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parents with different cultural backgrounds are of great practical importance to researchers interested in understanding the multiple pathways to child wellbeing in a multicultural context. Moreover, practitioners interested in helping families promote their children's development can also benefit from this type of research.

According to ecocultural theory, parents organize their children's environment (e.g., routines) by balancing aspects of culture (e.g., values and beliefs) with aspects of the ecological context, including constraints and resources, in which families live (Weisner 2002). Parents create meaningful daily routines (e.g., meal times) that reflect their values and beliefs (e.g., familism) and incorporate the social expectations (e.g., children should be independent) and economic demands ,their

origin against the adverse consequences of economic pres-
sure and was associated with positive self-reported parent-

Focus groups are a good method to use with low-income participants and underrepresented groups, because they may see the group as a welcoming and non threating setting in which to share difficult experiences (Umaña-Taylor and Bámaca 2004). We conducted two large focus groups (five and eight participants) and six smaller focus groups with

important that my daughter knows how to make decisions for what you all said before, prepare them for life, but if I am making all of their decisions, in what moment are they learning to make their own?"

Consistent with the idea that distinct cultural beliefs can coexist, parents in our study expressed the view that endorsing values from their country of origin and from the main United States was compatible and necessary (Tamis-LeMonda et al. 2008). Parents talked about promoting

important issue that merits further investigation (Gershoff 2002). Our findings with low-income immigrant parents suggest that many immigrant parents are open to non-physical forms of behavioral control practices (Calzada et al. 2010).

Strategies Used to Transmit Values and Beliefs

A second aim of this study was to examine *the strategies parents used to transmit values and beliefs to their children.* Our data revealed that parents use three strategies with their young children: *consejos* (giving advice or talking to their children), modeling or teaching by example, and setting routines.

Giving consejos to toddlers might seem developmentally inappropriate, but our participating parents reasoned that it is better to start early. A father explained the importance of giving advice to his 3-year old daughter:

> … that is something that I am going to explain to my daughter, how she has to behave, so she knows the consequences that come with it [consequences of joining a gang]. I have to tell her "this is bad and do not do this because it is going to cause problems… look at what happens," put the example of other people; tell her what to do, give her advice… I believe it is very important also so that she can look and say "oh yes, that is bad

schedules) compete with the demands of being a parent (spending time with children, establishing routines). This was especially difficult with young children who demanded a lot of attention and care. Being a worker and meeting all the demands of working many jobs for many hours was incompatible with their belief that being a "good parent" means spending time with your child. They felt that the pace of life in the United States is very hectic, leaving little time to engage in activities they value with their children, and instilling in them fear and apprehension that they are not being good parents and that their children will suffer. A mother explained:

> It is difficult to raise the children here…here I feel like it is harder to give them time…[…] I feel that one is always over time, that you run to school […] so, I feel that it is time, time to be with them, to pay attention to them, to what they do or don't do… time.

Similarly, a Mexican father of a four-year-old boy spoke with stress about the lack of time he has to spend with his child in fun activities:

> …once I get out of work I pick him up from her [grandmother's] house … and once we get home, we cook something, and then it is already too late to go out, so I can't take him out [to the park]; it is 7 or 8:30 pm.

Parents in this study shared the stress of many low-income families in the United States whose employment conditions often include irregular and inconsistent work hours that make it more difficult to establish regular, organized family routines (Vernon-Feagans et al. 2012)

The majority of our participants reported being limited by their *lo le els of h man capital* that included little formal education and low English proficiency. They viewed their lack of education as a major constraint to raising children in the United States because it limited opportunities —such as good jobs—for them and their children. Having low levels of education appeared to be a source of insecurity and lack of confidence that may threaten parents' adaptation as well as their self-esteem and sense of efficacy in believing they can help their children succeed. A Mexican mother of a four-year-old boy noted: "… sometimes, since one does not know the language, one cannot help [with their school work]."

One Salvadorian father of a 3-year old girl spoke about this:

Yes, I believe that it [formal education] is the most important thing. It is good to go to school, not like us who we did not go. They [the children] want us to help them with their homework…but how can I help?"

Negati e intergenerational parenting is another constrains and consequently a source of stress about which participating parents spoke emotionally. They viewed their often negative experiences with their own parents as important barriers to being good parents, particularly affecting how they express love and concern for their children. Many participating parents reported being left behind as children in the care of relatives, grandparents, aunts, and uncles, when their own parents immigrated to the United States (Suarez-Orozco et al. 2002). These separations were painful, and they prevented them, now parents themselves, from developing healthy and strong relationships with their caregivers and attachment bonds with their own parents when they reunited with them. These difficult emotional experiences left them without good role models, not knowing how to express love and affection to their own children. A Mexican mother of a 3-year old boy said:

> For example in my case I grew up without a dad, without mom because my parents came for the American dream […] I grew up as, "why my parents leave me behind?" When I was 14 my mom came back and my dad was already dead. I never met him and then I say, "I did not have that, so I'll give that to my children," then I say that many parents make the mistake of coming here and leaving the children there, and it is not worth it. Many parents are dedicated to work, not to their children, they are not dedicated to the children and the children grab gangs, walk in the streets…

A similar situation of abandonment, this time for a different reason, was narrated by a Mexican father of a three-year-old who said: "…my mother worked and left me alone, I stayed with my brothers… we took care between siblings." Our parents' psychological reality of not having had a close relationship with their parents made them more reflective about the value of family. As with most people, the ideal belief (e.g., familism) is often difficult to attain because of barriers or challenges (e.g., family is not close by) but it is still a worthy goal. A young couple in the focus groups discussed the difficulty of raising children in the United States; they raised the possibility of sending their 2-year old child back home to spend quality time with her family. However, they were emphatic saying that it would be only for a period of time: "But not to stay, because he is so young, that when he sees he is there for a long time he will say "ok, I'm here alone, my parents left me and now I'm here alone", he will get angry."

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We also asked participants to talk about the *reso rces* in their lives that help them cope with adversity and stay focused. Our data revealed that optimism and motivation to

especially when their children are toddlers, a period in development that is especially demanding for parents and foundational for children as they must develop autonomy, self-regulation, and language capabilities needed to succeed in school and beyond (Thomason and La Paro 2009).

In line with previous research (Harwood et al. 1995; Leyendecker et al. 2002) mothers in this study talked about the importance of *respeto* and strong ties to the family as characteristics of their culture of origin. However, a new finding is that fathers also view *respeto* and familism as important values signaling that these couples might parent in a context of support an agreement that is beneficial for children. Our fi

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