





# The Socialization of Cultural Values and the Development of Latin American Prosociality

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#### **ABSTRACT**

Understanding childhood socialization across multiple world cultures is important for developing comprehensive and generalizable theories of developmental psychology. Studies suggest that Latin American children show markedly high levels of prosocial behavior. In this article, we theorize that this hyper-prosociality is supported by a particular cluster of "other-oriented" values that are fundamental to Latin American culture—including the values of *simpatia*, *respeto*, *acomedirse*, *familismo*, and *cariño*. Based on our review of 60 papers describing studies with more than 12,000 participants, we discuss these values in adult caregivers and examine socialization processes that facilitate the intergenerational transfer of Latin American prosocial values from caregivers to children. The study of Latin American children yields new and important insights into cultural influences on prosocial behavior, while at the same time promoting inclusion and scientific generalizability. Social experiences, which vary by culture, undergird the development of human prosociality.

What does it mean to have a good education? In English, when speakers describe a person as having a good education, they usually are referring to scholastic attainment. Yet when Spanish speakers use the equivalent phrase, buena educación, they are describing a person who—through the socialization practices of their family and community—has succeeded in learning to become a responsible member of the community, a person who strives to collaborate, show care, and help others. How do children's learning experiences in Latin American cultures contribute to their buena educación? What can answering this question teach us about socialization processes and more general theories of human development?

Cultures vary in the emphasis they place on *prosocial behavior*, defined as voluntary actions that benefit others, such as helping, sharing, comforting, being kind, and showing compassion

(Killen and Smetana 2013; Tomasello 2019). Consistent with the concept of *buena educación*, the peoples of the Latin American region have been reported to be especially prosocial (Díaz-Loving 2019; Kitayama and Salvador 2024; Senft et al. 2021). In these cultures, the development of children's prosocial attitudes and conduct is a central goal of childrearing (Carlo et al. 2022; Markus and Kitayama 2010; Rogoff 2003). Because the socialization goals prevalent in Latin American families are not identical to those in Global North families (the latter being overrepresented in research on children: García Coll 2020; Singh et al. 2023; White et al. 2018), examining Latin American families can yield novel insights about the origins, expression, and malleability of human prosociality.

In this article, we integrate child developmental, socialpsychological, and anthropological research conducted in

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Central and South America, Mexico, the Caribbean, and the Latin American diaspora in the United States. We propose a theoretical model for the developmental emergence of a cluster of prosocial cultural values in children from these populations (see Figure 1A) and describe the socialization processes by which these prosocial values may be acquired (see Figure 1B). By focusing on work conducted in Latin America—much of which is published in languages other than English—we highlight the insights that can be gained by taking into account groups that have been understudied, including Indigenous and transnational communities.

#### 1 | Hyper-Prosociality in Children of Latin American Cultural Heritage

Children of Latin American cultural heritage have a strong tendency toward prosociality. For example, as early as 19 months, infants of Latin American heritage showed significantly more prosocial behavior than infants of other groups, as measured by sharing objects in an experimental setting (Barragan and Meltzoff 2021). In another study, of 6- to 7-year-olds, most Mexican-heritage children regularly took the initiative to help with household work, while less than a third of European-American children did so, according to mothers' reports (Coppens and Rogoff 2022). Children in Latin American populations also show fluid collaboration with others across a

wide range of tasks and situations (Alcalá et al. 2018; Dayton et al. 2022). What cultural values in Latin American adults foster this heightened prosociality in children, and how do the children acquire it?

#### 2 | Prosocial Cultural Values

We hypothesize that a rich web of Latin American cultural values lays the groundwork for children's prosocial development. Five values are of special relevance: *simpatia*, *respeto*, *acomedirse*, *familismo*, and *cariño*. To illustrate these, we synthesize empirical findings from multiple Latin American countries, highlighting the country studied, participants' ages, whether the study included Indigenous participants, and other relevant sociodemographic characteristics. For more information on these studies, please see Table S1 in online materials. This table summarizes empirical work reported in 60 papers describing studies with more than 12,000 participants and helps illustrate that people from Latin America vary and are not one homogenous group.

#### 2.1 | Simpatía

Initially described by social psychologists studying people of Cuban, Mexican, and Puerto Rican heritage (Triandis

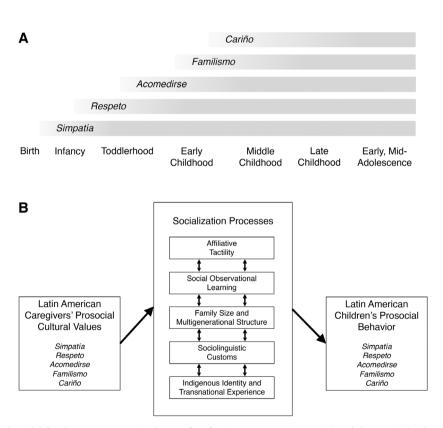


FIGURE 1 | Theoretical Model for the Intergenerational Transfer of Latin American Prosociality. (A) Prosocial values visualized with the theorized age period when children express these values behaviorally. Darker graded shading connotes more readiness to show the values. (B) Theorical model showing socialization processes that mediate between Latin American caregivers' prosocial cultural values and the heightened expression of prosocial behavior in Latin American children. This is not an exhaustive list of cultural values or socialization processes. Full feedforward/feedback loops are not illustrated for readability. Graded shading is used to avoid indicating sharp developmental stages and to recognize the possibility of individual variation.

et al. 1984), simpatía is a cultural value that involves effusive, joyful sociality (Ramírez-Esparza et al. 2012). Simpatía varies by individual and manifests in Latin Americans' tendencies to be polite, avoid interpersonal conflict, show consideration for others, and look for opportunities to smile and share laughter (Acevedo et al. 2020). Many parents want their children to show simpatia (see Rosabal-Coto 2012, for work with Costa Rican families, and Guilamo-Ramos et al. 2007, for work with U.S. Dominican and Puerto Rican mothers). Exposure to this cultural value begins early in development: In a study of mothers of 1-year-olds, U.S. Latina mothers laughed significantly more than White mothers (Ramírez-Esparza et al. 2019). The positive emotions involved in mothers' simpatía correlate with infants' own sociobehavioral engagement (see Paolantonio et al. (2020), for work with Argentinian infants, and Diniz et al. (2016), for work with Brazilian infants). Behavioral manifestations of simpatía occur early in development and are evident in Latin American infants and toddlers (Mendes and Seidl-de-Moura 2014; see Figure 1A).

#### 2.2 | Respeto

Respeto is a cultural value in which caregivers purposely strive to teach young children, even toddlers, about appropriate behavior toward others, including non-kin (Calzada et al. 2010). Although researchers have tended to focus on this Spanishlanguage term, close variations of the concept are also found throughout Indigenous communities in South, Central, and North America (Ruvalcaba et al. 2015). For example, in Peruvian Quechua communities, respeto is labeled yupaychay, and mothers strive for children to show respectful humility toward people and other living beings (García 2015). In a study on the development of respeto (Tamis-LeMonda et al. 2020), Mexican-heritage 21/2-year-olds who scored high on respeto readily followed instructions from their mother during playtime, smiling toward her as they complied and waited for follow-up instructions. Similarly, in another study, Chilean mothers provided supportive instructions that included respetolike limits and consequences to their 3- to 5-year-olds during playtime (Inostroza et al. 2014).

The *respeto* identified in Latin American families involves calmness on the part of caregivers and receptiveness on the part of children, a "nonauthoritarian mutual responsibility" (Ruvalcaba et al. 2015, p. 187), which should not be confused with the authoritarian parenting documented in classical U.S. research (Baumrind 1971). We suggest that, in concert with the development of motor and sociocognitive skills (e.g., joint attention and learning from and about people; Moll and Meltzoff 2011; Tomasello 2019), toddlers' *respeto* can develop early if they are exposed to this cultural value (see Figure 1A).

#### 2.3 | Acomedirse

The value of *acomedirse* involves children being attentive to the community milieu, noticing when and where their actions may be useful, and contributing without explicit requests (Alcalá et al. 2014; Rogoff et al. 2017)—what might be called

prospective helping, rather than the more reactive helping of other cultures. For example, in one study, 7-year-old Yucatec Maya children showed that they took interest in learning about and meeting the needs of the household without being asked to do so (Alcalá et al. 2021; Alcalá and Cervera 2022). In another study, Indigenous P'urhépecha 8- to 10-year-olds were attuned when animals had not yet been fed and fed the ones "in need" without being prompted by adults (Mejía-Arauz et al. 2013).

In Indigenous Mixe communities, collaborative, proactive work for the good of the group is seen as giving dignity to members of the community, including children (Cardoso Jiménez 2015). In urban Mexico, children self-reported that it was their responsibility to proactively help with household work to lighten the burden on their hard-working parents (Coppens et al. 2014). The emphasis on being *acomedida/o* (adjectival form of *acomedirse*) is also prevalent in the diaspora (Alcalá et al. 2018): Indigenous-heritage families in California nurtured their children's own autonomy and agency in helping at home without being asked to do so (López et al. 2015; López-Fraire et al. 2024). The available evidence suggests that socializing a child to be *acomedida/o* is a goal for parents in Latin America, and that this can be seen in children's behavior by middle childhood (see Figure 1A).

#### 2.4 | Familismo

Empirical studies suggest that Latin Americans are oriented toward *familismo*, a cultural value and behavioral tendency that emphasizes strong family ties of obligation, support, and the use of the extended family as the primary social referent group (Calzada et al. 2013; Knight and Carlo 2012). Whereas *respeto* requires a child to be mindful of showing affiliative obedience and *acomedirse* involves children taking prosocial initiative, *familismo* also recruits children's ability to recognize that, despite ties to others in the community, they have an obligation to care for a specific set of people—their family (e.g., parents, siblings, elderly aunts, and cousins). This duty to or affiliation with the family is prioritized (Stein et al. 2014). *Familismo* is evident by middle childhood in children's self-reports (Calderón-Tena et al. 2011; Kho et al. 2023; see Figure 1A).

#### 2.5 | Cariño

Cariño is a prosocial cultural value of affection and allencompassing love (Halgunseth and Ispa 2012; Lomelí 2023). For example, in rural Chile, Indigenous Mapuche mothers, grandmothers, and aunts show cariño by being mindful of others' needs, cooking for neighbors, provisioning gifts, and socializing children to enact this cariño toward others in the community (Murray et al. 2017). Cariño is a characteristic of daily family life (e.g., Louro Bernal 2004, for work in Cuba). The cariño that parents received from their own parents is connected to the cariño they show to their children (see Villavicencio et al. 2017, for work in Ecuador, and Cabella and Nathan 2011, for work in Uruguay). Brazilian 8- and

10-year-olds experienced this value as unconditional love and support (e.g., Sampaio et al. 2008, for work in Brazil). *Cariño* manifests in caregivers' verbal interactions with children (Livas-Dlott et al. 2010; Smith and Riojas-Cortez 2010) and generalizes beyond the family: For example, Mexican-origin parents and children show *cariño* not only toward one another but also toward others in the community (Dueñas 2015).

Values related to *cariño* can be found in a range of Indigenous communities in Latin America and are labeled with language-specific words, such as in Mapuzungun (*poyewün*; Quidel 2014), in Nahuatl (*apapacho*; Alatorre 2001), and in P'urhépecha (*xenchpérakua*; Huíchu Kuákari 2019). Based on available reports, we suggest that this value may start to be seen in early childhood, but is more often expressed verbally and put into practice by late childhood and early to mid-adolescence, as children solidify their repertoire of *simpatia*, *respeto*, *acomedirse*, and *familismo* (see Figure 1A).

#### 3 | Children's Learning of Cultural Values via Socialization Processes

Although young children—even infants—around the world are prolific sociocultural learners (e.g., Meltzoff et al. 2009; Tomasello 2019) and such learning is supported by social brain networks (e.g., Bosseler et al. 2024; Meltzoff and Marshall 2020), we still need to characterize culturally tuned socialization processes to account for the hyper-prosociality of children of Latin American heritage. We outline five interrelated processes that serve as channels for the intergenerational transmission of the tendency to interact with others in a warm, positive, prosocial manner: affiliative tactility, social observational learning, family size and structure, sociolinguistic customs, and Indigenous identity and transnational experience. Taken together, they provide experiences that undergird the development of Latin American children's seemingly natural prosociality toward others.

#### 3.1 | Affiliative Tactility

Physical touch is a prominent feature of social interactions in Latin American regions (Sorokowska et al. 2021). For example, Mexicans customarily display prosocial values like simpatia and cariño by beginning and ending interactions with an abrazo, a robust hug (Lafayette De Mente 2011). Mothers of Central and South American heritage spent more than twice as much time giving close affectionate touches to their 9-month-olds as did mothers of Anglo-American heritage (Franco et al. 1996). In the Maya highlands, aunts and mothers jointly participated in the tactile soothing of their infants (de León 2021). Mexican adults reported that among their fondest childhood memories was recalling their mother's touch, particularly slow, gentle touching on the head (Rivera Medina 2014). The details of how such touch may promote children's prosociality require further study, but one possibility is that touch nurtures interpersonal closeness by engaging shared neural representations of the self and others, as proposed in research on developmental cognitive neuroscience (e.g., Meltzoff and Marshall 2020).

#### 3.2 | Social Observational Learning

In addition to proximal contact, young children also learn from "mere observation" (Meltzoff and Marshall 2018, 133) of the distal actions of social agents by actively engaging with and imitating others (Bandura 1977; Meltzoff 2013; Rogoff et al. 2017). For example, consider one behavioral characteristic of simpatia: expressive, positive facial affect accompanied by laughter and humor. Because Latin American mothers of infants laugh more than White mothers (Ramírez-Esparza et al. 2019), we suggest that Latin American infants have significantly more opportunities to observe, learn, and behaviorally reenact the associated vocal, facial expressive, and communicative bodily acts that make up simpatía. Another example comes from the learning by observation and pitching in (LOPI) model (Rogoff 2014), which shows how Indigenous-heritage children in the United States, Mexico, and Central America observe family members doing household work and learn the situations that call for cooperation, then pitch in as soon as they become physically able to be acomedida/o (Rogoff et al. 2017). Moreover, Latin American adults commonly model a kind of behavioral respeto toward children as the adults accept and support children's expressed desires and encourage children's agency (Ruvalcaba et al. 2015).

This observation, imitation, and participation in the way things are done in one's culture motivates further development. More specifically, we hypothesize that it begets increasingly greater behavioral and attitudinal overlap between the self and others (e.g., siblings, family, and community members), and that this enriches young children's feelings that other people are "like me" (Meltzoff 2013)—with reciprocal wants, needs, and emotions that should be attended to, just like one's own. In this way, Latin American children develop a more generalized sense of interdependence and belonging with their families and communities (Covarrubias 2024; Kitayama and Salvador 2024).

#### 3.3 | Family Size and Structure

To a greater extent than for US children, the experiences of Latin American children are characterized by interactions with a large network of extended family members of different generations (Comeau 2012). This is relevant to the development of prosocial behavior: Researchers studying preschoolers of Latin American heritage in Los Angeles found higher rates of prosocial behavior among children who had grandparents living at home than among those who did not (Cortes Barragan et al. 2024). This may be because grandparents provide children not only physical and emotional care but also rich social opportunities to learn about cultural traditions, norms, and values. Indeed, throughout Latin America, most grandparents play an integral role in children's lives (see Rengifo and Valencia (2016), for work with Colombian families; Aceves-Azuara et al. (2025), for work with Guatemalan Mayan families; and Castillo Campos (2023), for work with Venezuelan families). Beyond grandparents, as suggested by the LOPI model (Rogoff 2014), living in large families means that children are not segregated from productive work and have more opportunities to learn values from a range of others, including the value of familismo.

#### 3.4 | Sociolinguistic Customs

In Latin American, Spanish-speaking contexts, parents often speak with their children more than with any other person—indeed, more often than with their partner (e.g., Valencia et al. 2015, for work in Bolivia). During these interactions, subtle uses of language may facilitate prosociality (as is the case with English-learning children in the United States; Bryan et al. 2014). We highlight three sociolinguistic features that can be hypothesized to promote interpersonal closeness and facilitate prosociality in children learning Spanish.

First, dichos are short, memorable, popular sayings that many Latin American caregivers use repeatedly to affirm and transfer cultural-ethical principles to children (Espinoza-Harold 2007; Sanchez 2009). Some dichos explicitly advocate for children to reciprocate cariño (e.g., amor con amor se paga [love is repaid with love]; Gonzalez and Ruiz 1995) and also encourage doing so toward people outside the family (e.g., haz bien sin mirar a quien [do good without considering who benefits]; Nuessel 2021). Children's memory encoding and instantiating of dichos through behavior is a promising area for empirical work.

Second, compared to speakers of other languages, Spanish-speaking caregivers prolifically use *diminutivos* (diminutives), which children readily imitate (e.g., Melzi and King 2003, for work with Peruvian 3- to 5-year-olds). Diminutives signify endearment: For example, Grandmother Sarah (Abuela Sara) can quickly become *Abuelita Sarita* (Covarrubias 2000), implying the tender, *simpatia*-like care and *respeto* to be accorded to her.

Third, Spanish speakers make frequent use of what we refer to as *linguistic expressions of interpersonal overlap*, such as when kindergarten teachers describe children as family (e.g., *mi'jo* [my son]; Jensen et al. 2020) or when mothers show *cariño* by substituting children's proper names with *mi vida* [my life]; Halgunseth 2019). By promoting interpersonal closeness and magnifying the "like-me-ness" (Meltzoff 2013) between caregivers and children, certain child-directed sociolinguistic customs prevalent in Latin America may promote shared beliefs, attitudes, and values.

### 3.5 | Indigenous Identity and Transnational Experience

Developmental theory suggests that children begin to adopt social or national identities around middle childhood (Reifen-Tagar and Cimpian 2022). We propose that in Latin American contexts, the development of Indigenous identity and transnational experience can play an especially important role in the development of prosocial behavior.

Indigenous identity often develops in various sociopolitical contexts (Bonfil Batalla 1996; Galeano 1997) that encourage children's ties with others (Flores et al. 2015). For example, in a study of Zapatista Ch'ol Indigenous communities, children were socialized to identify with their community—to show *respeto* and *cariño*, and to function as a "Zapatista child" whose responsibility is to care for others in the community (Rico Montoya et al. 2018). Relatedly, despite the protests of Chilean teachers

who sought to impose individualized, noncollaborative rules for class work, Indigenous Mapuche children in Chile persisted in collaborating in the way they had been taught at home (Alarcón et al. 2024). By taking on an Indigenous identity, children can feel connected to other Indigenous children and take pride in the prosocial character of their community.

In addition, transnational experiences bind children to families and communities across the borders of nation-states (Fouratt 2017; Mesinas and Casanova 2023). For example, in California, Mexican parents often take their children out of school so they can visit their community of origin in Mexico, with the goal of children having a better chance to learn "altruistic commitments that surpass Western notions of the nuclear family" (Urrieta and Martínez 2011, p. 274). Even without physical travel, parents construct digital opportunities to nurture children's awareness of and connection to family members who live in other countries (Machado-Casas et al. 2014). When parents are separated from their children by a border, they find ways to show cariño and children gain experience in understanding that family ties persist despite long-term physical separation (Pillacela-Chin and Crespo-Fajardo 2022). Transnational experience and Indigenous identity can function together (see Sanchez 2018, for work with Indigenous Zapotec communities in the United States), and may interact as children develop into adulthood (Bornstein et al. 2019; Gonzales et al. 2009).

#### 4 | Conclusion

Developmental science aspires to become a global science that describes generalizable processes of human development. In this article, we highlighted that the peoples of Latin American regions, including the diaspora, have a richly prosocial culture that is understudied in English-language developmental psychology research. This limits scientific generalizability. In reviewing and analyzing a broad array of work, we proposed a theoretical model of the socialization process and intergenerational transfer of prosocial values from caregivers to children. Efforts to further examine Latin Americans' childrearing practices could yield new and important insights regarding the nature, development, and malleability of human sociality.

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#### **Supporting Information**

Additional supporting information can be found online in the Supporting Information section.

Supplemental Table 1
Sociodemographic Characteristics of Studies Cited in the Article, Alphabetized by First Author's Last Name

Authors (Year)	Country (Region)	Age	Gender	Race/Ethnicity	SES/Education	Urban/Rural
Acevedo et al. (2020)	US (So. California)	296 ~20-yrold college students	~80% women	~75% Mexican ~25% Other Latino	~50% working class background	Urban
Aceves-Azuara et al. (2025)	Guatemala (San Pedro la Laguna)	30 mothers of 1–6-yrolds	Mothers Both boys and girls reported	Guatemalan Maya	80% of mothers were high school graduates	Urban
Alarcón et al. (2024)	Chile (Galvarino)	6–13-yrold schoolchildren	~50% boys ~50% girls	~90% Mapuche	High levels of poverty	Rural
Alcalá & Cervera (2022)	Mexico (Campeche, Quintana Roo)	23 mothers of 7–11-yrolds Campeche (n = 8) Quintana Roo	Mothers	Yucatec Maya	Campeche: ~12 year of schooling (all homemakers)  Quintana Roo: ~8 year of	Rural
		(n=15)			schooling (half homemakers)	
Alcalá et al. (2021)	Mexico (Campeche, Quintana Roo)	38 7–12-yrold schoolchildren  Campeche (n = 19)  Quintana Roo (n = 19)	19 boys 19 girls	Yucatec Maya	Campeche: Mothers had ~12 yrs. of schooling  Quintana Roo: Mothers had ~8 yrs. of schooling	Rural
Alcalá et al. (2018)	US (Central California Coast)	86 6–10-yrold siblings	12 pairs of sisters 11 pairs of brothers	Mexican-Indigenous pairs $(n = 14)$	Mexican- Indigenous parents: ~8 yrs. of schooling	Urban

			20 gender-mixed pairs	European-heritage pairs $(n = 16)$ Mexican-Nepantla pairs $(n = 13)$	European-heritage parents: ~16 yrs. of schooling  Mexican- Nepantla parents: ~13 yrs. of schooling	
Alcalá et al. (2014)	Mexico (Guadalajara)	33 mothers of 6–8-yrolds	15 boys 18 girls	Indigenous-heritage community (n = 19)  Cosmopolitan community (n = 14)	Indigenous-heritage mothers: ~5 grades of schooling  Cosmopolitan community mothers: ~16 years of schooling	Urban
Barragan & Meltzoff (2021)	US (Seattle, WA)	192 19-moolds	96 boys 96 girls	Hispanic/Latinx (6%) White (84%) Asian (4%) Multiracial (12%)	Middle class	Urban
Baumrind (1971)	US (Berkeley, CA)	268 parents 134 ~4-yrolds	134 mothers 134 fathers 74 boys 60 girls	White (100%)	Mothers' Hollingshead score = 2.1  Fathers' Hollingshead score = 1.5	Urban
Bosseler et al. (2024)	US (Seattle, WA)	21 5-moolds infants	13 boys 8 girls	Not specified	Not specified	Urban
Bryan et al. (2014)	US (San Francisco Area)	149 4–6-yrolds	64 boys 85 girls	~50% White ~16% Asian ~1% Black ~12% Latina/o	Generally middle- to upper middle- class	Urban

				~3% Middle Eastern ~18% Multiracial		
Cabella & Nathan (2011)	Uruguay (Montevideo)	1290 parents	809 mothers 481 fathers	City population	Not specified	Urban
Calderón-Tena et al. (2011)	US (Phoenix, AZ)	204 mothers (24–57-yr-olds) 204 children (9–13-year-olds)	204 mothers  100 boys 104 girls	Self-identified Mexican or Mexican American	57% of mothers had not finished high school	Urban
Calzada et al. (2010)	US (Northeast)	48 mothers (~32-yrolds) of 3–6-yrolds	48 mothers	Immigrant Dominican (n = 24)	Immigrant Dominican high school graduates (79%)	Urban
				U.Sborn Dominican (n = 7)	U.Sborn Dominican high school graduates (100%)	
				Immigrant Mexican (n = 17)	Immigrant Mexican high school graduates (53%)	
Calzada et al. (2013)	US (NYC)	23 mothers of 2-mo.–12-yr olds	Mothers	Dominican $(n = 13)$ Mexican $(n = 13)$	Low income	Urban
Castillo Campos (2023)	Venezuela (Caracas)	8 grandmothers (58–65-yrolds)	Grandmothers	Venezuelan	Low income	Urban
Comeau (2012)	US (nationwide)	771 (weighted sample)	53% men 47% women	11% Hispanic 78% White non-Hispanic 11% Black non-Hispanic	14 years of schooling	Not specified

Coppens et al. (2014)	Mexico (Guadalajara)	16 mothers 16 children (9–10-yrolds)	Both boys and girls reported	Indigenous-heritage community ( <i>n</i> = 16)  Newly-schooled community ( <i>n</i> = 16)	Mothers in Indigenous- heritage community: ~6 grades of schooling  Mothers in newly- schooled community mothers:	Urban
					~13 grades of schooling	
Coppens & Rogoff (2022)	US (San Francisco Area)	64 mothers of 2–7-yrolds	34 boys 30 girls	32 Mexican-heritage with background in Indigenous ways 32 European-heritage	Mexican-heritage mothers: ~10 years of schooling  European-heritage mothers: ~17 years of schooling	Urban
Cortes Barragan et al. (2024)	US (Los Angeles County)	250 caregivers 250 4–5-yrolds	121 boys 124 girls	Hispanic/Latinx	38% received SNAP benefits 64% mothers high school graduates	Urban
Dayton et al. (2022)	Guatemala (San Pedro La Laguna) US (Salt Lake City)	38 mothers 38 1–2-yrolds 38 3–5-yrolds	Both boys and girls reported	Guatemalan Maya (n = 60)  European American (n = 54)	Mayan mothers:  ~2 grades of school  European American mothers:  ~16 grades of school	Rural (Guatemala) Urban (US)

de León (2021)	Mexico (Chiapas)	1 infant at both 13 and 22 mo. Infant's mother Infant's aunts	1 infant girl	Tzotzil Mayan	Not specified	Rural
Diniz et al. (2016)	Brazil (Porto Alegre)	39 mothers (14–19-yrolds) 39 infants (3–6-moolds)	Mothers	Brazilian	Mothers reported as living in vulnerable conditions	Urban
Dueñas (2015)	US (Southeastern region)	5 families with children (4–20-yrolds)	Both boys and girls reported	Mexican immigrants	Low income	Not specified
Espinoza- Harold (2007)	US-Mexico border (Southwest)	1 college-aged student	Woman	Mexican	Low income	Semirural
Fouratt (2017)	Nicaragua (Achaupa) Costa Rica	48 migrants and their families	Not specified	Nicaraguan	Low income	Rural and Urban
Franco et al. (1996)	US (Salt Lake City)	52 mothers 52 infants (36–41-wks-old)	30 boy infants 22 girl infants	Central American $(n = 11)$ South American $(n = 15)$ Anglo $(n = 26)$	Low income $(n = 22)$ Middle income $(n = 30)$	Urban
Guilamo- Ramos et al. (2007)	US (NYC)	63 mothers 63 adolescents (11–14-yrolds)	~50% boys ~50% girls	Dominican mother- adolescent pairs (n = 44)  Puerto Rican mother- adolescent pairs (n = 19)	31% mothers had some college  Sample characterized as low income	Urban
Halgunseth & Ispa (2012)	US (Midwestern city)	183 mothers of 6–10-yrolds 30 children (~9-year-olds)	Mothers 53% boys 47% girls	Mexican immigrant families	Low income	Urban

Huíchu Kuákari (2019)	Mexico (Michoacán)	11 community members	4 women 7 men	P'urhépecha	Agricultural work	Rural
Inostroza et al. (2014)	Chile	30 mothers (20–33-yrolds) 30 children (4–5-yrolds)	Mothers  Both boys and girls reported	Chilean	Low and low-middle income	Not specified
Jensen et al. (2018)	Mexico (Aguascalientes)	Children and teachers in 147 classrooms (51 kindergarten, 96 1st grade)	Not specified	Mexican	Range of SES	Rural and Urban
Kho et al. (2023)	US (Atlanta, GA)	547 Latinx adolescents (6th-10th grade)	Both boys and girls reported	Adolescents' mothers: 51% Mexican-origin 15% born in US 12% born in South America 12% born in Central America	61% of mothers completed high school	Suburban
Livas-Dlott et al. (2010)	US (Arizona, San Francisco Area)	24 mothers 24 children (4-yrolds)	12 boys 12 girls	First generation Mexican mothers (n = 17) Second generation Mexican mothers (n = 7)	Low income	Urban
Lomelí (2023)	US (San Francisco Area)	1 teacher of 9 <sup>th</sup> –12 <sup>th</sup> -grade students	Woman	Teacher: Filipina, Students: 78% Latine	~80% of the students were low SES	Urban
López-Fraire et al. (2024)	US (Central California Coast)	114 6–10-yrold siblings	17 pairs of sisters 12 pairs of brothers 28 mixed-gender pairs	Mexican-Indigenous heritage sibling pairs ( <i>n</i> = 19)	Mexican- Indigenous heritage parents: ~8 years of schooling	Urban

				European-heritage pairs $(n = 19)$ Mexican-heritage Nepantla pairs $(n = 19)$	European-heritage parents: ~17 years of schooling  Mexican-heritage Nepantla parents: ~15 years of schooling	
Louro Bernal (2004)	Cuba (Plaza, Playa, Centro Habana, Habana Vieja, Regla, San Miguel del Padrón, Bauta, Güines, San Antonio de los Baños, Playa de Matanzas, Santa Clara, Las Tunas, Manatí, Colombia, Mayarí)	15 doctors 294 families	Not specified	Cuban	Not specified	Rural and Urban
Machado- Casas et al. (2014)	US (San Antonio, TX)	12 mothers, aunts or grandmothers (18–80-yrolds) 19 5–10-yrolds	Not specified	US-born children of Mexican, Honduran, or Salvadorian heritage	Low income	Urban
Mejía-Arauz et al. (2013)	Mexico (Cherán, Michoacán)	34 mothers of 8–10-yrolds	Not specified	P'urhépecha	~24% mothers graduated from high school	Rural
Melzi & King (2003)	Peru (Lima)	32 mothers 32 children (3–5-yrolds)	16 boys 16 girls	Peruvian	Middle to upper- middle class	Urban
Mendes & Seidl-de-Moura (2014)	Brazil (Rio de Janeiro)	60 mothers  1-moolds $(n = 20)$ 2-moolds $(n = 20)$	33 boys 27 girls	Brazilian	~32% mothers completed undergraduate studies	Urban

		5-moolds $(n = 20)$				
Murray et al. (2007)	Chile (Araucanía)	15 mothers (18–42-yrsold) of children ranged from a few months to 10 yrs. of age	Mothers	Mapuche	Low income (men reported as agricultural workers, some waged work for women and men)	Rural
Paolantonio et al. (2020)	Argentina (Córdoba)	40 mothers (~26 yrsolds) 40 infants (3–6-moolds)	21 boys 19 girls	Argentinian	63% mothers finished high school	Urban
Pillacela-Chin & Crespo- Fajardo (2022)	Ecuador (Gualaceo)	8 caregivers 8 children: 2 <sup>nd</sup> grade (n = 1) 3 <sup>rd</sup> (n = 2) 4 <sup>th</sup> (n = 1) 5 <sup>th</sup> (n = 2) 6 <sup>th</sup> (n = 1) 7 <sup>th</sup> (n = 1)	4 mothers 2 aunts 1 grandmother 1 grandfather 3 boys 5 girls	Ecuadorian	Low income	Rural
Ramírez- Esparza et al. (2012)	Mexico (Mexico City, Puebla) US (Texas)	Mexico college students: 496 ~21-yrolds US college students: 560 ~19-yrolds	Mexico: 123 men 373 women US: 232 men 328 women	Mexico: ~93% Hispanic ~5% White non- Hispanic ~1% Asian ~1% Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander ~1% American Indian or Alaskan Native  US: ~17% Hispanic ~60% White non- Hispanic ~15% Asian	Mexico: 34% upper- middle to upper- class  US: 52% upper- middle to upper- class	Urban

				~5% African- American ~2% Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander ~1% American Indian or Alaskan Native		
Ramírez- Esparza et al. (2019)	US (Seattle, WA)	26 Latina mothers (~32-yrs-old)  24 White-European (~35-yrsold)  All mothers had 1-yrold infants	Mothers	Latina mothers' birth countries:  Colombia $(n = 3)$ El Salvador $(n = 1)$ Mexico $(n = 7)$ Peru $(n = 1)$ Puerto Rico $(n = 1)$ US $(n = 8)$ Venezuela $(n = 2)$	Middle income	Urban
Rengifo & Palacio Valencia (2016)	Colombia (Caldas)	40 grandparents of 4–5-yrold grandchildren	Not specified	Colombian	Homemakers, retired	Rural
Rico Montoya et al. (2018)	Mexico (Chiapas)	5–12-year-olds	Both boys and girls reported	Ch'oles Tseltales Tsotsiles	Agricultural work, limited formal wage work	Rural
Rivera Medina (2014)	Mexico (Mexico City or State of Mexico)	8 adults (37–70-yrold)	8 women	Mexican	5 of 8 graduated college	Urban
Sampaio et al. (2008)	Brazil (Recife)	16 8–10-yrolds	Both boys and girls reported	Brazilian	Middle-upper class	Urban
Sanchez (2009)	ÙS	2 grandparents 1 3 <sup>rd</sup> grader	1 grandfather 1 grandmother 1 girl	Hispanic	Not specified	Not specified
Sanchez (2018)	Mexico (Oaxaca)	68 community members	Not specified	18 1 <sup>st</sup> generation Zapotec immigrants to US	Low income	Rural and Urban

	US (Los Angeles)			33 1½ and 2 <sup>nd</sup> generation Zapotec immigrants to US  17 Zapotec residents in Mexico		
Senft et al. (2021)	US (West, Southwest, & South Atlantic)	1,561 ~20-yrold college students	~75% women	Latino heritage $(n = 659)$ European heritage $(n = 446)$ Asian heritage $(n = 456)$	Not specified	Urban
Smith & Riojas-Cortez (2010)	US (Southwest)	64 mothers 64 3–4-yrolds	Mothers and children (gender unspecified)	Mexican and Mexican American	Title I school	Urban
Sorokowska et al. (2021)	Brazil Chile Colombia Costa Rica Cuba El Salvador Mexico Peru	~1,000 adults ~30-yrolds ~130 per country	~55% women	Not specified	Not specified	Not specified
Tamis- LeMonda et al. (2020)	US (Dallas-Fort Worth, TX)	128 mothers (51% >30-yrs. old) 128 infants (26–31-moolds)	128 mothers 67 boys 61 girls	All mothers born in Mexico	~66% below 100% federal poverty level	Urban
Triandis et al. (1984)	US (California, Florida, Illinois)	317 Navy recruits (CA, FL, IL)	317 male Navy recruits	262 Hispanics 165 non-Hispanics	Not specified	Not specified

	Puerto Rico	60 college students (CA)  50 high school students (Puerto Rico)	Gender not listed for college or high school students			
Urrieta & Martínez (2011)	US (Los Angeles) Mexico (Nocutzepo)	20 parents and 8 grandparents of school-aged children	10 mothers 10 fathers 4 grandmothers 4 grandfathers	P'urhépecha, mestizo	Varied	Rural (Mexico) Urban (US)
Valencia et al. (2015)	Bolivia (Tarija)	381 parents 381 adolescents (12–18-yrolds)	Not specified	Bolivian	Not specified	Urban
Villavicencio et al. (2017)	Ecuador (Cuenca)	569 parents (22–71-yrs.) of 5–12-yrsolds	~50% mothers ~50% fathers	Ecuadorian	21% basic schooling 32% high school graduates 47% higher education	Urban