her daughter to uphold self-respect in romantic relationships:

“My...the one who is going to respect you, is going to love you...and going to respect your body. Above all, you have to respect your body, because nobody is going to touch you unless you want them to touch you.”

Here, Ariana empowers her daughter to take charge of who can and cannot “touch” her.

Although seemingly direct, there is ambiguity in what type of “touch” mom is referencing and a lack of discussion on consent. The message also disregards touch as a pleasurable act and is a vague explanation of what “respect” or respecting one's body entails.

Messaging on Modesty and Self-Respect May Unintentionally Instill Shame

The messages of modesty and self-respect were intended to be protective however, they have the potential to unintentionally instill shame. For example, upholding self-respect was tied to expectations regarding the number of romantic partners a woman should have. Lety (42, married, heterosexual, mother of five) remembered messages she received and the values she internalized stemming from her cultural identity as a Catholic Mexican woman—values she attempts to instill in her daughter:

“...I tell her the same thing my parents used to say to me,” Mija, when you get a boyfriend, then you have to respect yourself and then also not-not have many, just one and if you don't like it, another one, right? But not many at the same time and...always respect, give yourself respect...”

Although Lety outlines explicit directives about what not to do in romantic relationships (i.e., not have many partners), there is ambiguity regarding what “giving yourself respect” entails. It is implied that self-respect is linked to number of romantic partners one has. Similarly, Patricia (52, married, heterosexual, mother of four) described how her approach to instill modesty in her

daughter was both an important and challenging experience: *“I have tried to explain to them what modesty is...and that is very difficult, that our young people do not understand,”* Patricia elaborates on this idea by identifying difference in gender roles: *In the sexual area we are different.... [in men] their hormones get stirred up, and the hormone kills the neurons. And so they want it [i.e., sex] ...”* Patricia explains that men become *“excited through their eyes,”* –a justification for why her daughter should mind her attire. However, she reports that her daughter challenges these ideas in her refusal to take on the responsibility for men’s behaviors: *“it’s their problem, not mine.”* Although Patricia appears to agree with her daughter, her approach unintentionally instills shame and perpetuates a victim-blaming narrative by positioning her daughter as responsible: *“Yes daughter, but don’t provoke that.”* Although unclear about what provoking *“that”* refers to, it is likely related to fears that men will look at her daughter sexually and presume messages of availability or interest solely based upon wardrobe choices, thus urging her daughter to *“take care of her body,”* by not exposing it. Patricia explains *“...we’re different and I’m not asking you to think like a man, either, but take care of your body.”* Patricia’s ideas about gender differences in sexual urges results in messages (i.e., dressing conservatively) she believes could reduce the probability of sexual activity or sexual violence of her daughter. Although protective, these messages can unintendedly instill shame by positing daughters as responsible for men’s behaviors.

Father’s Role in Relaying Reputation Management Messages to Daughters

Fathers were not interviewed in this study however, participants commented on the role fathers had in sex-communication. Fathers appeared concerned with their daughter’s reputation and often cautioned against romantic relationships and warned daughters that men were only interested *“in one thing”* (i.e., sex). This perspective led to fathers’ involvement in their

daughters' reputation management, particularly regarding wardrobes. Patricia (52, married, heterosexual, mother of four) described her husband's involvement in monitoring their daughters' (21-year-old and 16-year-old) wardrobe: *"No, you can't go out to the store that way. Go and put on longer shorts or go and put on some pants. You will not go out to the store that way."* Patricia identified her husband as a *"watchman of the clothing,"* which she reported to appreciate. She also identified challenges of wardrobe shopping for her daughter: *"You go to the store and there is nothing else but the mini-blouse."* The limited options for conservative clothing led to questioning from her husband: *"And why did you let her buy that one?"* In response to her husband's questioning, Patricia reported the following reply *"Next time, you accompany your daughter, and you will see that what- what we just bought is the most decent thing."* For this father, attempts to manage daughters' reputation including monitoring his daughters dress, and also policing and challenging his wife's approval of certain clothing items.

Gloria (50, married, heterosexual, mother of two) identified her husband's contribution of the *"male perspective"* in sex-communication with their daughter: *"...he says to my daughter, 'It's because for - for me it is very easy to pay child support...But in the end, well, the one who has to manage with the baby is you.'"* He explains that *"...for the man it is much easier to get out of such a situation,"* whereas women are likely to carry the burden of caregiving without much support. Ariana (33, married, heterosexual, mother of four) shares a similar message her husband communicated to their four daughters about dating: *"My daughter, be [careful]- because the boys right now they just want to be taste testing—and if they find a fool, well then, they'll leave you along the way."* This messaging appears to resonate with her daughter. Her daughter assures her father and by responding: *"No, pa, but I-I want to study, I want to do this, I want to do that [i.e. daughter explains she want to do and achieve more things in her life before having a child]."*

This statement reflects family values Arianna and her husband attempt to instill: “...*education is first, and the rest will come at their time.*” Although involvement from fathers were limited, participants reported having them share the “*male perspective*” with daughters was valuable.

Apprehension from Personal Experience Hinders Positive Sex-Communication with Daughters

Intergenerational silence on sexuality throughout their own adolescent development was a common experience reported by study participants (see study one), which played a role in how mothers broached sex-communication with their daughters. Ariana (33, married, heterosexual, mother of four) reflected on her own dating experience in adolescence, which informed how she approached the topic of sex and dating with her daughter “*Because she reached a point that, she wanted, well, like to have a boyfriend and a boyfriend...she spent part of her rebellion stage like this...*” I told her, “*Right now it's Pedro. Tomorrow it's Pablo and then it's Arturo and...then I don't know who, and-and at the end of the day you realize he's not the-the-one.*” Arianna explained how her experience with unintended pregnancy motivated these conversation with her daughter: “*Because that's how-that's what I went through...and ultimately I got pregnant by—it was a “manitas sudadas”¹⁹ boyfriend...I tell her, and why-why-that's why I tell her to know-to lookout, because on the road of life there are many stumbling blocks and I would not want her to stumble, like I did.*” Although Arianna’s exchange with daughter lacks positive sex-communication (i.e., pleasure, consent, desire, etc.) she believes sharing her experience helped manage her daughter’s “*stages of rebellion,*” and explained that as a result her daughter was “*super-calm right now,*” Arianna explained “*If I would have not cared, if I just let her be a*

¹⁹ Literal translation is “sweaty hands,” referring to those type of high school sweethearts, enameled, who assure lasting love often seen hand in hand (i.e., boyfriends of “sweaty hand”) but who hardly reach anything else.

spoiled brat or this, or that, or immature or whatever...maybe right now- I would already be a grandmother...”

Patricia (52, married, master degree, heterosexual, mother of four) identified both her culture and personal experience to shape how she approaches sex-communication with her daughter.

“...it's more my experience that I don't want to pass on to them—on how I talked about the-the-the subject with my daughters—the way they did not talk to me because it was taboo—And, culturally, I think that more than culture I would, I would put it in terms of morality. Yes, I mean my-my culture ah, ah, not so much as a Mexican, as a Latina, but more my spiritual and moral culture. That's what-what-what I do try to instill.”

Veronica (46, married, heterosexual, mother of two, college educated) reported that for her “...culturally it [i.e., menstrual products] was not talked about.” She explained her knowledge was limited to pads and expressed a lack of familiarity with other period products: “*I mean, it was only one option and-and you did not know about nothing. In my life like I--Not even a tampon have I used. So, I would say, "Oh my God, how do I tell her? How do I explain?"*”

Veronica doubts and self-awareness of these gaps in knowledge motivated her to educate herself: “*So there I started to investigate how, to explain how.*” To Veronica’s surprise, her daughter had more knowledge about period products than she did. Although her daughter reported learning about tampon usage from friends, Veronica attributed her daughter’s knowledge to easy access to sex-information that exists at present day. “*...these generations are almost our teachers, right? They already come with-with well-digested, well-learned information.*” This passage reveals a generational gap (i.e., differences in accessibility to technology and sex-information), and a cultural gap (i.e., emphasis of pads over tampons) for Veronica.

Heteronormative Sexual Identity and Experiences for Daughters Favored

Mothers in this study reported reservations regarding the possibility for their children to

deviate from a cis-gender and heterosexual orientation. Ariana (33, married, heterosexual, mother of four) recalled her daughter asking a question regarding what would happen if she liked girls. Ariana shared her response: “*Pos, ni modo.*” In the context of Spanish language, this statement is a sentiment of acceptance, particularly because it is associated with the thought of nothing can be done about it; a “*what’s done is done,*” or “*it is what it is,*” expression. In their conversation her daughter sought reassurance by asking: “*But would you accept me as your daughter?*” Arianna described her reaction: “*Whoa, what a question...Well, I have to.*” And reported her daughter’s response, “*Ah, okay...But no, don't worry. I don't like girls.*” This exchange displays Arianna’s concerns of her daughter’s sexual orientation. Ideas about her daughter’s sexual identity and gender presentation also appear to inform Arianna’s opinion when responding to a question regarding her daughter’s preparedness to navigate sexual encounters: “*This one [i.e., target adolescent], is more bashful and machetona [i.e., tomboy]. She is the most machetona of all the ones that came out.*” Following up on her response, the study investigator inquired if Arianna thought her daughter was prepared to navigate sexual encounters that were *desired* or *not*. The variation in this question leads mom to a different response. “*Yes,*” she answered, recounting a time when her daughter set boundaries with a male peer whom she did not allow to kiss her. Seemingly disconnected from the question asked, Arianna discloses her daughter’s dream of going into the Navy. Despite being supportive of her daughter, she confessed a wish for her daughter to not enlist in the Navy and disclosed her hope that her daughter would marry and have kids. Perceiving her daughter as “*machetona,*” or a tomboy, with aspirations to enter the Navy appears to leave Arianna with an impression that her daughter is not interested in men or in starting a family. This passage displays mom’s alignment with heteronormative ideologies and expectations regarding femininity.

Patricia (52, married, heterosexual, mother of four, fluent in English and Spanish, a master's degree), demonstrates concerns that her children could deviate from heteronormativity: "...one of my big concerns is, right now with so much, ahm, homosexuality, that you no longer know if you are a man or a woman." Although sexual orientation and gender identity are different, Patricia appears to lack awareness of these concepts; cis-gender identity and heterosexuality are her norms and deviation from that is unknown and therefore, understandably confusing and concerning for her. Patricia's concerns appeared to stem from religious influence; she explained: "...for the salvation of their eternal life, that's what worries me. I worry that they will not come face to face with God." Contextual factors are important here, as without the identified demographics, this mothers' sentiment has the potential to be attributed to a lack of education or resources. However, what this demonstrates is that despite easier accessibility to educational resources by nature of Patricia's higher socioeconomic status (SES), educational achievement, and language proficiency, she still holds conservative values informed by her Catholic religion.

In contrast to Patricia, Sofia (36, married, heterosexual, mother of four, reported household income under the national poverty line), demonstrated more acceptance of same sex relationships. She explained that she has discussed 'homosexuality' with her 13-year-old daughter who asked, "*what would happen if I liked girls?*" Sofia responds by saying "*Well, **right now** nothing happens, [laughs]*" and reaffirms her daughter, "*For me, as long as you are well and if it is a preference that you have, I cannot do anything against it. I can't limit you to what you want.*" I draw attention to the words *right now*, referring to the present day. This insinuates that a more progressive and accepting world of LGBTQ+ identified folks at present day lessen the potential for something bad to happen to her daughter, hence Sofia's response "*now, nothing*"

happens.” Although acceptance is displayed, Sofia also appeared to experience an internal conflict: *“Obviously, no one would like it... that our children, uh, would have a different preference than we do, but, why? Because these are our traditions, based on that. Not so much because we don't love them...”* Sofia displayed a heteronormative preference based on traditions and norms she is accustomed to. Despite these norms, she affirmed acceptance and love for her child, independent of sexuality: *“Well, you're not doing anything bad to anyone... I mean, it's your preference, it's what you want, then, go ahead, right?”* Discussion of queer sexuality appeared to generate some discomfort for Sofia, not due to lack of acceptance but rather a lack of awareness on the topic (e.g., equating sexual orientation with sexual preference).

Grappling with Mexican/American Sex Values and Family Values

The experience of being born and raised outside of the U.S., led mothers to grapple with how their own values regarding family and sexuality fit into perceived American values, particularly as it related to instilling values and expectations in their daughters regarding sexuality (e.g., dating, premarital sex). Lety (42, married, heterosexual, mother of five), described differences she observed in dating norms and expectations from her culture and Mexican heritage compared to the American culture: *“...when they get a boyfriend...then they go alone with him, right? And everything.”* Lety recalled her daughter inquiring if she would be allowed to *“...leave like that,”* if she had a boyfriend. Lety answered, *“I think not,”* a response that is met with disagreement: *“Oh, mami, ...that's how they do it, but in Mexico, not here.”* This exchange reveals a mismatch of Lety's values and cultural norms regarding dating, which is informed by her Mexican heritage, compared to her daughter's viewpoint informed by her American culture.

Patricia described challenges she experiences raising her daughter in the U.S. due to

misalignment in cultural norms regarding sexuality: “...*they are going on the sensual side, on the satisfaction side and pleasing your body...*” For Patricia, this was difficult to manage because it did not reflect the values she wanted to instill in her children and there was concerned that her children were “*losing*” their values due to “...*the over saturation of information and that everything is normal.*” For this mother, sex was tied to her moral, spiritual, and religious informed values, values that did not include pleasure and satisfaction.

During her time in the U.S., Rosa (36, married, heterosexual, mother of one) described her exposure to various other cultures and observed some American families to share her values:

“...there are Americans who are the same as-as-me...they really take a lot of care of their daughters...there are others who...who let them be free... others that are very apprehensive. So, I imagine that there are also Mexicans also who will let them do whatever they want...maybe not all of them are the same...”

This passage highlights Rosa’s awareness of the individuality of each family despite culture and country of origin. In other words, Rosa recognized that one “*cannot generalize,*” and that sometimes more similarities than differences can be found within families of varying cultures.

Religious Culture Guides Explanations for Sex

The influence of religion was woven into sex-communication in various instances for some study participants. Norma (41, married, heterosexual, mother of six), encouraged her daughter to employ “*self-respect and to stand her ground...*” within romantic relationships.

When asked to describe what she meant by self-respect, she drew from her religion:

“...we are Catholic...I do not want generalize...But yes...the more she stands her ground as a woman, because then, the man is going to go as far as they allow...the more they set their boundaries, it’s going to better for them.”

Here, Norma positions her daughter as a gatekeeper of sexual activity. While not wanting to generalize for “*all Mexican or all Catholics*” she draws from these identities that have shaped her views regarding the role of women in romantic relationships. Sofia (36, married,

heterosexual, mother of four) also reported using religion to explain sex to her 13-year-old daughter: *"I draw a little bit from religion, right? What is it for? Well, to preserve the human race...In other words, that is the main point, so that they understand me in a soft way."* For Sofia, using religion helped her deliver a message to her children about the purpose of sex (i.e., procreation) in a manner that was *"soft"* or easily digestible.

Similarly, Patricia described how religion informed her values on sex and marriage. She stated she and her husband did not agree with premarital sex, cohabiting before marriage, or abstaining from marriage—ideologies influenced by her Catholic religion: *"It's out of conviction because we know that marriage and the grace of marriage brings a special grace to have a solid marriage that is a blessing for the rest of life..."* The role of religion informed Patricia's views on the sanctity of marriage. However, from her perspective, *"...American culture doesn't see it that way that much..."* Although she acknowledged this statement was a generality and does not encompass *"all Americans,"* Patricia's perception of American culture as more sexualized than the culture she was raised in made it challenging to raise her daughter with Catholic-oriented values.

Veronica's (46, married, heterosexual, mother of two) dating advice was also guided by religion: *"Find a person who loves God, a person who has your spiritual values. If he loves God, he will love you. If he respects God, he will respect you."* Guiding her daughter on romantic relationships included instilling religious values and choosing a partner with shared beliefs.

Uncertainty regarding the appropriate age for engaging in sex-communication was a common experiences participants shared. Karina (39, single, heterosexual, mother of four), explained while she saw her daughter as *"too young"* to talk about sex, her thoughts were challenged when the pediatrician recommended the human papilloma virus (HPV) vaccine when

her daughter was 11 years old. She recalled explaining the vaccine: “...it’s a disease...You’re in danger of contracting it and the vaccine is for protection.” When her daughter inquired “Oh, uh, and is that good...And is it okay for me to get it at this age?” Karina responded “Well, yes, it is good.” described this conversation as “...one of the most intense talks...” due to her daughter’s age. Although Karina expressed uncertainty about the “appropriate” age to discuss sex, she reported that “...it was the time,” to have the conversation because her daughter’s doctor introduced the topic.

Sofia (36, married, heterosexual, mom of four) described how she answered her 13-year old’s question about where babies came from, and explained her daughter became nervous by the conversation. Sofia recalled reassuring her daughter: “...you don’t have to be scared...I’m going to be here, whatever you have, a question or whatever...” Sofia encouraged her daughter to seek information from her and explained “...other people won’t tell you about it the same way that I can explain it to you.” She also set an age-appropriate boundary with her daughter: “... I will explain it to you for your age, for the moment you are asking me, and I will not give you more information beyond.” For many mothers, the “appropriate” age to talk about sex with daughters was subjective. For example, Lucia (35, single, heterosexual, mother of one) discussed speaking with her daughter about menstruation at age 8 but had not yet had a conversation about sex with her now 13-year-old daughter, because she saw her as “too young.” Veronica (46, married, heterosexual, mother of two), shared concerns that sex education books were “...a bit graphic and...scary...” Despite her daughter being 18 years old, Veronica explained “...she continues to be, they continue to be my babies.”

On the other hand, Marta (39, married, heterosexual, mother of three; 12-year-old and 6-year-old daughters, 9-year-old son) reported growing up in a household where sex was a topic of

conversation with her parents shares a different view and has openly talked to all her kids regarding sex related topics from an early age: *“My children already know, eh, how a baby is born, they know about menstruation-- I mean, the basics,”* Marta explained that she was intentional about answering the questions her children asked regarding sex-related topics but reported to filter some information based on age:

“...it also depends on age. You cannot throw all the information at once to them. I have always said that children, whatever they ask you, you have to answer them, without giving them extra information and that is what I have tried to do with my children.”

While mothers in this study did not identify a definitive age for certain initiating sex-communication, most of them appeared to struggle with what information was age-appropriate.

Mothers Await Cues from Daughters to Initiate Sex-Communication

Participants in this study were asked to comment on their daughters' preparedness to navigate sexual conversations or encounters. In general, mothers appeared to wait for their daughter to give certain cues in order initiate sex-communication. Most mothers believed if their daughters continued to study and established a career it would symbolize their preparedness to navigate sex-communication and sexual encounters. Gloria (50, married, heterosexual, mother of two) explained her views on her daughters preparedness: *“...preparation is essential, and more so in these current times, that you need at least a master's degree to be able to have a more or less dignified life, right?”* Having an education symbolized that her daughters would be able to *“...support themselves, to be able to maintain the expenses,”* particularly in the event they became pregnant. This motivated the messages to her daughters to stay focused on school and building a career rather than directly engaging in sex-communication.

Rosa (36, married, heterosexual, mother of a 12-year-old daughter), identified a desire for more open communication with her daughter on sex related topics: *“...I would like if she opened*

up a little more so I could explain a little more...I don't know if she's ready or doesn't want to or—sometimes she kind of puts up her wall...” These cues served as an indicator to Rosa that her daughter was not prepared to navigate desired or undesired sexual encounters or conversations, which led to infrequent sex-communication. Veronica (46, married, heterosexual, mother of two), identified what would indicate her 18-year-old daughter was “*prepared*.”

Well, if she told me, ‘Hey, thank you.’ Uh, ‘I was reading an article,’ ‘Yes, I already knew that.’ Or, ‘Do you remember what you told me?’ Actually, I had a friend who had some questions and I told her I already knew.’ ... Something that would make me say, ‘...does she have the perception, does she save the information and use it?’

This mother wanted to see more evidence of her daughter actively asking questions and applying that knowledge in a noticeable way. Without this evidence, Veronica perceived her daughter as unprepared. Similarly, Beatriz (43, married, heterosexual, mother of four), identified her 14-year-old daughter as prepared to navigate desired or undesired sexual encounters because she was actively showcasing her ability to navigate sex-related conversations:

“...I see her capacity and the questions that she asks me or her, or questions that I ask her and the answers that—that she gives me, I feel that she is, she has the - the capacity for the day that... the day that happens.”

Experiencing open sex-communication and observing her daughter demonstrate knowledge on this topic reinforced the belief that her daughter was ready to navigate sexual encounters.

Discussion

The findings from this study shed insight on the reported processes of immigrant mothers of Mexican-origin’s sex-communication with their adolescent daughters. The latent approach of thematic analysis was useful for interpretation of participants’ laughing, appearance of hesitancy or discomfort. The impact of intersectionality, and assumptions tied to heteronormativity and patriarchy also informed the interpretations of participant quotes and theme development. Per my interpretations of participants’ reported dialogue, messages from mothers were often delivered in

a lecturing style such that communication tended to be unidirectional (i.e., mom to daughter) instead of reciprocal and bidirectional. Consistent with prior research where mothers impart sexual gatekeeping responsibilities to daughters (i.e., refuse men's sexual advances, practice abstinence) (Flores & Barroso, 2017; Heisler, 2014), mothers in this study emphasized daughters to practice self-respect, utilize modest attire, and to keep quantity of romantic partners to a minimum. Although intended to be protective, the delivery of such messages has the potential to inadvertently instill shame and fear (Gunning et al., 2020; Rubinsky & Cooke-Jackson, 2017). Communication with daughters also tended to favor heteronormative sexual experiences. Understanding how mothers think about the sexual experiences of their daughters and how their own experiences shape discussion on sexuality is critical for improving educational and prevention efforts tailored to immigrant families of Mexican origin.

Lecturing Daughters About Sexuality with the Intent to Protect

The quality and quantity of parent-child sex-communication are predictors of sexual behavior in Latina adolescents (Gaio, Wilson, Villarruel, & Childs, 2017). The lecturing approach to sex-communication mothers reported in this study resembled an authoritarian communication style, i.e., it appeared to lack openness or invite bidirectional conversations or questions (Heller & Johnson, 2010)—forms of dialogue shown to inhibit sex-positive communication (Kajula, Darling, Kaaya, & De Vries, 2016; Askelson, Campo, & Smith, 2012). Children who received parental sex-communication that consisted of lecturing and dictating were more likely to have had sexual intercourse and engage in higher rates of sexual activity (Rogers et al., 2015; Somers et al., 2019). However, directive communication approaches, i.e., parents who are straightforward and clearly communicate their expectations about sex and preferences for behavior to their children have also been associated with less risky sexual behavior and a

positive relationship between parent and child (e.g., Anyanwu, Akinsola, Tugli, & Obisie-Nmehielle, 2020; Peterson, 2007; Sneed, 2008). Although our study did not assess for how daughters perceived mother's messages, observations from this study suggest that mothers may benefit from learning interactive communication strategies, assessing adolescents' current knowledge, encouraging active exchange of questions and answers, letting adolescents' voices be heard, and leaving room for future discussions (Edwards & Reis, 2014).

Sex-Communication with Daughter(s) may Inadvertently Instill Fear

Common content of mothers' sex-communication with daughters included messages to practice self-respect, delay onset of sex activity, warnings about men's intentions, and discussion of negative outcomes of sex i.e., damaging of reputation, STIs, and pregnancy—messages consistent with previous research (e.g., Flores and Barroso, 2017). Mothers encouraged daughters to dress modestly. Although not expressed explicitly by mother, her message to dress differently suggests mothers' concerns that a revealing wardrobe could attract male sexual attention, attention that could lead to sexual intercourse and result in pregnancy. These concerns are understandable, however, method of delivery creates the potential to incite fear and perpetuate a victim-blaming and shaming narrative in the event of sexual abuse or unintended pregnancy. Socio-economic status (SES) may account for content of sex-communication in this sample. A review of the literature revealed that Latina adolescents receive more communication about risk avoidance and self-protective practices regarding sex if their mother was from a lower SES; whereas Latina mothers from higher SES backgrounds engaged in more discussions on contraceptives and positive sexuality (Flores & Barroso, 2017). Thus, our study only partially agrees with these findings in that a majority of participants who engaged in risk avoidance messages also reported a SES below or near the national poverty line.

Cultural ideologies regarding Latino sexual scripts often discourage open discourse about sexuality and communicate messages that sex is shameful (Amaro, Raj, & Reed 2001; Arreola 2010; Romo et al., 2010). Consistent with former studies (e.g., Moncloa et al., 2010; Rojas-Guyler & King, 2007; Villar & Concha, 2012), participants' experiences of intergenerational silence led to a limited understanding of sexual development and apprehension regarding sex-communication with their daughters. Participants reported the sex-communication they received from their parents was often limited to "*cuidate*" i.e., take care of yourself, without guidance (see manuscript 1). Mimicking their own experiences, mothers communicated similar messages to their daughters including "*cuidate*," and "*date a respetar*" (affirm your self-respect). The quality of these statements reflect incomplete, indirect, and implicit messages about expectations for sexual behavior, and the lack of explanation leaves daughters to interpret these directives on their own. This form of messaging has been previously reported but researchers found that it was mothers' sharing of their beliefs and values that was tied to their daughters' delay or abstinence from sexual activity—demonstrating the influence and quality of mothers' communication has on their adolescents' decision making (Romo, Lefkowitz, Sigman, & Au, 2002). Despite their experiences of intergenerational silence, mothers in our study perceived themselves as more communicative about sex than their own parents and were motivated to talk about sex with daughters. Our finding is noteworthy as it challenges narratives that suggest Latinos do not want to talk about sex.

It is important to recognize that mothers' messages were value laden—i.e., informed by religion, cultural, and family upbringing—with intent to protect daughters from negative sexual outcomes (e.g., unintended teenage pregnancy, sexual assault). Our findings corroborate various studies that connect religiosity to sexual values among Latinas (e.g., Edwards, Huglund, Fehring

& Pruszyński, 2011; Smith, 2015; 2017; Rojas et al., 2016), yet findings on whether religiosity is protective against risky sexual behavior are inconsistent. Despite mixed findings, studies show that Mexican immigrant families who have stricter rules on dating, and have more supervision, have daughters who are less likely to engage in early sexual initiation (e.g., Ayala, 2006; Foner, 2009; Coleman-Minahan, 2017). Still, mothers in this study may be unaware their approaches to sex-communication could inadvertently instill fear. Thus, teaching mothers about the ineffectiveness of abstinence only messaging (Heels, 2019; Hoefer & Hoefer, 2017) or how it could instill shame and fear (Gunning et al., 2020; Rubinsky & Cooke-Jackson, 2017) would be beneficial. Because daughters were not interviewed in this study, we cannot be certain what emotions they experienced. However, parents' negative emotional tone has been reported to affect daughter's comfort in talking about sex, while positive tones have led to further discussions about sex (Aronowitz & Agbeshie, 2012). Providing mothers with the tools needed to deliver sex-positive communication and comprehensive sex-education can help support more comprehensive and effective sex-communication with their daughters.

Socialization of Daughter(s)' Reputation

Mothers encouraged daughters to assert self-respect by gatekeeping their sexual activity, utilizing modest attire and minimizing the number of romantic partners. Modesty was also a key expectation for daughter(s) due to moral concerns of sexual behavior. The messages reflect familial and cultural values however, these expectations have the potential to inadvertently instill fear, shame, and guilt (Gunning et al., 2020; Rubinsky & Cooke-Jackson, 2017). Additionally, risk-centered messaging disregard concepts of pleasure and desire—which are important aspects of healthy sexuality (WHO, 2018)—and have the potential to interrupt sexual agency (Stanger-Hall & Hall, 2011).

Sexual agency refers to one's ability to make sexual decisions and act in ways that account for one's own sexual desires and feelings (i.e., consenting to or abstaining from sex, enjoying sexual activity) (Tolman et al. 2015). This definition may be limiting, as the focus on individual responsibility disregards the impact of structural inequalities (i.e., classism and racism) and discounts shared responsibilities between partners (Cense, 2019). Social motivation (i.e., parents' or romantic partner's expectation, fears of damaging social reputation among peers) for engaging in or abstaining from sexual activity is also an aspect of sexual agency (Cense, 2019). The social motivation is connected to *moral agency*, or the idea that one's decision reflects or is positioned within their moral structure (Cense, 2019). Cense explains that the moral positioning is tied to a sense of responsibility to not bring shame or hurt to others, i.e., their family (Cense, 2019). Young people's connectedness to their community, family and friends is intertwined with the development of sexual subjectivity²⁰, which includes sexual agency (Cense, 2019; Tolman et al. 2015). Thus, mothers' messages of modesty and self-respect could unintentionally hinder sexual exploration, sexual expression, and interrupt daughters' development of sexual agency for fear of bringing shame to one's family.

Understanding the collectivist nature of Latino culture contextualizes the significance of the relationship between mothers (i.e., primary sex-educator/socializer) and processes that foster sexual agency in daughters—as adolescents' sexual development is partially formed by interactions with family members' characteristics of that family (Killoren, & Deutsch, 2014). Therefore, the development of sexual agency in young Latinas could possibly be interrupted by risk-centered messaging. Introducing concepts of sexual agency and prompting mothers to reflect

²⁰ Sexual subjectivity refers to one's capacity to experience and identity of self as a sexual being, including feelings of entitlement to sexual safety and pleasure and one who can make sexual choices (Tolman, 2002; 2012).

on their own sense of sexual agency can help them identify potential factors that hinder sex-positive and healthy sexuality messaging to their daughters.

Our study confirms that mothers (compared to fathers) take on the majority of responsibility in sex-communication with their children (e.g., Akers, Holland, Bost, 2011; Tanton et al., 2015). Mothers in this study reported a belief that fathers were equally responsible for sex-communication with daughters. However, participants explained their husbands were often out of the house due to long or unconventional work hours and thus unavailable for sex-communication with daughters—one of the common burdens faced by immigrant families (Daniel-Ulloa, & Rhodes, 2017; Hernandez et al., 2012). Other participants reported husbands felt uncomfortable engaging in these dialogues and perceived their wives as better suited to engage in sex-communication with their daughters. Although fathers were not interviewed in this study, mothers reported they did participate in sex-communication with daughters, mostly through reputation management (i.e., monitoring wardrobe, warning about men's sexual intentions). Our study findings align with previous research that reports minimal involvement of Latino fathers in sex-communication with their children, and mothers' desire for fathers to be more involved in this process (Stauss et al., 2011). Despite limited involvement, participants reported having their husbands share the "*male perspective*" with their daughters was a valuable contribution.

Grappling with Mexican/American Sex Values, Family Values and Heteronormativity

The differences in upbringing and country of origin between mothers and daughters appeared to shape views on sexuality. That is, mothers' views were informed by their intergenerational experiences and Mexican up-bringing, whereas daughters' ideologies consisted of both Mexican and American perspectives. This resulted in parent's acknowledgment of some

contradicting ideologies in culture with regards to sex-related topics (i.e., dating, premarital sex, pregnancy). Perceived differences in American vs Mexican culture elicited internal conflicts. Mainly, moms tended to perceive American culture as hypersexualized which left them to grapple with how to instill sexual values and expectations for daughters, as their views did not always align with daughters' views. Scholars suggest parents and their adolescents who share similar cultural practices may be more comfortable engaging in sex-communication (Tsai et al., 2017). Whereas discrepancies in cultures may weaken the parent–child relationship (Gonzales et al., 2018). While our study cannot confirm these findings, it does illustrate that mothers and daughters hold varying perspectives on sexuality which appeared to be influenced by culture (i.e., mother informed by Mexican culture, daughter informed by American culture).

Culture informs gendered scripts and provides guidelines on how sexuality is “supposed” to be enacted within a heteronormative context (Gagnon, 1990). Longstanding socialization of traditional Latino gender roles i.e., machismo and marianismo—sustained and reinforced by patriarchy—illustrate heteronormative gender and sexual norms that dictate behavior (Zavella & Castañeda, 2005; Peña-Talamantes, 2013). Although participants in this study did not explicitly endorse traditional gender roles—some even rejected them—these scripts still appeared to shape mothers' expectations for gender and sexual expression, which may explain their heteronormative alignment. For example, Ariana described her daughter as *machetona* (i.e., tomboy). Given that gender expression is often how sexuality is interpreted (Robinson, 2018), Arianna's response is understandable. The rigidity of these roles can be problematic however; for example they may hinder Latinas (particularly those in heterosexual relationships) from advocating for safer sexual practices (e.g., insisting male partners to use condoms) (Cianelli, Ferrer, & McElmurry 2008; Peragallo et al. 2005). However, it is important to note that

machismo and marianismo are both academic and dated terms that outline ideas reflected by heteropatriarchy. In other words, it is possible that the impact of heteronormative ideologies and social pressure of a patriarchal society may account for how the roles associated with machismo and marianismo are understood and described in Latino families. Still, parent-based sex-education programs can benefit from discussing and deconstructing gender roles (i.e., machismo and marianismo) that depict heteronormative and problematic power dynamics, and ideas of patriarchy. This can help provide new perspectives on gender roles challenge the rigidity of these sexual scripts and in turn generate more acceptance in the diversity of gender expression, sexual orientation, and sexual behavior—promoting a more sex-positive approach to sex-communication and education.

The present study revealed that mothers are less knowledgeable about lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and/or queer (LGBTQ+) identities and struggled to talk to their daughters about these topics. Difficulties appeared to stem from lack of awareness about LGBTQ+ topics, rather than a lack of acceptance. For example, Sofia reported difficulties in conversations about queer sexuality with her daughter, yet she was able to demonstrate acceptance, affirmation, and love to her daughter who inquired about same-sex relationships. Given longstanding stereotypes of Latinx community as largely homophobic (Alcalde, 2014), Sofia's reaction is progressive, showing alternative realities to these stereotypes. Still, mothers' sex-communication with daughters was primarily heteronormative in that it focused on delaying sex with men, cautioning against dating at a young age or having "many" boyfriends, and excluded conversations about sex with women or non-binary people. The emergence of heteronormative alignment within this small sample suggests sexual health efforts geared toward Mexican-origin families would benefit from teaching parents about LGBTQ+ topics and how to facilitate communication on these

topics with their adolescent(s).

The Need to Consider Age and Culture When Tailoring Sex-Communication Interventions for Latino Families

While adamant about the importance sex-communication with their daughters, mothers in this study reported more focus on establishing a good relationship and generating *confianza* with daughters in hopes that it would create the opportunity for daughters to seek them out for sex-related questions and concerns. This is consistent with other studies that found parents tend wait until their adolescent was dating or reached a certain age to begin sex-communication (Grossman, Jenkins, & Richer, 2018; Kenny & Wurtele, 2013). However, delaying communication until mothers believe their daughters are sexually active may result in daughters not receiving sex information when they need it most (Kenny & Wurtele, 2013). And shying away from sex-communication can send the message that sexuality is shameful, uncomfortable, and not to be discussed (Rubinsky & Cooke-Jackson, 2017). Many participants also reported uncertainty about age-appropriate sex-topics for their children believed that talking about sex with their children would increase the likelihood of sexuality activity, and as a result, they delayed discussion of certain topics for as long as they could. However, the timing of parents' sex-communication is not associated with their children's timing of sexual debut (Flores and Barroso, 2017). Educating mothers on the benefits of early sex-communication and encouraging them to begin discussions with daughters in early childhood, can help support sexual health promotion of young Latinas overall. Mothers engagement in sex-communication early-on can also serve as a model that prepares daughters for engaging in healthy, communicative, and consenting sexual relationships when they become sexually active

Recognizing these barriers can serve as a point of psychoeducation a family therapist can

facilitate when supporting parent-based sex-communication. For example, mothers can benefit from learning that children become curious about sexuality as early as age two (Brilleslijper-Kater & Baartman, 2000), sexual debut can occur as early as or before 13 years of age (Lindberg, Maddow-Zimet, & Marcell, 2017), and that early, comprehensive sex-education is a more effective way to delay sexual debut for youth (Erkut, Grossman, Frye, Ceder, Charmaraman, & Tracy, 2013). The Future of Sex Education Initiative (2020) can be a useful resource for therapists to use with families as it provides guidelines for what topics should be covered in sex education and recommended age-appropriate timing for these topics to be introduced, with many topics suggested to be taught to kindergarteners. Mothers can benefit from understanding this evidence-based knowledge which in turn could motivate them to begin sex-communication at earlier ages.

Limitations

There are strengths and limitations to this study design. This study focused on the processes of communication between mothers and daughters which does not shine a light on communication between Mexican fathers with daughters. We did not interview daughters in this study and therefore, cannot draw conclusions on how daughters experienced and perceived sex-communication with their mothers (e.g., beneficial, constructive, restrictive, limiting, etc.). There was likely a selection bias i.e., it is probably that only mothers who were interested in the topic of sex-communication were more likely to select into the study. Despite a selection bias, meaningful information about Mexican immigrant mothers' unique experiences raising daughters in the U.S. and their reported processes of sex-communication with their adolescent(s) was acquired.

Future Implications

This study identified nuanced experiences in mothers' reported processes of sex-communication with their daughters and have several implications for family therapists supporting sexual health promotion in Latino immigrant families. Therapists are cautioned against grouping Latinos families as a homogenous group and instead, encouraged to be cognizant of the various intersecting factors (i.e., race, class, gender) including family structure (i.e., one parent vs two parent household), parents' upbringing and exposure to sexual-knowledge, immigration status, religious orientation, and personal values of each family—as our study suggests these factors shape mother-daughter sex-communication processes. Family therapists are also encouraged to work from a trauma informed lens and should solicit parents' input for desired sex education content—input that will likely vary from family to family. Therapists and interventions should become curious about common messaging of *cuidate* and *preparate* and prompt mothers to reflect what these messages mean to them. In turn, therapists could coach parents to effectively communicate the expectations associated with these words or intended meanings to their children. Future studies should explore the role of the lecturing communication style can have on daughters' experiences of guilt, fear and shame. Acquiring information from daughters would generate a more comprehensive and systemic perspective of the sex-communication processes between mothers and daughters. Learning this information would be useful for informing approaches that help support sex-positive communication in Latino families.

Conclusion

Our findings highlight the need to recognize intersectionality (i.e., race, class, gender) in sex-communication research to fully capture the complex structural and contextual factors that play a role in Latina sexuality development. Mothers' experiences of intergenerational silence,

differences of cultural upbringing, family structure, burden of immigration, lack of knowledge on LGBTQ+ content, and minimal support from husbands were just some of the factors tied to the reported processes of sex-communication mothers described. The emotional and physical tolls tied to the immigrant identity, among other unknown stressors, likely inform mothers' values on sexuality and parenting, and how mothers think about approaching sex-communication their adolescent daughters. Knowledge gained from this study helps support a systemic understanding of the sexual socialization communication processes within the family unit. This advances the field of marriage and family therapy, as a comprehensive understanding of these family dynamics and communication processes can inform culturally relevant therapy practices and interventions that support the sexual health promotion for immigrant Latino families,

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Recruitment Script (English)

Hello,

You are receiving this message because a group of researchers affiliated with Michigan State University are inviting you to participate in a one on one interview of approximately 1.5 hours to talk about your experiences as parents. These discussions are part of a research project that will help better understand the experiences of immigrant Latino parents' communication (or lack of) about sexuality with their teenage daughter(s). If this study seems like something you would be interested in participating please continue read message below from the researchers:

Thank you for showing interest in our study. The current project has the long-term goal of helping Latino parents facilitate effective conversations about sexuality with their daughters. We hope to learn from your experiences, as this information is necessary to inform that it will work for Latino families. The interview will take place online via video conference.

To be eligible for the study participants must meet the following criteria:

- identify as Latino/a immigrant (i.e., not born in the U.S.)
- at least 18 years of age
- Parent of at least one adolescent daughter between 11 and 17 years of age.
- immigrated to the U.S. before or within first year of birth of the target adolescent

Potential risks: Potential risks of you taking part in this study include that you might feel uncomfortable and emotionally distressed answering some of the study questions about sexuality. It's possible that someone other than the researchers or Human Research Protection Program staff could find out you were in the study or see your private study information. The steps we take to keep this from happening are described below. Lastly any disclosure of abuse to a minor will have to be reported.

Potential benefits: There are no direct benefits to you for participating in this study, although it is possible that some of the questions may prompt self-reflection. We also expect that you will gain insight about your experience as a parent and will experience a sense of relief by having someone to listen to your stories. What is learned in the study will likely benefit society in providing more detailed knowledge about parental needs and cultural factors that are important for Latino parents to engage in effective communication about sexuality with their adolescents.

By participating in the interview, you will receive a \$50 giftcard. Your participation in this interview is completely voluntary and you will not have to talk about topics you do not want to discuss. You can stop your participation in this interview at any time without penalty. The information you share will remain confidential.

To enroll or find out more information about the interview, please contact study coordinator **Silvia Gisela Leija** at (248) 839-9299 or via Email Leijasil@msu.edu or principal investigator **Dr. Adrian Blow** Email: blowa@msu.edu.

APPENDIX B: Recruitment Script (Spanish Version)

Hola,

Está recibiendo este mensaje porque un grupo de investigadores afiliados a la Universidad Estatal de Michigan lo están invitando a participar en una entrevista individual de aproximadamente 1.5 horas para hablar sobre sus experiencias como padres. Estas discusiones son parte de un proyecto de investigación que nos ayudará a comprender mejor las experiencias de comunicación (o falta de) de padres inmigrantes latinos sobre la sexualidad con sus hijas adolescentes. Si este estudio parece algo en lo que estaría interesado en participar, continúe leyendo el mensaje a continuación de los investigadores:

Gracias por su interés en este estudio. Nuestro proyecto actual tiene el objetivo a largo plazo de ayudar a los padres latinos a facilitar conversaciones efectivas sobre la sexualidad con su hija. Dirigiremos entrevistas para conocer las necesidades de los padres y los factores que son importantes para hablar con adolescentes sobre la sexualidad. Esperamos aprender de sus experiencias; esta información es necesaria para informar que funcionará para las familias latinas.

Entonces, me gustaría invitarlo(a) a unirse a nosotros para una entrevista. La entrevista será por video conferencia.

Para ser elegible para el estudio, participantes deben cumplir con lo siguiente:

- identificarse como latino / inmigrante (es decir, no nacido en los EE. UU.)
- al menos 18 años de edad
- Padre de al menos una hija adolescente entre 11 y 17 años de edad.
- emigró a los EE. UU. antes o dentro del primer año de nacimiento del adolescente
- Tener acceso a Facetime / Whatsapp / Facebook Video

Riesgos potenciales: Los riesgos potenciales de que usted participe en este estudio incluyen que puede sentirse incómodo y angustiado emocionalmente al responder algunas de las preguntas de estudio sobre la sexualidad. Es posible que alguien que no sea el investigador o el personal del Programa de Protección de Investigaciones Humanas pueda descubrir que usted participó en el estudio o ver su información privada de estudio. Los pasos que seguimos para evitar que esto suceda se describen a continuación. Cualquier revelación de abuso a un menor tendrá que ser reportado.

Beneficios potenciales: No hay beneficios directos para usted por participar en este estudio, aunque es posible que algunas de las preguntas motiven la autorreflexión. También esperamos que obtenga información sobre su experiencia como padre, y experimentará una sensación de alivio al tener a alguien que escuche sus historias. Lo que se aprende en el estudio probablemente beneficie a la sociedad al proporcionar un conocimiento más detallado sobre las necesidades de los padres y los factores culturales que son importantes para que los padres latinos participen en una educación sexual efectiva con los adolescentes de las familias latinas. ***Al participar en esta entrevista, usted tendrá los siguientes beneficios recibirá un tarjeta de valor de \$50***

Su participación en esta entrevista es totalmente voluntaria y usted no tendrá que hablar de temas que no quiera discutir. Usted puede interrumpir su participación en cualquier momento sin ninguna consecuencia negativa para usted. La información proporcionada por usted será tratada de manera confidencial.

Si desea más información, usted puede contactar a **Silvia Gisela Leija (248) 839-9299**, o por email: Leijasil@msu.edu o al investigador principal **Dr. Adrian Blow** por Email: blowa@msu.edu

APPENDIX C: Recruitment Flyer (English Version)

We want to learn from your experiences!

Researchers from Michigan State University invite you to participate in a one on one interview of approximately 1.5 hours to talk about your experiences as parents. These discussions are part of a research project that will help us better understand the experiences of immigrant Latino parents' communication (or lack of) about sexuality with their teenage daughter(s)

Our current project has the long-term goal of helping Latino parents facilitate effective conversations about sexuality with their daughters. We hope to learn from your experiences, as this information is necessary to inform that it will work for Latino families. The interview will take place in a local community center in Southwest Detroit. Participants will also have the option to participate via video conference if necessary.

To be eligible for the study participants must meet the following criteria:

- identify as Latino/a immigrant (i.e., not born in the U.S.)
- at least 18 years of age
- Parent of at least one adolescent daughter between 11 and 17 years of age.
- immigrated to the U.S. before or within first year of birth of the target adolescent
- Have access to Facetime/Whatsapp/Facebook Video

Potential risks: Potential risks of you taking part in this study include that you might feel uncomfortable and emotionally distressed answering some of the study questions about sexuality. It's possible that someone other than the researchers or Human Research Protection Program staff could find out you were in the study or see your private study information. The steps we take to keep this from happening are described below. Lastly any disclosure of abuse to a minor will have to be reported.

Potential benefits: There are no direct benefits to you for participating in this study, although it is possible that some of the questions may prompt self-reflection. We also expect that you will gain insight about your experience as a parent and will experience a sense of relief by having someone to listen to your stories. What is learned in the study will likely benefit society in providing more detailed knowledge about parental needs and cultural factors that are important for Latino parents to engage in effective communication about sexuality with their adolescents.

By participating in the interview, you will receive a \$50 giftcard. Your participation in this interview is completely voluntary and you will not have to talk about topics you do not want to discuss. You can stop your participation in this interview at any time without penalty. The information you share will remain confidential.

To enroll or find out more information about the interview, please
contact study coordinator **Silvia Gisela Leija** at (248) 839-9299 or via Email
Leijasil@msu.edu or principal investigator **Dr. Adrian Blow** (517) 355-0230 or Email:
blowa@msu.edu

APPENDIX D: Recruitment Flyer (Spanish Version)

Investigadores de la Universidad del Estado de Michigan les invitan a participar en una pequeña entrevista de aproximadamente 1.5 horas en donde platicaremos de sus experiencias como padres y madres. Estas discusiones forman parte de un proyecto de investigación que nos ayudará para entender mejor las experiencias de los padres y las madres sobre conversaciones (o falta de conversaciones) de la sexualidad con su hija(s) adolescente.

Nuestro proyecto actual tiene el objetivo a largo plazo de ayudar a los padres latinos a facilitar conversaciones efectivas sobre la sexualidad con su hija. Dirigiremos entrevistas para conocer las necesidades de los padres y los factores que son importantes para hablar con adolescentes sobre la sexualidad. Esperamos aprender de sus experiencias, ya que esta información es necesaria para informar que funcionará para las familias latinas.

Entonces, me gustaría invitarlo(a) a unirse a nosotros para una entrevista. La entrevista sera en un lugar de centro de comunidad en Detroit o por video conferencia.

Para ser elegible para el estudio, participantes deben cumplir con lo siguiente:

- identificarse como latino / inmigrante (es decir, no nacido en los EE. UU.)
- al menos 18 años de edad
- Padre de al menos una hija adolescente entre 11 y 17 años de edad.
- emigró a los EE. UU. antes o dentro del primer año de nacimiento del adolescente objetivo
- Tener acceso a Facetime / Whatsapp / Facebook Video

Riesgos potenciales: Los riesgos potenciales de que usted participe en este estudio incluyen que puede sentirse incómodo y angustiado emocionalmente al responder algunas de las preguntas de estudio sobre la sexualidad. Es posible que alguien que no sea el investigador o el personal del Programa de Protección de Investigaciones Humanas pueda descubrir que usted participó en el estudio o ver su información privada de estudio. Los pasos que seguimos para evitar que esto suceda se describen a continuación. Cualquier revelación de abuso a un menor tendrá que ser reportado.

Beneficios potenciales: No hay beneficios directos para usted por participar en este estudio, aunque es posible que algunas de las preguntas motiven la autorreflexión. También esperamos que obtenga información sobre su experiencia como padre, y experimentará una sensación de alivio al tener a alguien que escuche sus historias. Lo que se aprende en el estudio probablemente beneficie a la sociedad al proporcionar un conocimiento más detallado sobre las necesidades de los padres y los factores culturales que son importantes para que los padres latinos participen en una educación sexual efectiva con los adolescentes de las familias latinas. ***Al participar en esta entrevista, usted tendrá los siguientes beneficios recibirá un tarjeta de valor de \$50***

Su participación en esta entrevista es totalmente voluntaria y usted no tendrá que hablar de temas que no quiera discutir. Usted puede interrumpir su participación en cualquier momento sin ninguna consecuencia negativa para usted. La información proporcionada por usted será tratada de manera confidencial.

Si desea más información, usted puede contactar a **Silvia Gisela Leija (248) 839-9299**, o por email: Leijasil@msu.edu o al investigador principal **Dr. Adrian Blow (517) 355-0230** o por Email:

blowa@msu.edu

APPENDIX E: Phone Screening Script (English Version)

Date of Intake _____

Scheduled Interview date: _____

Participant ID: _____

Hello and thank you for calling me, Silvia Leija, regarding parent-adolescent sex communication with immigrant Latino parents study. I would like to ask you a few questions in order to determine whether you may be eligible for the research. Before I begin the screening, I would like to tell you a little bit about the research. Our current project has the long-term goal of supporting Latino parents in facilitating effective conversations about sexuality with their adolescent daughters. We will conduct individual interviews online via video conference to explore the experiences of immigrant Latino parents communicating with their adolescent daughters about sexuality. We hope to learn from your experiences, as this information is needed for informing work for Latino families.

Would you like to continue with the screening? The screening will take about 10-15 minutes. I will ask you questions about your age, your daughter's age, the amount of years you have lived in the U.S., and questions regarding your partner or spouse if applicable. You do not have to answer any questions you do not wish to answer or are uncomfortable answering, and you may stop at any time. Your participation in the screening is voluntary.

Your answers will be confidential. No one will know your answers except for the research team. If after our conversation you are not eligible for the study, your answers will be stored in a secure password protected file but will not be linked to any identifying information including your phone number. However, if you qualify for the study, and decide to participate in the study, your questions will be stored securely in a password protected computer and will not be linked to your name or number. Instead your answers will be associated with a number to help protect your confidentiality.

Would you like to continue with the screening?

*[If no, **GO TO REFERRAL SECTION**, then thank the person and hang-up]*

We sincerely thank you for your time however, as this time you do not qualify for this study. However, we would like to offer additional resources if you would like them.

[If yes, continue with the screening]

Before I continue, please remember that you can stop this interview at any time and that you have the right to refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer.

PARENT INCLUSION CRITERIA:

- Are you 18 years of age or older? YES/NO
- Do you identify as foreign-born Latino/Hispanic? YES/NO
- Do you speak Spanish? YES/NO
- Do you have access to Whatsapp, FaceTime, or Facebook? Yes/No

Please do not answer the following 2 questions individually. When I am done asking them, you may say "yes" if one or more of the questions in the group apply

PARENT EXCLUSION CRITERIA:

- Do you or your spouse/partner have a history of severe psychiatric disorder (e.g., schizophrenia, etc.)? YES/NO
- Are you or your partner/spouse involved with child protective services due to allegations of child abuse or neglect? YES/NO

If YES:

- *We sincerely thank you for answering but at this time you do not qualify for this study. However, we would like to offer additional resources if you would like them.*

AGE SCREENING

Do you have at least 1 adolescent daughter between 11 and 17 years old? YES/NO

Target Adolescent (TA) birthday's date:

Today's date: (day) _____ (month) _____ (year) _____

Birthday: (day) _____ (month) _____ (year) _____

AGE: (years) _____ (months) _____

If no child meets age requirement:

We sincerely thank you for your time but we are looking for parents with adolescents ages 11 to 17. We are sorry but you do not qualify for this study. However, we would like to offer additional resources if you would like them.

If TA is right age:

Great! Thank you. Now we will ask you a few questions about your adolescent daughter:

TARGET ADOLESCENT (TA) INCLUSION CRITERIA:

- Does adolescent daughter self-identify as Latino/Hispanic? YES/NO
- Did you (parent) immigrate to the U.S. before the birth of your daughter?
 - IF NO: How old was your daughter when you immigrated to the U.S.?
 - **If parent did not immigrate to the U.S. within the first year of TA birth explain to parent that there are not eligible for the study.**
 - *We sincerely thank you for your time but we are looking for parents who immigrated within the first year of their daughter's birth. We are sorry but you do not qualify for this study. However, we would like to offer additional resources if you would like them.*

TARGET YOUTH (TA) EXCLUSION CRITERIA:

- Is your daughter receiving any type of services or treatment for documented sexual abuse? YES/NO

If YES:

- *We sincerely thank you for answering but at this time you do not qualify for this study. However, we would like to offer additional resources if you would like them.*

IF PARENT AND TY MEET ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA, PROCEED TO SCHEDULE INTERVIEW.

IF PARENT, PARTNER/SPOUSE, OR TA DO NOT MEET CRITERIA, THANK PARENT AND END INTERVIEW

Thank you for answering the screening questions. *[Indicate whether the person is eligible, or is not eligible and explain why.]*

If eligible, schedule date and interview time: **DATE:** _____ **TIME:** _____

We would like to retain your phone number to send a reminder phone call regarding your interview. Do we have your permission to call? Yes/No

Participant ID#: _____

Participant phone #: _____

Once date and interview are scheduled, ask questions about spouse/partner (if applicable).

- *Are you actively partnered? (YES/NO)*

If yes:

We would like to ask a couple questions about your partner to see if they might be interested and eligible for this study.

ADDITIONAL QUESTION ABOUT SPOUSE/PARTNER (IF APPLIES):

- Are you actively partnered with your adolescent daughter's biological father/mother? (YES/NO)
- Do you think your partner would be interested in participating in this study? YES/NO
 - IF NO: *Thank you for taking the time to answer these questions. We have completed our questions and will see you at your interview on (insert data/time)*
- Does your partner/spouse identify as foreign-born Latino Hispanic? YES/NO
 - IF YES: may we have permission to contact them regarding this study? YES/NO
 - IF YES: Can you please provide a phone number to contact your partner? (NOTE: Make sure not to collect partners' name) _____
 - IF NO: May we request you have them contact us to solicit interest in this study?: YES/NO.

*Do you have any questions about the screening or the research? If you have concerns or questions about this study, such as scientific issues, how to do any part of it, or to report an injury, please contact **Principal Investigator: Dr. Adrian Blow Phone: (517) 355-0230 Email:blowa@msu.edu** or regular mail at 552 W Circle Drive East Lansing, MI 48824.*

If you have questions or concerns about your role and rights as a research participant, would like to obtain information or offer input, or would like to register a complaint about this study, you may contact, anonymously if you wish, the Michigan State University's Human Research Protection Program at 517-355-2180, Fax 517-432-4503, or e-mail irb@msu.edu or regular mail at 4000 Collins Rd, Suite 136, Lansing, MI 48910.

Thank you again for your willingness to answer our questions.

REFERRAL SECTION FOR PARENTS WHO ARE INELIGIBLE AND REQUESTING ADDITIONAL SERVICES:

- **SOUTHWEST SOLUTIONS:** 5716 Michigan Avenue Detroit, MI 48210
 - **Call:** 313.963.2266
- **La SED (Latin Americans for Social & Economic Development)**
 - Website: <http://lasedinc.org/>
 - Call: (313) 554-2025
- **CRUZ CLINIC:** 17177 N Laurel Park Dr Ste 131, Livonia, MI 48152;
 - **Call:** [\(734\) 462-3210](tel:(734)462-3210)
- **Centro Multicultural La Familia** Centro Multicultural La Familia's services include a domestic violence program, citizenship classes, an early head start program for young children, a great parents program, language interpretation, translation and interpretation services, legal clinic for immigration cases (by appointment) and counseling and support groups for substance abuse and mental health. Website: <http://centromulticultural.org/>

APPENDIX F: Phone Screening Script (Spanish Version)

ID: _____

Date of Intake _____

Interview Initials _____

Hola, mi nombre es Silvia Gisela Leija. Soy miembro de un grupo de investigadores afiliados a la Universidad del Estado de Michigan. Nuestro proyecto actual tiene el objetivo a largo plazo de ayudar a los padres latinos a facilitar conversaciones efectivas sobre la sexualidad con su hija. Dirigiremos grupos de enfoque (que son solo entrevistas con un grupo de personas en lugar de solamente una persona) para conocer las necesidades de los padres y los factores que son importantes para hablar con adolescentes sobre la sexualidad. Estoy contactándolo(a) porque usted ha expresado interés en participar en este grupo o conoce a alguien que sugirió que podría estar interesado(a). Esperamos aprender de sus experiencias, ya que esta información es necesaria para informar que funcionará para las familias latinas. Sigue interesado(a) en participar? De ser así, quisiéramos hacerle unas preguntas para asegurarnos que califica para este estudio.

Antes de comenzar, necesito obtener su autorización verbal. Obtener su autorización verbal y completar estas preguntas nos tomara aproximadamente 15 minutos de su tiempo. Es un buen momento para hablar o desea que me comuniqué con usted de nuevo a una hora y día que se le acomode mejor?

Si contesta SI, continuar. Si contesta NO, preguntar hora y fecha para reprogramar llamada.

Hora y fecha preferida: _____

Numero de teléfono: _____

Consentimiento Verbal

Descripción del Estudio

Este es un estudio de investigación que nos ayudará a explorar las experiencias únicas y los factores culturales que contribuyen en la participación (o falta de ella) de la comunicación sobre el sexo y la sexualidad con sus hija(s) adolescentes. Esperamos aprender de sus experiencias, ya que esta información es necesaria para informar el trabajo para las familias latinas.

Debido a que este estudio está dirigido a padres inmigrantes con hijas adolescentes, necesitamos hacerle algunas preguntas antes de que podamos determinar su elegibilidad en este estudio. Además, algunas preguntas se refieren a asuntos familiares, como el ingreso familiar combinado aproximado en su hogar, si usted o tiene una enfermedad mental grave, o si su hijo está recibiendo servicios por abuso sexual documentado. Estas preguntas también nos ayudarán a determinar si califica para este estudio.

Si califica para este estudio, lo invitaremos a usted y a otros padres a asistir a grupos focales únicos que durarán aproximadamente 3 horas (incluye cena, grupo focal de 2.5 horas y cuidado infantil).

Si su familia califica para este estudio, los vamos(as) a invitar a usted y a otros(as) padres/madres a que participen en una discusión de grupo enfocada la comunicación sobre el sexo y la sexualidad con sus hija(s) adolescentes.

Esta es una explicación breve del estudio y procedimientos pero si su familia califica para el estudio y acepta participar, vamos a revisar de nuevo todos estos detalles en la primera cita de evaluación que programaremos para llenar cuestionarios.

Riesgos de participar en esta llamada de evaluación y cursos alternativos de tratamiento

Al participar en esta llamada, usted puede experimentar un malestar ligero si usted habla de problemas de conducta de su hijo(a) o problemas familiares como dificultades financieras o problemas mentales severos de usted o su pareja. Si usted experimenta malestar durante esta llamada y nos pide ayuda, nos aseguraremos que usted reciba referencias adecuadas para servicios de consejería si usted considera que esta opción lo puede beneficiar a usted y a su familia.

Beneficios de participar en esta llamada de evaluación y cursos alternativos de tratamiento

Respecto a los beneficios de participar en esta llamada, usted podría confirmar que es elegible para participar en este estudio. Si usted experimenta malestar durante esta llamada y nos pide ayuda, nos aseguraremos que usted reciba referencias adecuadas para servicios de consejería si usted considera que esta opción lo puede beneficiar a usted y a su familia.

Si usted tiene una preocupación o queja respecto a esta llamada/estudio:

Si usted tiene preguntas ó preocupaciones respecto a esta llamada o estudio, ó quisiera registrar una queja respecto a este estudio, usted puede contactar, anónimamente si usted lo desea al Programa de Protección de Sujetos Humanos en Investigación de la Universidad del Estado de Michigan al teléfono 517-355-2180, ó por email a: irb@msu.edu.

Si usted tiene preocupaciones o preguntas respecto a este estudio, como lo pueden ser cuestiones científicas, o cualquier pregunta relacionada al estudio, por favor comuníquese con los investigadores principales: Dr. Adrian Blow (Teléfono: 517-355-0230 correo electrónico: blowa@msu.edu) o Dra. Megan Maas (Teléfono: 517-432-3325; correo electrónico: maasmegl@msu.edu).

Participación Voluntaria en esta Evaluación e Investigación

Por favor recuerde que su participación en esta llamada y estudio es voluntaria. Usted puede decidir no participar, ó usted puede negarse a responder ciertas preguntas sin consecuencias negativas para usted. Si usted califica para el estudio, usted puede parar su participación aun después de haber aceptado participar.

El negarse a participar no implica ninguna pena, pérdida de beneficios, o cualquier tipo de consecuencias negativas.

Confidencialidad

Solamente el equipo de investigación tendrá acceso a sus respuestas. Si califica para el estudio, su información será guardada en un gabinete bajo llave en un laboratorio de investigación con acceso restringido. Si usted no califica para este estudio, toda la información escrita que nos haya proporcionado será triturada. Su confidencialidad será protegida al máximo alcance determinado por la ley.

Autorización/Consentimiento Verbal

En base a esto:

Acepta que le hagamos preguntas generales acerca de usted, su pareja, y su hija adolescente, para poder asegurarnos que este estudio es adecuados para usted?

Acepta que le hagamos preguntas sobre los comportamientos de su hijo(a)?

SI RESPONDE SI, PROCEDER.

SI RESPONDE NO, IR A LA SECCION PARA REFERENCIAS EXTERNAS.

Antes de continuar, por favor recuerde que usted puede parar esta entrevista en cualquier momento y tiene el derecho de rehusarse a contestar cualquier pregunta que no desee contestar.

Como se entero de este estudio? (chechar los que apliquen):

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> anuncio | <input type="checkbox"/> personal de la escuela (e.g., maestro, |
| consejero) | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> reclutamiento puerta a puerta | <input type="checkbox"/> un amigo(a) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> nuestras presentaciones a grupos | <input type="checkbox"/> nosotros los contactamos |

EVALUACION DE EDAD

Tiene un hija entre 11 y 17 años de edad? SI/NO

SI TIENE UN HIJA ENTRE 11-17, EXPLIQUE QUE PARA PARTICIPAR ,.

Edad del adolescente objetivo (Target Adolescent, TA):

Fecha actual: (día) _____ (mes) _____ (año) _____

Cumpleaños: (día) _____ (mes) _____ (año) _____

Edad: (años) _____ (meses) _____

Si el adolescente no cumple criterio de edad

Le agradecemos sinceramente por su tiempo pero estamos buscando familias con adolescentes con edades entre 11 y 17 años. Lo sentimos, pero no califica para el studio. Sin embargo,

queremos ofrecerle opciones profesionales que le pueden ser de ayuda. IR A LA SECCION PARA REFERENCIAS EXTERNAS.

Si el adolescente cumple el criterio de edad:

Excelente! Gracias, Ahora le haremos unas preguntas respecto a usted, su pareja (si aplica) y
_____ *TA*

CRITERIOS DE INCLUSION PARENTALES:

- ¿Tiene 18 años de edad o más? SI/NO
- ¿Se identifica como Latino/a nacido fuera de los Estados Unidos? SI/NO
- ¿Si aplica: Su pareja se identifica como Latino/a nacido fuera de los Estados Unidos? SI/NO
- ¿Habla usted Español? SI/NO
- ¿Su pareja habla Español? SI/NO
- ¿Cuántos familiares viven en su hogar?: _____
- ¿Aproximadamente, cual es su ingreso familiar combinado anual? \$ _____

(debe seguir tabla de lineamientos de ingreso federales para ayuda asistencial)

CRITERIOS DE EXCLUSION PARENTALES:

- ¿Está usted o su pareja involucrados con servicios de protección a la infancia debido a acusaciones de abuso infantil o negligencia? SI/NO
- ¿Usted o su pareja tienen historial de desordenes mentales psiquiátricos severos (e.g, schizophrenia, etc.)? SI/NO

CRITERIOS DE INCLUSION TA:

- ¿Su hijo(a) _____ se identifica como Latino/Hispano/a? SI/NO
- ¿ Su hijo(a) _____ habla Ingles, Español, o ambos? SI/NO
- ¿Usted (padre) emigró a los Estados Unidos antes del nacimiento de su hija?
 - SI NO: ¿Cuántos años tenía su hija cuando emigró a los Estados Unidos?

CRITERIOS DE EXCLUSION TA:

- ¿Esta _____ recibiendo algun tipo de servicios o tratamiento por abuso sexual documentado? YES/NO

SI PADRE/MADRE Y ADOLESCENTE CUMPLEN CRITERIO, PROCEDER.

SI PADRE/MADRE Y ADOLESCENTE NO CUMPLEN CRITERIO, PROCEDER A SECCION DE REFERENCIAS EXTERNAS.

PREGUNTA ADICIONAL SOBRE PAREJA (SI APLICA):

- ¿Cree que su pareja estaría interesado(a) en participar en este estudio? SI NO
 - SI NO: Gracias por tomarse el tiempo para responder estas preguntas. Realizaremos un seguimiento con usted en las próximas semanas para analizar la hora / fecha / ubicación exactas del grupo focal.

- SI ES SÍ: ¿Podemos tener permiso para contactar a su pareja con respecto a este estudio?
- SI ES SÍ: ¿Puede dar un número de teléfono y un nombre para contactar a su cónyuge?

Numero(s) de telefono # _____

Horas preferidas de contacto:

REFERENCIAS EXTERNAS.

- **SOUTHWEST SOLUTIONS:** 5716 Michigan Avenue Detroit, MI 48210
 - **Call:** 313.963.2266
- **La SED (Latin Americans for Social & Economic Development)**
 - Website: <http://lasedinc.org/>
 - Call: (313) 554-2025
- **CRUZ CLINIC:** 17177 N Laurel Park Dr Ste 131, Livonia, MI 48152;
 - **Call:** ~~(734)~~ 462-3210
- **Centro Multicultural La Familia** Centro Multicultural La Familia's services include a domestic violence program, citizenship classes, an early head start program for young children, a great parents program, language interpretation, translation and interpretation services, legal clinic for immigration cases (by appointment) and counseling and support groups for substance abuse and mental health. Website: <http://centromulticultural.org>

APPENDIX G: Consent Form

Study Coordinator:

Silvia Gisela Leija, M.S., LMFT
Doctoral Student
Human Development and Family Studies
Michigan State University
Email: leijasil@msu.edu
Phone: 248-839-9299

Study Principal-Investigator:

Adrian Blow, PhD
Professor and Interim Chair
Department of Human Development and
Family Studies
Michigan State University
7 Human Ecology
552 W Circle Drive
East Lansing, MI 48824
Phone: (517) 355-0230
Email: blowa@msu.edu

Study Co-Investigator:

Megan Maas, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor
Human Development & Family Studies
Michigan State University
552 W. Circle Drive
13D Human Ecology
East Lansing, MI 48824
Phone: 517-432-3325
Email: maasmeg1@msu.edu

What we are doing:

You are invited to participate in this study because you expressed an interest to participate in a study related to exploring the experiences of Latino parents engaging in communication about sex and sexuality with their adolescent daughters. We would like to invite you to participate in an individual online interview in order to learn more about your experiences communicating with your adolescent daughter(s) about sexuality. We hope to learn from your experiences, as this information is needed for informing work for Latino families.

You can decide not to participate in this interview or to stop your participation at any time. The interview will be audio recorded and later, professionally transcribed, then translated from Spanish to English by a Michigan State University doctoral student. By carefully studying your responses, we will be able to understand your needs and unique experience as a parent. Your name and identity will remain confidential and the audio tapes and transcriptions will be kept in a locked password protected computer. Protecting your confidentiality will be a first priority for us.

Why the study is being done?

We want to explore the unique experiences and cultural factors that play a role in Latino parents' engagement (or lack thereof) in communication about sex and sexuality with their adolescent daughters. We hope to learn from your experiences, as this information is needed for informing work for Latino families.

What will happen?

You will participate in one-time online interview which will take place via video conference and will last approximately 1.5 hours. You will be asked questions regarding your experiences and opinions about talking to your adolescent daughter(s) about sex and sexuality. You will receive a \$50 gift card for your participation in this interview. You will have the option to have the card sent to you in the mail or you can pick it up at a secured location in Detroit (Urban Neighborhood Initiatives). Your participation is voluntary and can be stopped at any time without penalty.

Potential risks: What are the possible risks and discomforts of participating in the study?

The potential risks of you taking part in this study include that you might feel uncomfortable and emotionally distressed answering some of the study questions about sexuality. It's possible that someone other than the researchers or Human Research Protection Program staff could find out you were in the study or see your private study information. The steps we take to keep this from happening are described below. Your participation in the study is voluntary. You can stop participating in the study at any time without penalty to you. You can also skip any question during the interview that you don't want to answer. Lastly, it is important for you to know that I am a mandated reporter, I will have to report any suspected child abuse or neglect.

Potential benefits: What are the possible benefits of participating in the study?

There are no direct benefits to you for participating in this study, although it is possible that some of the questions may prompt self-reflection. We also expect that you will gain insight about your experience as a parent and will experience a sense of relief by having someone to listen to your stories. What is learned in the study will likely benefit society in providing more detailed knowledge about parental needs and cultural factors that are important for Latino parents to engage in effective communication about sexuality with their adolescents. You will also receive a \$50 gift card for your participation.

Privacy and confidentiality: Who will see the information that I give?

The study team will make all efforts to keep the information you provide confidential to the maximum extent allowable by law. Only the study researchers and the Human Research Protection Program staff will have access to your study information.

To protect your privacy and confidentiality, the study team will not collect or use your name in study reports. To protect confidentiality, we ask you not to use any specific names and will redact this information from transcripts and audio recordings in the event it does occur. Will summarize your interview responses so that no individual participant can be identified in study reports, publications and presentations.

We will also protect your privacy and confidentiality by keeping your information in locked filing cabinets and password protected computer files maintained by the principal investigators.

Data from the research study will be kept for three (3) years after the project closes, per MSU policy and the research team and the MSU Human Research Protection Program will have access to the data.

Contact information: Who do I call if I have questions or I change my mind about participating?

If you have questions about the study such as scientific issues, how to do any part of it, or to report an injury (i.e., physical, psychological, social, financial, or otherwise), please contact the Principal Investigator: **Dr. Adrian Blow Phone: (517) 355-0230 Email: blowa@msu.edu** or study coordinator **Silvia G. Leija Phone: 248-839-9299 Email: leijasil@msu.edu**. If you choose to stop participating, the study team will remove you from the study.

If you have problems, questions, or concerns about your role and rights as a research participant, would like to obtain information or offer input, or would like to register a complaint about this study, you may contact, anonymously if you wish, the **Michigan State University Human Research Protection Program: Phone: (517) 355-2180; Fax: (517) 432-4503; E-mail: irb@msu.edu** or regular mail at 4000 Collins Rd, Lansing, MI 48910

How to agree to participate in the study?

By participating in this interview, you agree to voluntarily participate in the study and you agree to be audio taped. You also acknowledge that it is your right to refuse to answer any particular question that you do not want to answer. You acknowledge that you have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered, you have the right to refuse to answer any questions you do not wish to answer and have the right to stop the interview at any time.

Date: _____

Participant ID

Thank you so much for your participation!

APPENDIX H: Consent Form (Spanish Version)
Formulario de consentimiento

Cordinadora del estudio:

Entrevistadora de estudio:

Silvia Gisela Leija, M.S.
Estudiante de Doctorado
Desarrollo Humano y Estudios Familiares
Universidad del estado de michigan
Email: leijasil@msu.edu

Investigadores Principales:

Adrian Blow, PhD
Professor y Chair
Desarrollo Humano y Estudios Familiares
Michigan State University
7 Human Ecology
552 W Circle Drive
East Lansing, MI 48824
Teléfono: (517) 355-0230
Correo electrónico: blowa@msu.edu

Megan Maas, Ph.D.
Professor asistente
Desarrollo Humano y Estudios Familiares
Michigan State University
552 W. Circle Drive
13D Human Ecology
East Lansing, MI 48824
Teléfono: 517-432-3325
Correo electrónico: maasmegl@msu.edu

Qué estamos haciendo?

Está invitado a participar en este estudio porque expresó interés en participar en un estudio relacionado con la identificación de las necesidades de los padres y factores culturales para participar en una comunicación efectiva sobre sexualidad y relaciones saludables con niños y adolescentes. Nos gustaría invitarlo/a a participar en una entrevista en línea a través de videoconferencia para aprender más acerca de sus necesidades como padres para comunicar sobre la sexualidad y las relaciones saludables con sus hijos. Esta información es importante para hacer que la educación sexual centrada en los padres funcione para las familias Latinas con niños.

¿Por qué se está haciendo el estudio?

Queremos explorar las necesidades de los padres y los factores culturales para que los padres Latinos participen en una comunicación efectiva sobre la sexualidad y las relaciones saludables con sus hijos adolescentes, y para explorar sus necesidades como padres. Sus respuestas ayudarán a hacer una educación sexual centrada en los padres que funcione para las familias Latinas.

¿Qué va a suceder?

Usted participará en una entrevista en línea a través de videoconferencia que durará aproximadamente 1.5 horas. Se le harán preguntas sobre sus experiencias y opiniones sobre

hablar con niños y adolescentes sobre la sexualidad y las relaciones saludables. Recibirás una tarjeta de regalo de 50 dólares por su participación en esta entrevista.

Tendrá la opción de que le enviemos la tarjeta por correo o puede recogerla en un lugar seguro en Detroit (Urban Neighborhood Initiatives). Su participación es voluntaria y se puede detener en cualquier momento sin penalización.

Riesgos potenciales: ¿Cuáles son los posibles riesgos e incomodidades de participar en el estudio?

Los riesgos potenciales de que usted participe en este estudio incluyen que puede sentirse incómodo y angustiado emocionalmente al responder algunas de las preguntas de estudio sobre la sexualidad. Es posible que alguien que no sea el investigador o el personal del Programa de Protección de Investigaciones Humanas pueda descubrir que usted participó en el estudio o ver su información privada de estudio. Los pasos que seguimos para evitar que esto suceda se describen a continuación. Tu participación en el estudio es voluntaria. Puede dejar de participar en el estudio en cualquier momento sin penalización para usted. También puede omitir cualquier pregunta durante la entrevista que no desee contestar. Es importante que sepa que soy un reportero obligatorio, tendré que informar cualquier sospecha de abuso o negligencia infantil.

Beneficios potenciales: ¿Cuáles son los posibles beneficios de participar en el estudio?

No hay beneficios directos para usted por participar en este estudio, aunque es posible que algunas de las preguntas motiven la autorreflexión. También esperamos que obtenga información sobre su experiencia como padre, y experimentará una sensación de alivio al tener a alguien que escuche sus historias. Lo que se aprende en el estudio probablemente beneficie a la sociedad al proporcionar un conocimiento más detallado sobre las necesidades de los padres y los factores culturales que son importantes para que los padres latinos participen en una educación sexual efectiva con los adolescentes de las familias latinas. También recibirá una tarjeta de regalo de \$50 por su participación.

Privacidad y confidencialidad: ¿Quién verá la información que proporcione?

El equipo de estudio hará todos los esfuerzos para mantener la información que proporciona confidencial en la máxima medida permitida por la ley. Solo los investigadores del estudio y el personal del Programa de Protección de la Investigación Humana tendrán acceso a la información de su estudio.

Para proteger su privacidad y confidencialidad, el equipo del estudio no recopilará ni usará su nombre en los informes del estudio. Para proteger la confidencialidad, le pedimos que no use nombres específicos y eliminaremos esta información de las transcripciones y grabaciones de audio en caso de que ocurra. Resumirá las respuestas de su entrevista para que ningún participante individual pueda ser identificado en informes de estudio, publicaciones y presentaciones

También protegeremos su privacidad y confidencialidad manteniendo su información en archivadores cerrados y archivos de computadora protegidos con contraseña mantenidos por la investigadora principal del estudio.

Los datos del estudio de investigación se mantendrán durante tres (3) años después del cierre del proyecto, según la política de MSU y el equipo de investigación y el Programa de Protección de la Investigación Humana de la MSU tendrán acceso a los datos.

Información de contacto: ¿a quién debo llamar si tengo alguna pregunta o si cambio de opinión sobre mi participación?

Si tiene preguntas sobre el estudio, tales como cuestiones científicas, cómo hacer una parte o si informa una lesión (es decir, física, psicológica, social, financiera o de otro tipo), comuníquese con el investigadores principal: **Dr. Adrian Blow**: Teléfono: (517) 355-0230

Email: blowa@msu.edu o con la cordinadora del studio **Silvia G. Leija** Teléfono: 248-839-9299 correo electrónico: leijasil@msu.edu) Si decide dejar de participar, el equipo de estudio lo eliminará del estudio.

Si tiene problemas, preguntas o inquietudes sobre su rol y sus derechos como participante en la investigación, desea obtener información u ofrecer sugerencias, o desea registrar una queja sobre este estudio, puede comunicarse de manera anónima, si lo desea, con el Michigan. Programa de Protección de Investigación Humana de la Universidad Estatal: Teléfono: (517) 355-2180; Fax: (517) 432-4503; Correo electrónico: irb@msu.edu o correo regular en 4000 Collins Rd, Lansing, MI 48910

Como aceptar participar en esta entrevista?

Al participar en esta entrevista, usted acepta participar voluntariamente en el estudio y consienta que su entrevista sea grabada en audio. También reconoce que tiene derecho a negarse a responder cualquier pregunta en particular que no desee responder. Usted reconoce que ha tenido la oportunidad de hacer preguntas y obtener respuestas, tiene el derecho de negarse a responder cualquier pregunta que no desee responder y tiene el derecho de detener la entrevista en cualquier momento

Fecha: _____

Número de participante: _____

¡Muchas gracias por su participación!

APPENDIX I: Participant Demographic Questionnaire

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study! We have a few questions about you that we would like to ask to get to know more about you. **Please skip any questions you do not wish to answer.**

How old are you? Age (in years): _____

What is your race or ethnic background? Please check all that apply.

	Check all that apply
Hispanic/Latin@:	
Mexican	
Columbian	
Dominican	
Venezuelan	
Chilean	
Argentinian	
Salvadorian	
Guatemalan	
Peruvian	
Nicaraguan	
Ecuadorian	
Puerto Rican	
Costa Rican	
Other (Specify): _____	
Other: _____	

What country were you born in? _____

What is your marital status?

Married	
Divorced	
Separated	
Co-habiting	
Other (Please specify): _____	

How many biological children do you have? _____

Please indicate the age and gender in the box below:

Age	Gender
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	
6.	

7.	
----	--

How would you describe your gender?

Female	
Male	
None of these describe me accurately - I identify as:	

How would you describe your sexual orientation?

Heterosexual	
Lesbian/Gay	
Bisexual	
Asexual	
Questioning	
None of these describe me accurately - I identify as:	

What languages do you speak fluently? Check all that apply

English	
Spanish	
Other (Please specify: _____)	

What languages does your adolescent daughter speak fluently? Check all that apply

English	
Spanish	
Other (Please specify: _____)	

What is the race or ethnic background of your daughter's biological father/mother? Please check all that apply.

	Check all that apply
Hispanic/Latin@:	
Mexican	
Columbian	
Dominican	
Venezuelan	
Chilean	
Argentinian	
Salvadorian	
Guatemalan	
Peruvian	
Nicaraguan	
Ecuadorian	

Puerto Rican	
Costa Rican	
Other (Specify):	
Other: _____	

What is your annual household income?

	In U.S. Dollars
Less than \$10,000	
\$10,000-\$20,000	
\$21,000-\$30,000	
\$31,000-\$40,000	
\$41,000-\$50,000an	
\$51,000-\$60,000	
\$61,000-\$70,000	
\$71,000-\$80,000	
More than \$80,000	
Other: _____	

What is you highest level of education?

	Check all that apply
No schooling	
Elementary School (1-5 th grade)	
Middle School (6-8 th grade)	
High school (9-12 th grade)	
Some College	
College Degree	
Master's Degree	
Doctoral Degree	
Trade/tech school	
Other (Specify): _____	

Thank you for your participation in this study!

APPENDIX J: Participant Demographic Questionnaire (Spanish)

Comunicación entre padres y adolescentes sobre la sexualidad con madres latinos

¡Gracias por aceptar participar en este estudio! Tenemos algunas preguntas sobre usted que nos gustaría preguntar para conocer más sobre usted. **Por favor, omita cualquier pregunta que no desee responder.**

1. ¿Cuántos años tienes? Edad en años): _____
2. ¿Cuál es su raza u origen étnico? Por favor marque todos los que apliquen.

	marque todos los que apliquen
Marque todo lo que corresponda	
Hispano / Latino @:	
mexicano	
Colombina	
dominicano	
venezolano	
chileno	
Argentina	
salvadoreño	
guatemalteco	
peruano	
nicaragüense	
ecuatoriano	
puertorriqueño	
Costa Rica	
Otra (especificar):	

3. ¿En qué país naciste? _____
4. ¿Cómo describirías tu género?

Hembra	
Masculino	
Ninguno de estos me describe con precisión; me identifico como:	

5. ¿Cómo describirías tu orientación sexual?

Heterosexual	
Lesbiana / gay	
Bisexual	
Asexual	
Interrogatorio	
Ninguno de estos me describe con precisión; me identifico como: _____	

6. ¿Qué idiomas habla con fluidez? Marque todo lo que corresponda

Inglés	
Español	
Otros (especificar: _____)	

7. Cuál es tu estado civil?

Casado/a	
Divorciado/a	
Apartado/a	
Cohabitando/a	
Otros (especificar: _____)	

8. ¿Cuántos hijos biológicos tiene? _____
Por favor indique la edad y el género.

Edad	Genero
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	
6.	
7.	

9. ¿Cuál es la raza u origen étnico del padre/madre de su hija adolescente? Por favor marque todos los que apliquen.

	marque todos los que apliquen
Marque todo lo que corresponda	
Hispano / Latino @:	
mexicano	
Colombina	
dominicano	
venezolano	
chileno	
Argentina	
salvadoreño	
guatemalteco	
peruano	
nicaragüense	
ecuatoriano	
puertorriqueño	
Costa Rica	

Otra (especificar):	
---------------------	--

10. Cual es su ingreso familiar annual?

	En dólares estadounidenses
Menos de \$ 10,000	
\$ 10,000- \$ 20,000	
\$ 21,000- \$ 30,000	
\$ 31,000- \$ 40,000	
\$ 41,000- \$ 50,000an	
\$ 51,000- \$ 60,000	
\$ 61,000- \$ 70,000	
\$ 71,000- \$ 80,000	
Más de \$ 80,000	
Otros:	

11. ¿Cuál es tu nivel más alto de educación?

	Marque todo lo que corresponda
No escuela	
Escuela primaria (1-5 grado)	
Escuela intermedia (6-8 grado)	
Escuela secundaria (9-12 grado)	
Alguna educación superior	
Título universitario	
Maestría	
Doctorado	
Escuela de comercio / tecnologia	
Otra --especificar:	

¡Gracias por tu participación en este estudio!

APPENDIX K: Focus Group Interview Guide (English)

Introduction:

Hello, my name Silvia Gisela Leija and I wanted to thank you for your participation in this ginterview today. We are here because of your interest in wanting to share your experiences as immigrant Latino parents raising adolescent daughters in the U.S. We will also be discussing your experiences regarding communication (or lack therefore) about sexuality with your adolescent daughters.

We have invited you today because we want to learn more about your experiences as parents regarding these topics. The purpose of this interview is to learn about your concerns and needs as parents regarding this topic and explore what is the best way to help meet your needs. Your responses will help us understand your experiences related to your parenting efforts with regards to engaging in effective conversations about sexuality with your daughters.

We are really interested in your personal experiences and in any thoughts and feelings that you experience related to communicating these topics with your adolescent daughter(s). I want you to know because all your experiences are really important to us, there are no right or wrong answers– the most helpful information is when you provide your honest opinions and personal experience. It is also important for you to know that your name will not be tied to any of the answers that you provide. Please remember that you have the right to stop this interview at any time if you feel like doing so or you can skip any question that you do not want to answer for any reason without penalty. Please let us know if you are confused with any questions we ask you. Any questions? Let's begin!

GRAND TOUR 1

What are US immigrant Latino parents' views of sexuality and parenting? (aim 1)

1. Tell me about your immigration journey and how you got here? **(aim 2)**

Probes:

- What motivated you to come to this country?
 - Were there challenges for you coming here?
 - Do you still experience those challenges?
 - Most families immigrate to the US with hopes and dreams for their families, does this fit with you experience? What are those dreams?
 - What about for your daughters?
 - Are they different for your sons?
2. What cultural differences around sexuality have you noticed? **(aim 2)**

Probes:

- How do you think things are different or the same in terms of sex and relationships for yourself growing up in Latin America compared to the United States?
 - How do Latino families vs. American families handle “the talk”?
 - Do you find that these conversations happen in the Latino families? If so, who starts the conversation? (mom? Dad?)
- a. Tell about your experience as an adolescent. How did you learn about sex or reproductive health? **(aim 1)**

Probes:

- What was your first or most memorable experience learning about sex growing up? (e.g. through talking or not talking about sex, movies, etc.)
 - How was sex communicated (or not) through your family (e.g. through talking or not talking about sex, movies, etc.)
 - Why do you think it was (or not) communicated in that way?
 - What messages about sex did you receive from your parents (mom vs dad)?
 - Can you recall how you felt with regards to your first sexual experiences? For example, did you feel confused or scared or confident and prepared?
 - Do you talk to your kids about sex the same way your parents talked to you about sex? If not, how are you doing it differently?
 - What do you wish your parents would have told you about sex when you were younger?
- b. Who do you believe is responsible for educating your daughter about sexuality?
 - i. Mothers, fathers, other? **(aim 2 & 4)**

Probes:

- Do you think both parents (mother and father) hold the same responsibility in talking to your daughters about sex?
- For example, are there topics that you think only mothers should have with daughters (e.g. menstruation, sexual intercourse) as opposed to fathers? Why?
 - What about sons?
- Some parents have discussed having more fears around sexuality with their daughters than sons, what has been your experience?

- c. Where, or from who do you think your daughters are learning about sexuality (e.g. intercourse, sexual hygiene, menstruation, pregnancy)? **(aim 3)**

Probe:

- Do you imagine your daughters have a basic knowledge of sex? If so, who/where do you think they learned it from?

3. What cultural differences around parenting have you noticed in the U.S. compared to your country of origin? **(aim 3)**

Probes:

- Are their parenting practices in the U.S. that are similar or inconsistent with your parenting? What about in regards to parent-child sex communication?
 - a. What has it been like for you to parent a child in different country than the one you grew up in?

Probes:

- For example, differences from your upbringing compared to your children in the U.S.?
- What's that experience been like? (i.e. difficult/easy?)

- b. Tell me about your experience with instilling your cultural values with your daughters.

Probes:

- Are there cultural values you want to make sure your children are instilled with (i.e. religion, language, tradition, etc.)?
- What's that experience been like? (i.e. difficult/easy?)
- Each of us comes from different cultural backgrounds—from different countries, different ethnic groups, and different religions and often speaking different languages. How does your cultural background influence your views on sex or how you should talk with your teen about sex?

GRAND TOUR 2

What is the experience of immigrant Latino parents' communicating about sexuality with their adolescent daughters? (aim 3)

1. How have you approached the conversation of sexuality with your daughter? **(aim 3)**

Probes:

- Have you or another parent brought up the topic of sex/sexuality with your daughter?

2. Describe key conversation you have had with her on the topic. **(aim 3)**

Probes:

- Has your adolescent daughter asked you any questions regarding the topic of sex? If so, what was that experience like?

- Do you find that these conversation happens in the Latino families? If so, who starts the conversation? (mom? Dad?)
 - Have you wanted to discuss certain sex related topics but found yourself unable to engage in the conversation? If so, why do you think that is?
 - Are there barriers in language; knowledge; embarrassment?
3. Describe conversations have you had with her about reproductive health (e.g., menstruation, puberty, pregnancy?) **(aim 3 & 4)**

Probes:

- Has there been any conversation or questions about where baby's come from?
 - How about puberty, menstruation?
 - What words do you use for intimate body parts when talking with kids?
- Do you think your children are prepared for sex (wanted or not) with the information and skills they currently have?
 - a. How were these conversations different with your son (if you don't have a son, how would they be different if you did) **(aim 4)**

Probes:

- For example, do you imagine you would use different examples, language or outline different rules/expectations for your daughters vs sons.
 - Can you recall how you learned about these topics growing up?
 - Do you wish you parents talk to you about these topics more? Why or why not?
4. What expectations do you have for your daughters (as opposed to sons)? **(aim 4)**

Probes:

- Do you have any hope or fears with regards to romantic relationships for your daughter?
 - Are there rules for dating?
 - What about marriage?
 - Career? Education?
 - Is this different for your sons? If so, why?
 - Are they the same for your sons?
 - What are your feelings regarding your daughter asking you questions regarding sex?
 - What about your son?
5. Tell me about your ideas on the roles women and girls should play in the family as opposed to men and boys? Where did you learn this? **(aim 4)**

Probes:

- How did learn about how girls and boys "should" behave?
 - Where did you learn this?
 - Is that what you observed in your family growing up?
 - Do you remember any specific examples?
 - Did your parents ever get angry or upset when you didn't behave in a certain way? Do you remember any specific examples?
- What is the role of a woman in a romantic/sexual relationship? How about in a marriage?

APPENDIX L: Interview Guide (Spanish)

Introduction:

Hola, mi nombre es Silvia Leija. Soy miembro de un grupo de investigadores afiliados a la Universidad del Estado de Michigan. El objetivo de esta investigación es ayudar a los padres Latinos tener conversaciones efectivas sobre la sexualidad con su hija. Estas entrevistas con padres son para conocer las necesidades de los padres y los factores que son importantes para hablar con adolescentes sobre la sexualidad. Esperamos aprender de sus experiencias, ya que esta información es necesaria para informar que funcionará para las familias latinas.

Usted esta invitada/o a esta entrevista para conocer más sobre tu experiencia como padre con respecto a estos temas. El propósito de esta entrevista es para conocer sus inquietudes y necesidades como padre/madre con respecto a este tema y explorar cuál es la mejor manera de ayudarlo/a a satisfacer sus necesidades. Sus respuestas nos ayudarán a comprender sus experiencias relacionadas con sus esfuerzos de crianza con respecto a entablar conversaciones efectivas sobre la sexualidad con sus hijas.

Estoy interesado en sus experiencias personales y en los pensamientos y sentimientos que experimente relacionados con la comunicación de estos temas con su (s) hija (s) adolescente (s). es posible que tenga otros hijos, y para el propósito de la entrevista de hoy nos centraremos principalmente en su hija adolescente. Quiero que sepa que todas tus experiencias son realmente importantes y que no hay respuestas correctas o incorrectas; la información más útil es cuando brindas sus opiniones honestas y sus experiencia personal. También es importante que sepa que su nombre no estará conectado/a a ninguna de las respuestas que conteste. Recuerde que tiene derecho a detener esta entrevista en cualquier momento si tiene ganas de hacerlo o puede omitir cualquier pregunta que no quiera responder por ningún motivo sin penalización. Porfavor avíseme si está confundido con alguna pregunta. ¿Alguna pregunta? ¡Vamos a empezar!

GRAND TOUR 1 What are US immigrant Latino parents' views of sexuality and parenting? (aim 1)

1. ¿Me puede contar sobre su historia de cómo llegó a estar en los Estados Unidos? (aim 2)

Probes:

- ¿Qué le motivó a usted venir a este país?
- ¿Hubo dificultades que usted experimentó al venir aquí? Me puede contar sobre eso?
 - Usted sigue enfrentandose con esos dificultades? De que forma?
- ¿Actualmente, hay dificultades, que usted experimenta como inmigrante en este país? Me puede contar sobre eso?
 - Usted cree que esto EXPERENCIAS le impacta en la crianza de su hija? Me puede dar un ejemplo?
- ¿Qué beneficios, si alguno, experimenta usted como inmigrante en este país?
 - Usted cree que estos beneficios le impacta en la crianza de su hija?
- Muchas familias emigran a los Estados Unidos con esperanzas y sueños para sus familias, ¿esto coincide con su experiencia? ¿Qué son esos sueños?

- ¿Qué esperanzas y sueños tienes para su hija? ¿Estas esperanzas y sueños son diferentes para tus hijos?
2. ¿Qué se le viene a la mente cuando escucha la palabra "sexualidad"? **(aim 1)**
Probes:
- ¿Qué significa la sexualidad para usted?
- * Nota: las preguntas que siguen sobre sexo o temas relacionados con el sexo no tienen que limitarse a las relaciones íntimas.**
3. Cuéntame sobre sus experiencias como adolescente en su aprendizaje de temas relacionados con la sexualidad. Por ejemplo, ¿su aprendizaje sobre género, relaciones sexuales, orientación sexual o salud reproductiva? **(aim 1)**
Probes:
- ¿Cómo se manejaban estos temas relacionados con el sexo en su familia? (por ejemplo, ¿fue discutido, hablaban sobre estos temas, fue ignorado, asumido?)
 - ¿Cuál fue su primera experiencia o la más memorable de estos temas relacionados con el sexo?
 - ¿Qué consejos sobre sexo recibio de tus padres (de mama, de papá)?
 - ¿Usted habla con tu hijas sobre el sexo de la misma manera que sus padres hablaron sobre el sexo? Si es así, ¿de qué manera? Si no, ¿cómo lo está haciendo de manera diferente?
 - ¿Hubiese deseado que sus padres le hubiera hablaran más sobre estos temas? ¿Por qué o por qué no? **(aim 1)**
 - ¿Qué le hubiera gustado que sus padres le hubieran dicho sobre el sexo cuando usted era más joven?
4. Cuéntame sobre su experiencia criando una hija en los estados unidos **(aim 2)**
Probes:
- ¿Cómo describa su relación con su hija?
 - ¿Cómo describa su comunicación con su hija?
 - ¿usted piensa que le ha impactado su experiencias como inmigrante en la crianza de sus hijas?
 - A veces, los adolescentes y sus padres no están de acuerdo sobre vivir con valores "estadounidense o americana" a comparacion valores Latina con respecta a relaciones románticas. En otras familias, los padres y sus adolescentes si están están de acuerdo.
 - ¿Cuál ha sido la experiencia de usted? {
5. ¿Cómo compara (o distingue) los valores de su familia con los valoares de familias Americanas? **(aim 3)**
Probes: (me puede dar un ejemplo)
- ¿Existen normas o reglas de crianza americanas que sean similares o inconsistentes con respecto a sus valores de familiar o crianza de hijos? (es decir, reglas con respecto a cosas como pijamada, prácticas de castigos, tener novio/a etc.)
 - ¿Que tal con respecto a padres habalandando sobre el tema del sexo con su adolescente?
 - a. ¿Puede describir su experiencia criando a una hija en un país diferente al que usted crecio?
- Probes:**
- ¿Cuénteme acerca de las diferencias/similitudes de su educación/crianza en comparación con sus hijos en los Estados Unidos?
 - ¿Cómo ha sido esta experiencia? (es decir, fácil / difícil?)

- b. Cuéntame sobre su experiencia de inculcar sus valores culturales con su hija(s)

Probes:

- ¿Qué tan interesada está su hija en aprender sobre su herencia cultural? ¿Cómo les enseñas a tus hijas sobre su cultura Latina?
- ¿Hay valores culturales que desea asegurarse de que sus hijos estén inculcados (es decir, religión, idioma, tradición, etc.)?
- ¿Cómo influye su cultura en su puntos de vista sobre el sexo o cómo debe hablar con su hijo adolescente sobre el sexo?

GRAND TOUR 2

What is the experience of immigrant Latino parents' communicating about sex-related topics with their adolescent daughters? (aim 3)

1. ¿Cuéntame sobre una vez que usted tuvo una conversación sobre algún tema relacionado con el sexo o sexualidad con su hija? **(aim 3)**

Probes:

- ¿Alguna vez usted ha tocado el tema del sexo / sexualidad con tu hija? ¿Cómo fue esa experiencia? (es decir, nervioso, productivo, aterrador?)
 - ¿Ha habido un momento en que su hija le ha hecho alguna pregunta sobre el tema del sexo? Si es así, ¿cómo fue esa experiencia? ¿Quién comienza la conversación? (¿mamá papá?)
 - ¿Usted Ha querido hablar sobre ciertos temas relacionados con el sexo o sexualidad pero no puedo llevar a cabo la conversación? Si es así, ¿por qué crees que es así?
 - ¿Hay barreras en su comunicación? Por ejemplo lenguaje; conocimiento; ¿vergüenza?
 - ¿Cuáles son sus sentimientos con respecto a que su hija le haga preguntas sobre temas relacionados con el sexo?
 - ¿Qué que tal con su hijo?
2. Por favor, ¿puede describir conversaciones que haya tenido con ella sobre salud reproductiva (por ejemplo, menstruación, pubertad, embarazo?) **(aim 3 & 4)**

Probes:

- ¿Ha habido alguna conversación o pregunta sobre de dónde vienen los bebés?
 - ¿Qué tal la pubertad, la menstruación?
 - ¿Qué palabras usa usted para hablar sobre las partes íntimas del cuerpo?
 - ¿Puedes recordar cómo usted aprendió sobre estos temas de joven?
- Usted cree que su hija están preparada para navegar encuentros sexuales (deseado o no deseado) con la información y recursos que actualmente tienen? **(aim 1)**
 - a) Hemos estado hablando específicamente sobre estas conversaciones con su hija. ¿Cómo son diferentes estas conversaciones con su hijo? **[ask only if they have son(s)] (aim 4)**

Probes:

- ¿Utiliza diferentes ejemplos, lenguaje o dirige diferentes reglas / expectativas para sus hijas en comparación con sus hijos?

3. ¿Qué expectativas o esperanzas tienes para su hija? **(aim 4)**

Probes:

- Tiene alguna esperanza con respecto a una carrera o educación de su hija ?
 - ¿Qué tal con respecto a una relación romántica para su hija?
 - ¿Hay expectativas o reglas sobre tener pareja? (es decir, no tener pareja, salir con parejas del mismo sexo o parejas de sexo opuesto)
 - ¿Qué tal con respecto al matrimonio?
 - ¿Es esto lo mismo / diferente para tus hijos? Si es diferente, ¿por qué?

4. Tell me about your ideas on the roles women and girls should play in the family as opposed to men and boys? Where did you learn this? ¿Cuéntame que piensa sobre el papel que las mujeres (madres e hijas) deben de cumplir en la familia en comparacion a los hombres (padres e hijos)? dónde aprendiste esto? (aim 4)

Probes:

- ¿De donde o de quien aprendio cómo "deberían" comportarse las niñas y los niños?
 - ¿Esto es lo que usted observo en su familia de adolescente?
 - ¿Recuerdas algún ejemplo específico?
 - ¿Alguna vez sus padres se enojaron cuando no se comporto de cierta manera?
 - ¿Recuerdas algún ejemplo específico?
 - ¿Hay ciertas quehaceres se les dan a sus hijas en comparación con sus hijos? Si es así, ¿por qué es eso?
 - ¿Hay ciertas reglas de la casa que inculca a las hijas (es decir, quedarse fuera hasta tarde, pijamadas, salir, etc.)?
 - ¿Fueron estas reglas similares / diferentes para usted de joven?
 - ¿Cuál es el papel de una mujer en una relación romántica / sexual? ¿Qué tal en un matrimonio?
5. ¿Quién cree que es responsable de educar a su hija sobre el sexo? (es decir, ¿madres, padres, otros? (aim 2 & 4)

Probes:

- ¿Usted cree que ambos padres (madre y padre) tienen la misma responsabilidad al hablar con sus hijas sobre el sexo?
- ¿Hay ciertos temas relacionados con la sexualidad que cree que solo las madres deberían hablar con las hijas (por ejemplo, la menstruación, las relaciones sexuales) en lugar de los padres? ¿Por qué?
 - ¿Hay ciertos temas relacionados con la sexualidad que cree que solo las padres deberían hablar con sus hijos en lugar de los padres? ¿Por qué?
- Algunos padres han expresado que tienen más preocupaciones sobre la sexualidad de sus hijas que con los hijos, ¿cuál ha sido su experiencia?
- a. ¿De dónde o de quién crees que su hija están aprendiendo sobre la sexualidad (por ejemplo, orientación sexual, relaciones sexuales, higiene sexual, menstruación)? (aim 3)

Probe:

- ¿Usted cree que sus hijas tienen informacion básicos del sexo? Si es así, ¿de quién / dónde cree que lo esta aprendieron?
6. ¿Qué tan importante es para usted comunicarse con su hija sobre temas relacionados con el sexo? (aim 3)

Probe:

- ¿Usted esta interesa en tener más comunicación sobre temas relacionados con el sexo con su hija?
- Si es así, ¿qué cree que le ayudaría a tener mas comunicación con ella?

¡Gracias por participar en este estudio! ¿Hay algo más que le gustaría agregar antes de que terminemos hoy?

APPENDIX M: Audit Trail Record

Date	Task	Result

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