

Context and culture in the socialization and development of personal achievement values: Comparing Latino immigrant families, European American families, and elementary school teachers

Patricia M. Greenfield*, Blanca Quiroz¹

Department of Psychology, University of California, Los Angeles, CA 90095, USA

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ABSTRACT

We documented cross-cultural similarities and differences in values concerning personal achievement between Latino immigrant parents, a group of multiethnic teachers, and European American parents. We also explored intergenerational similarities and differences between parents and their fifth-grade children. The theoretical premise was that sociodemographic factors, such as education, drive cultural values, with more formal education associated with individualistic values and less formal education associated with collectivistic/familistic values. Responding to open-ended social dilemmas relevant to family life, Latino immigrant parents, averaging a fifth-grade education, responded more familistically than the more highly educated multiethnic teachers or European American parents. In contrast, no group differences in values showed up in situations where school practices do not directly impact family life. Intergenerational differences were few; but, in family-centered scenarios, European American fifth graders were significantly more collectivistic than European American parents, a finding that suggested the possibility that, in an individualistic culture, individualism is socialized with age.

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Acculturation (to the dominant society) and enculturation (within the family) have been treated very extensively in immigrant populations in terms of self-reports concerning attitudes towards and behaviors characterizing host society and immigrant ethnic group (e.g., Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). However, the acculturation and enculturation of values – the presuppositions concerning priorities that are taken for granted in everyday life – constitute a deeper and therefore more important psychological level. These have received much less attention in the scientific literature; this is the level of acculturation and enculturation examined in the present article. It is a level that is highly pertinent to immigrant school success, although one that is rarely considered.

Theoretical framework

It is important to specify the connection between sociodemographic factors and cultural values. What happens to socialization values under different sociodemographic conditions? Greenfield (2009) provides some answers. Her theory starts with the concept that cultural values are adaptations to varying sociodemographic conditions. These conditions are organized into two ideal types, *Gemeinschaft* (community

and *Gesellschaft* (society). The former is at the extreme a poor, rural, small-scale, and low technology environment, with larger families and education mainly at home, whereas the latter is at the extreme an urbanized large-scale, high tech environment, with smaller families and education mainly at school. Home and family are more important loci of socialization and education in *Gemeinschaft* conditions; in contrast, school is more important in *Gesellschaft* conditions, given the more impersonal demands of everyday life in a technologically oriented society (Greenfield, 2009). One important characteristic of a *Gesellschaft* society is that it is complex, with more *Gemeinschaft* social environments nested within it. These environments include working-class neighborhoods and immigrant enclaves – such as the Latino immigrant community in Los Angeles that was the central focus of the present study.

The use of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* as paradigms represents the patterning of sociodemographic variables to make a complete environment. In this respect, the Theory of Social Change and Human Development differs from the dominant paradigm in developmental psychology, which seeks to “disentangle” variables, such as culture or ethnicity and SES (Quintana et al., 2006). In contrast, the Theory of Social Change and Human Development seeks to identify relationships between SES and culture. It sees SES as an influence on cultural values, rather than seeing SES and cultural values as “independent” variables. Looking at these relationships the other way around, the theory posits that cultural values are adapted to (not independent of) sociodemographic conditions. In the light of this theoretical perspective, it is an empirical strength of the design of the present

* Corresponding author. Tel.: +1 310 825 7526; fax: +1 310 206 5895.

E-mail addresses: greenfield@psych.ucla.edu (P.M. Greenfield),

blanca.quiroz@sedl.org (B. Quiroz).

¹ Current address: Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, 4700 Mueller Blvd., Austin, TX 78723, USA.

study to compare one group whose sociodemographics comprise the *Gemeinschaft* complex of variables with another group whose sociodemographics comprise the *Gesellschaft* complex (Greenfield, 2011). Moreover, the specification of the relationship between sociodemographics and cultural values within the domain of immigrant psychology and acculturation research constitutes an important contribution of the present study on the empirical level.

Most pertinent to the present study, familistic values are well adapted to *Gemeinschaft* environments, whereas individualistic values are well adapted to *Gesellschaft* environments. The earliest definition of familism (*familismo*) by Burgess, Locke, and Thomes (1963) includes two key components relevant to the present research:

- 1) The feeling on the part of all members that they belong pre-eminently to the family group and that all other persons are outsiders
- 2) Complete integration of individual activities for the achievement of family objectives.

The concept of familism can be contrasted with the very closely related concept of collectivism: the value system in which one gives priority to in-group goals over personal goals. The subtle difference is that collectivism includes not just family as an in-group, but other in-groups as well.

Henceforth in this article we will use the term “familism” when the family is the in-group, “collectivism” when other in-groups are involved in the situation.

Familism and collectivism contrast with individualism, a value system that prioritizes personal goals over the goals of the in-group (Schwartz, 1990; Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988). The present study demonstrates that Latino immigrant parents have more familistic values than European American parents or than their children's teachers. However, in the context of school achievement, where family values are not an issue, we find an absence of between-group value differences.

Sociodemographic environment and cultural values

Many Latino immigrant families immigrate from more *Gemeinschaft* to more *Gesellschaft* conditions (Greenfield, 2006; Reese, 2002). Although there is socioeconomic diversity in Mexico, immigration has been used selectively by individuals and families who are at the bottom of the opportunity ladder, that is, those who are the poorest and have the least opportunity. Our sample typifies this trend, with an average of five years of schooling in Mexico or Central America. According to criteria and data developed by the Mexican Association of Market Research and Public Opinion (2009), this level of schooling is a key element defining the lowest socioeconomic level, which has a number of additional *Gemeinschaft* characteristics: it is subsistence-based and family households are frequently multigenerational. Because of the *Gemeinschaft* conditions that typify the home country origins of our sample, we would expect familism to be strong. In addition, the high rate of extended family households in immigrant households promotes familism (Shields & Behrman, 2004). (Park, Joo, & Greenfield, in preparation; Shields & Behrman, 2004).

A body of research has established that, even equating social class, mothers in Mexico have traditionally had more familistic values than mothers in the United States (Holtzman, Diaz-Guerrero, & Swartz, 1975). This cross-national difference reflects the more *Gemeinschaft* characteristics of Mexico as a nation compared with the United States (Greenfield, 2009). However, even more significant, the lower SES group of mothers in the Mexican sample had significantly stronger familistic values than the middle-class Mexican sample.

These familistic and collectivistic values, brought from Mexico (Diaz-Guerrero & Salay, 1991) and Central America (Killen, Ardila-Rey, Barakkatz, & Wang, 2000), are rooted in the home settings of Latino

immigrant families in the United States (Desmond, & López Turley, 2009; Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin, & Perez-Stable, 1987). Individualistic values, in contrast, are intrinsic to school settings (i.e., grades are everywhere assigned to individuals rather than groups) and are particularly strong in U.S. schools (Greenfield, 2006; Greenfield, Quiroz, & Raeff, 2000; Raeff, Greenfield, & Quiroz, 2000). Although Mexico as a country has been moving fairly rapidly in the *Gesellschaft* direction in recent years, over all, it is still a more *Gemeinschaft* environment than is the United States (Reese, 2002); and this difference is related to the background of Mexican immigrants in the U.S. The same general trends hold for El Salvador and Nicaragua and for immigrants from these countries, two other (minor) sources of our sample.

On the other hand, settlers and immigrants from Western Europe, especially Northern Europe, brought and maintained their long history of *Gesellschaft* values; Northern European immigrants and their descendants are therefore more likely to promote individualistic values in socialization than Latino immigrants. Our European American sample typifies the background that is adaptive in a *Gesellschaft* environment and the greater opportunity for formal education in a more *Gesellschaft* nation: completion of four years of postsecondary education was the average level of schooling for the European American mothers.

Institutions, like schools, in the United States are founded, implicitly, if not explicitly on the values of the mainstream Western European individualism (Trumbull, Rothstein-Fisch, Greenfield, & Quiroz, 1998). This situation subjects the children of Latino immigrants to discord between their home and their school socialization values (Valdés, 1996).

In a prior study, Raeff et al. (2000) found that, in the domain of personal relationships, Latino immigrant parents were significantly more likely to prioritize collectivistic or familistic socialization values than were European American parents or their children's teachers. That study utilized scenarios in a similar format to the ones used here, but relating to relationships rather than to achievement. Like the scenarios used here, each scenario presented a conflict situation experienced by Latino immigrant families; participants could construct open-ended resolutions to the conflicts that were collectivistic, individualistic, or had elements of both value systems. Although children in the two ethnic groups did not differ in their cultural values, parent–teacher differences suggested that children from Latino immigrant families were, nonetheless, being exposed to different and sometimes conflicting sets of cultural values in their homes and in their schools during socialization (Raeff et al., 2000). This type of cross-cultural value conflict between ancestral culture and the current social surround is a known source of stress in the migration process (Bhugra, 2005). European American parents, in contrast, did not differ significantly in their value orientation from their children's teachers. In contrast to the Latino children, European American children were receiving very similar value messages at home and at school.

Differences in values may be most salient in situations where family functioning versus individual achievement is in conflict or where individual achievement versus family unity is in conflict. The opportunity to measure the impact of situational variability was a strength of the method used in this study because our scenarios represented differing types of conflict and, in the Results section, are analyzed scenario by scenario.

Raeff et al. (2000) also found intergenerational differences. In some situations, Latino immigrant children did not respond in a significantly less collectivistic manner than Latino immigrant parents (sharing in the family, taking the initiative to prepare a family dinner when the child is not hungry). In other situations, children did respond in a significantly less collectivistic manner than Latino immigrant parents (helping a sick child at school). These findings suggest domain-specific patterns of second-generation acculturation to the host society: school situations show acculturation to mainstream individualism, but family situations do not. This pattern is

a general one: With increased exposure to life in the United States, children's values relating to the family's relations to the external world change in the direction of the host society, whereas values relating to the internal family system, such as family cohesion, remain stable (Rueschenberg & Buriel, 1989). A similar pattern was found in Turkish immigrants to the Netherlands, another example of immigrating from more *Gemeinschaft* to more *Gesellschaft* environments (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2004; Van Ours & Veenman, 1999). However, unlike Raeff et al. (2000) and the present study, these researchers did not assess children. Both of our studies not only assess children's values, but also compare them to those of their own parents, thus highlighting the intergenerational transmission process. Both of our studies also highlight the role of teachers in the acculturation process.

This background led to the following research questions:

1. To what extent are teachers a locus of individualistic socialization?
2. Will there be value differences between teachers belonging to different ethnic groups? Or, because of their high level of formal education, will individualistic values be similar among teachers, no matter what their ethnic background?
3. Will Latino immigrant parents be significantly more familistic than their children's teachers and European American parents across all situations or will the value differences be situation-specific?
4. Will the values of children from Latino immigrant families be more like Latino immigrant parents' values or more like their teachers' values?
5. In family-relevant situations, will European American children express more or less individualistic values, compared with European American parents and teachers?
6. Will there be value differences between ethnic groups or between Latino immigrant parents and their children's teachers in the non-familistic domain of school achievement?

Methodological issues

Explicit attitudes may be contradicted by implicit ones (Cunningham, Preacher, & Banaji, 2001). Therefore, self-report has its limitations in the study of both acculturation and enculturation, and nonreactive measures have an advantage. The present study uses nonreactive measures that present everyday scenarios to assess implicit values. Acculturation research has also implicated situation-specific processes (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; Rueschenberg & Buriel, 1989; Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2004) in the acculturation process. Yet even the newest instruments, such as the Mexican American Cultural Values Scale (Knight et al., 2010), rely on agreement or disagreement with short general statements, rather than on responses to detailed situations. The present study utilizes the latter. Finally, it is theoretically accepted that values are ways of interpreting concrete everyday situations. Yet Likert scales such as individualism/collectivism or Mexican American Cultural Values do not have a way of eliciting participants' cultural constructions; participants are limited to agreeing or disagreeing with the researchers' constructions. In contrast, the instrument utilized in this study allows participants to respond in an open-ended way with their own value constructions. Categories for these value constructions are then derived from the data, rather than being predetermined.

Method

Materials and design

Four hypothetical scenarios emphasizing achievement and introducing a conflict between an individualistic and a collectivistic or familistic approach to the problem were administered to participants from two schools. The scenarios were based on observations of conflict situations involving Latino children in school, on observations of European

American school children, and on the ethnographically reported experiences of immigrant Latino families. The specific scenarios are presented in the Results section in order to make the qualitative responses to each scenario understandable. These scenarios constitute a subset of a larger set of eight scenarios. The other four emphasized interpersonal relationships (Raeff et al., 2000).

A strength of this study is the use of vignettes and open-ended interviews to tap into parents' values. These real-world dilemma vignettes assess values in a way that would be expected to be more reflective of parental behavior than value rating scales or perhaps even open-ended interviews.

Sets of scenarios were assembled in two random orders. For each order, half the sets utilized boys' names as the scenario characters; the other half utilized girls' names. Names that could be used in either English or Spanish were selected. Because the scenarios were presented orally, we could use names that had both Spanish and English spelling and pronunciation; for example, "Luis" was pronounced "Louis" in the English version. The scenarios were translated into Spanish by the second author who is a native Spanish speaker and bilingual in Spanish and English. They were checked by the first author, who is a native English speaker and is also bilingual in English and Spanish. Our goal was to enable participants to choose to have the scenarios presented in Spanish or English. The purpose was for each participant to do the interview in his or her most comfortable language.

Participants

The samples came from two elementary schools in Los Angeles. School 1 was a university-affiliated elementary school. School 2 was an urban public school. However, the two schools were cooperating partner schools. Each served a demographic that was pertinent to our comparative study. At each school, participants were composed of three groups: teachers, fifth-grade children, and the children's parents. As one goal was to compare Latino immigrant and European American participants, we selected schools that had different ethnic compositions. School 1 was the source of the European American children and parents; School 2 was the source of the Latino immigrant children and parents. The population of School 1 was predominantly European American. The school emphasized cooperative project work and served Los Angeles as a whole, as well as the university. The population of School 2 consisted entirely of Latino immigrant families. A significant proportion of its catchment area was a low-income housing project. Bilingual education was the norm in School 2. In School 1, we did test a few members of other ethnic groups (Asian American, African American families, Middle-Eastern American, and mixed), but, in order to have ethnically homogenous samples to compare, did not analyze their data.

Participants from School 1 included twenty European American fifth-grade children (nine girls, eleven boys) and sixteen of their mothers. Fourteen of the mothers were born in the United States; one mother had immigrated from Ireland and completed college in the United States; and one mother had immigrated from South Africa after completing her education. Both these mothers were from Northern European backgrounds and had levels of education similar to those of the other mothers in this group.

Participants from School 2 included 28 Latino fifth-grade children (16 girls, 12 boys) and 19 parents (17 mothers, 1 father, and 1 grandfather who was the child's primary caregiver). The children's caregivers were all immigrants; the children ranged from having been born in the United States to having immigrated one year earlier (mean time in the United States = six years). The range of time living in the United States for the parents was 2 to 20 years (mean time in the United States = 10 years). Of the 19 participating parents (including one grandfather), 17 were from Mexico; one was from El Salvador; and one was from Nicaragua.

The typical Latino immigrant parent had an elementary school education (mean = 5 years; range, 0–12); the typical European American parent had a college education (mean = 16 years; range, 13–20); the typical teacher had one year of graduate school (mean = 17 years). The extremely different (and nonoverlapping) educational level of the Latino immigrant sample validates the more *Gemeinschaft* environments of this sample of Latino immigrant parents, compared with, the European American parents and the teachers in the sample.

The more *Gemeinschaft* environments of the Latino immigrant sample were also confirmed by their pattern of occupations. Information was available on father's occupation for 16 out of the 19 families. In nine families, the father worked as a gardener; three fathers worked in construction; one was a mechanic; one worked as a sales supervisor in a store; and two were unemployed. Most Latino immigrant mothers were housewives (10 out of 19).

This occupational pattern contrasted sharply with the more *Gesellschaft* pattern of the European American parents. Information on father's occupation was available for 10 out of the 16 families; all ten fathers were professionals. The group included two company owners or executives, two academics, an investment banker, an art dealer, a commercial photographer, a film editor, a TV producer, and a screenwriter. Of the 11 mothers for whom we had information, all were professional or owned a business (except for one teacher's aide).

The teachers were predominantly European American in both schools (11 out of 15 in School 1, 12 out of 16 in School 2). In addition, the teacher sample from School 1 (source of the European American families) included two Latino teachers and two African American teachers. One Latino teacher was born in the United States; one immigrated 12 or 13 years earlier from Mexico. Teachers from School 2 (source of the Latino immigrant families) included two Latino teachers, one African American teacher, and one Asian American teacher. One Latino teacher was born in the United States; one had immigrated 20 years earlier from Mexico; the Asian American teacher was born in the United States. In each school, we recruited as many teachers as possible in order to have comparable sample sizes in all three groups — children, parents, and teachers. In addition, the children in the sample had in the past and would in the future be socialized by other teachers in the school besides their current fifth-grade teacher.

Procedure

Scenarios were presented individually and orally; interviews were audiotaped. Children were interviewed in person at their schools. Parents were interviewed in person or by telephone, whichever made them feel most comfortable. Fifteen European American parents were interviewed by telephone; one was interviewed in person. Eighteen Latino immigrant parents were interviewed in person; one was interviewed by telephone. Clearly immigrant Latino parents felt more comfortable with face-to-face communication, whereas the European American parents felt more comfortable with telephone communication ($\chi^2 = 27.4$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$). The preference for face-to-face communication is related to the more *Gemeinschaft* environments in which the Latino participants had been raised: low-technology environments in which face-to-face communication is the only or dominant mode of communication and where social interaction is a priority. In contrast, more *Gesellschaft* environments in which mediated communication is central were familiar to the European American participants. By interviewing in the environment in which each participant felt most comfortable, we gave priority to functional equivalence (familiarity, comfort with the medium) over stimulus matching (all interviews by phone or all interviews face-to-face) (Greenfield & Zukow, 1978). Because the children were interviewed at school, it was easier to recruit them to the study than their mothers. For this reason the sample of mothers is a bit smaller than the sample of children in both schools.

For both parents and children, interviewer ethnicity was matched to participant ethnicity. All teachers were interviewed in person at

their schools. Parents and children in School 2 were interviewed in their most comfortable language. Twenty-one of the twenty-eight Latino children and all of the Latino immigrant parents chose to participate in Spanish, and they were interviewed by a native Spanish speaker; the rest of the sample was interviewed in English in both schools. Spanish as preferred language for most of the children and all of the parents gives some sense that their ancestral culture was still dominant in their lives.

Following presentation of each scenario, participants were asked (1) an open-ended question about how the scenario's interpersonal dilemma should be resolved and (2) why they thought that this was the best way to handle the situation. This approach was designed to probe the participants' personal constructions of meaning in relation to cultural values.

Coding and reliability

For each scenario, coding subcategories or themes were derived from the data; these categories encompass both the initial responses and the participants' justifications. Through discussion among the researchers, subcategories were then grouped into individualistic, collectivistic, or mixed categories, to allow for comparing each group's average score as a measure of prioritizing collectivistic and individualistic values. The specific operationalization of individualistic and collectivistic for each scenario is presented in the Results section. Once agreement on whether each subcategory was individualistic, collectivistic, or mixed had been established, assignment to these categories was an automatic recoding and therefore did not require reliability coding.

A research team comprising European Americans and Latinos contributed to constructing the categories and to interpreting their central relationship themes. To assess interrater reliability for these categories, 21% of the English transcripts were coded independently by three coders. Two of these coders were native Spanish speakers who had grown up in the same type of immigrant community as our Latino participants; they were also Spanish–English bilinguals. This pair coded 15% of the Spanish transcripts to include sessions that were conducted in Spanish in the reliability assessment. The English interviewer was also one of three coders of English transcripts. The Spanish interviewer (and second author) coded both Spanish and English protocols. The third coder was a research assistant who coded both English and Spanish protocols; that coder, who achieved reliability with both the interviewers, was blind to the hypotheses. Spanish protocols were coded directly from the Spanish; they were not translated into English for purposes of coding.

The two Spanish coders had already achieved reliability on the English transcripts when they began testing reliability using Spanish transcripts; therefore it was relatively easy to achieve reliability on the Spanish transcripts and a smaller corpus was required. This situation differs greatly from cross-cultural research where coding is done in each language by different coders. In that case, the same size reliability corpus in each language would be necessary. However, in that situation, one cannot guarantee reliability across languages; in contrast, because we used the same coders for both languages, we can. Based on Cohen's Kappa Coefficient, inter-rater reliability for the subcategories was calculated for each of the three pairs of coders. For the four scenarios, Kappas ranged from .83 to 1.0.

After finalizing subcategories and assigning each subcategory as individualistic, collectivistic or mixed (see analysis of individual scenarios in Results section for operationalization of subcategories and categories in each case), participants' responses for each scenario were recoded as I (individualistic), C (collectivistic), or I&C score ($I = 0$, $I\&C = .50$, $C = 1.0$), resulting in a mean individualism–collectivism (I–C) score for each participant, ranging from 0 (totally individualistic) to 1.0 (totally collectivistic). Thus, means near 0 are relatively individualistic, means near .5 indicate a mixture of the two value orientations, and means near 1.0 are relatively collectivistic.

Data analysis

Neither scenario order, gender of participant, nor gender of the scenario protagonist had a significant impact on responses, so data were collapsed across these variables for all analyses to be reported.

We began with the overall level of data analysis. We carried out a 2 (school: European American or Latino) by 3 (role: students, parents, or teachers) analysis of variance, with each group's overall scores on the I–C dimension as the dependent variable. The distributions for each cell were visually inspected. No severe departures from normality were observed. We followed up with ANOVAs, utilizing the same design to look at each scenario separately. In order to establish which specific categories were predominant in different groups, we carried out a series of chi-square tests (Preacher, 2001). Because of a few cases of missing data or responses that did not fit the subcategories being compared, the chi-square samples are, in some cases, slightly smaller than the total sample size. The few cases of missing data are also reflected in the sample sizes for the analyses of variance of individual scenarios.

Results

Overall analysis

Teachers are the primary locus of individualistic socialization in both schools

The only significant main effect revealed by the overall analysis of variance was a main effect of role ($N = 114$, $F(2, 108) = 9.48$, $p = .000$), with teachers across the two schools responding significantly more individualistically than children and parents (children vs. teachers, $t(77) = 4.38$, $p = .000$, 95% CI of difference [.09, .25]; parents vs. teachers, $t(62.02, \text{unequal variances}) = 3.19$, $p = .001$, one-tailed test 95% CI of difference [.05, .21]; teacher mean = .45, $SD = .14$, parent mean = .58, $SD = .19$, child mean = .62, $SD = .19$). There was no significant interaction between school and role, a result indicating no difference in values between the teachers in the two schools.

It should nonetheless be noted here that there was variability in the value scores of each group – teachers, students, parents – in each school. In each group, scores ranged from the individualistic side of the scale (<.5) to the collectivistic side (>.5). Hence, all significant differences are based on average differences and do not reflect the variability within parents, teachers, and students in each setting.

Teachers of different ethnicities did not differ in their values, probably because they had all been raised in the Gesellschaft world of formal education

The value orientations of European American teachers ($M = .47$), Latino teachers ($M = .41$), African American teachers ($M = .42$), and the Asian American teacher ($M = .38$) were not significantly different. Teachers from all four ethnic groups scored on the individualistic side of the scale, and there was relatively little variance in the teacher group ($SD = .14$). Along with the first finding, this pattern of results indicates that school is an important locus of individualistic socialization: Teachers' values are individualistic, no matter what their ethnic group or where they teach.

Individual scenarios: Quantitative and qualitative results

For each scenario, we carried out a two-way analysis of variance with school and role as the independent variables. We used chi-square and qualitative analyses to see how participants structured their responses to each personal achievement scenario. Foreshadowing our results, we found that conflict between the familistic values of Latino parents and the individualistic values of their children's teachers showed up on scenarios where there was a direct conflict between family and school responsibilities or where the scenario took place at home.

In contrast, where the issue related to school achievement or academic tasks, we did not find cross-cultural value conflict.

Scenario 1: Equal credit for both brothers or individual credit? We start with a scenario that is set in the home. (Each scenario existed with both a male and female name; one gender is selected in each case for presentation.)

SCENARIO 1: CREDIT. When Tony's and Luis' [pronounced Louis for the English version] mother gets home, she finds that the house has been cleaned, and dinner is almost ready. She thanks them both for being so helpful. Tony says, "Why are you thanking him? I am the one who did most of the work."

What do you think the mother should do?

This scenario sets up conflict between individual recognition and concern for the well-being of the wider family system; the following provide definitions and examples of the dominant responses.

1. *Both same (familistic)*: The mother should give the same amount of thanks to both children because in a family all contributions are equally important so that it does not matter who does more.
 - "Just show her appreciation to both of them. Some children, people, are better at certain things and can get work done faster, and some people put in just as much effort and time and get less done. But, all in all, whatever effort has been put in is appreciated."
 - "Okay, the mother should say that, both of you helped, so it doesn't matter because both of you helped. You helped each other, like you worked as a team."
2. *Each one separately (individualistic)*. The mother should thank each child for what he/she did. In giving this response, participants noted that one child should not get more thanks than the other, but that the mother should find out and itemize what each child actually did, and thank each child for each contribution.
 - "Well I guess at that point she should try to figure out who did what and, you know. Give them each a little bit of credit because they care about [the house]."
 - "I think maybe she should thank Tony, and ask him what he did. And then find Luis and ask him what parts he did, and thank Luis for those parts. I'm assuming one's older and one's younger, one had homework or one didn't, one's a lazy person and the other isn't...And she could say, well you vacuumed and you, whatever, made the whole dinner, and then she finds out that Luis was folding laundry, you, and it's not visible so. I think it's really important to acknowledge the work that each person does even if it's a small amount, and not set up a competitive situation between brothers."

These two response categories involve a contrast between achievement as a collective family enterprise (familistic) and achievement as an individual enterprise (individualistic).

More familistic values in the family domain distinguish Latino immigrant parents from their children's teachers, as well as from European American parents; both the latter groups express more individualistic values

Eighteen out of nineteen or 94% percent of Latino immigrant parents favored recognizing both brothers the same. In contrast, only 38% of the teachers in their school favored this approach to recognizing achievement in the domain of the household. The teachers' favored response was to recognize each brother separately. A chi-square test showed that this difference between Latino parents and their children's teachers was statistically significant (chi-square [$1, N = 32$] = 10.37, $p = .001$).

In the other school, the European American parents and their children's teachers responded very similarly to the teachers in the Latino immigrant school: Only 38% of the European American parents and 40% of the teachers in their children's school favored recognizing both brothers the same. A chi-square test showed that the Latino parents favored equal credit for both brothers significantly

more often than the European American parents (chi-square $[1, N = 34] = 12.6, p = .0004$).

Despite exposure to familistic values at home and individualistic values at school, the values of children from Latino immigrant families resemble those of Latino immigrant parents rather than those of teachers in family-relevant situations

93% of the Latino children said that the mother should give the same amount of thanks to both children.

In family-relevant situations, European American children express greater familism than parents or teachers

75% percent of the European American children responded that both brothers should receive the same recognition. Chi-square tests showed that the proportion of European American children favoring this resolution was significantly greater than either parents (chi-square $[1, N = 36] = 5.14, p = .023$) or the teachers in their schools (chi-square $[1, N = 35] = 4.38, p = .036$). European American children did not differ significantly from Latino children in this respect.

The preceding results are summarized by Fig. 1 and an analysis of variance, which showed a significant main effect of both school and role. However, these main effects were qualified by an interaction between school and role ($N = 106, F(2, 100) = 4.03, p = .02$). The interaction appears to be due to differences between parents and teachers in School 2 (the Latino sample) but not in School 1 (the European American sample). That is, Latino immigrant parents responded significantly more familistically than their children's teachers (Latino parents, $M = .94, SD = .24$; teachers, $M = .43, SD = .51$; $t [17.25, \text{unequal variances}] = 3.48, p = .0015$, one-tailed test; 95% CI of difference $[.20, .83]$). They also responded more familistically than European American parents (European American parents, $M = .40, SD = .51, t [18.99, \text{unequal variances}] = 3.83, p = .0005$, one-tailed test, 95% CI of difference $[.25, .84]$). In addition, Latino children responded significantly more familistically than their teachers (Latino children, $M = .96, SD = .20$; teachers, $M = .43, SD = .51$; $t [15.07, \text{unequal variances}] = 3.74, p = .001$, one-tailed test, 95% CI of difference $[.23, .84]$). Lastly, European American children responded significantly more familistically than did European American parents (children, $M = .83, SD = .38$; parents, $M = .40, SD = .51$; $t [25.7, \text{unequal variances}] = 2.72, p = .011$, two-tailed test, 95% CI of difference $[.11, .76]$) or teachers ($M = .40, SD = .51$; $t [25.7, \text{unequal variances}] = 2.72, p = .011$, two-tailed test, 95% CI of difference $[.11, .76]$). Latino children did not differ significantly from the Latino parents in response to this scenario – supporting the point that the values of Latino children resemble those of parents rather than those of their teachers in family-relevant situations.

The significant difference between the parents from the two schools (shown graphically in Fig. 1) highlights the importance of

internalized social responsibilities for the Latinos and the importance of individual recognition for the European Americans. From a collectivistic/familistic perspective, the goal of cleaning in this scenario is to anticipate the family's needs and to contribute, not to obtain corresponding individual recognition and praise.

Scenario 2: Value differences between Latino parents and teachers in their children's school. The results confirm the same five points as the Credit scenario in a new family-relevant situation.

SCENARIO 2: BROTHER. Ricky tells the teacher that he will probably be absent tomorrow because his mother is sick, and he has to stay home to help take care of his brother.

What do you think the teacher should do?

This scenario sets up a conflict between pursuing individual goals at school, and fulfilling one's responsibilities as a family member. We define and exemplify the three most frequent categories derived from the participants' open-ended responses, encompassing the majority of responses. The first one, *Help Brother*, prioritizes family obligations; the second one, *Stay at School*, prioritizes pursuing individual goals; the third, *Help Brother and Take Work Home*, combines the two priorities and was coded as a combination of individualism and collectivism with a score of .5.

1. *Help Take Care of Brother.* The teacher should excuse Ricky from class so that he can go home and help take care of his brother because sometimes family situations arise that require students to miss class.
 - “I think the teacher should say, okay, and let her. Because, I mean, her mom really needs help with the brother, and she can't just let the brother. Like maybe he's younger or something. She can't just let him play around alone.”
 - “That it is alright, that she doesn't go that day, for her mother who is sick. So she can help.”
 - “Tell her to stay home and help her brother because her mother is sick. Because if she goes to school, the boy, the boy is going... to do a lot of things, and the mother is not going to be able to watch him. And she's going to, and she's going, and she's going to get more sick, the mother.”
2. *Stay at School.* The teacher should not excuse Ricky from class because school is his primary responsibility, and his family should find another solution.
 - “I think she should get a friend in. I think a child's education is the only thing that we can give our children. To have the child stay home just because the mom's not feeling well to take care of the youngster which is a full time job. Actually that happens quite often in my classroom. The problem is when they come in there's so much extra work, and for them to stay home because mom's just not feeling well, it didn't help the kid.”

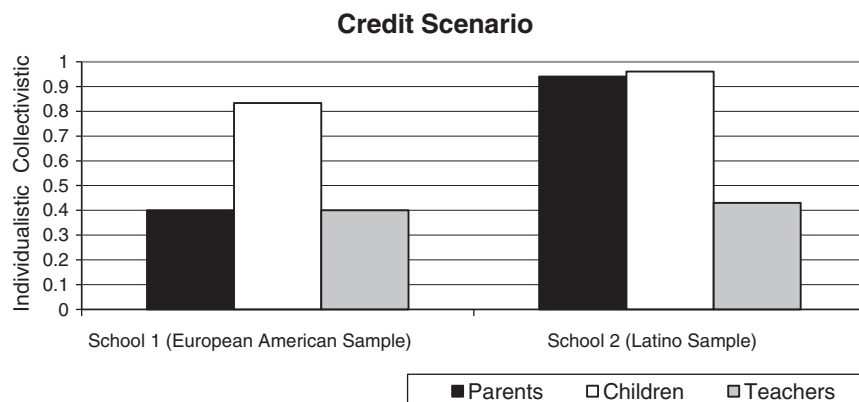


Fig. 1. Distribution of responses to the credit scenario from parents, children, and teachers in a Latino immigrant and European American context.

Certainly helping out is okay, but I think schooling is a lot more important than taking care of mom's child."

- "The teacher should call the mother, and at the same time tell the child that the only time we're supposed to be, kids are supposed to be absent is when they are sick. And that if there is not someone to take care of the mother that she needs to find someone to take care of the mother. That he is a child, and that he needs to be in school."

3. *Help Take Care of Brother and Take Work Home.* The teacher should excuse Ricky from class so that he can help take care of his brother, but she should also give him some work to take home with him so that he does not fall behind in his schoolwork.

- "The teacher should send home a packet of what the child would miss in school. 'Cause you wouldn't want them to fall behind in their schoolwork while they're out of school."
- "Say, umm. Say, okay 'cause you mother's like sick, and she can't take care of your brother, and I'll give you a little bit of work to do at home."

This scenario very clearly involves a conflict between the importance of helping the family vs. child's educational goals. In the Latino immigrant school, we found the same pattern of value conflict between parents and teachers. Seventy-four percent of the Latino immigrant parents, but only 25% of the teachers, thought that the teacher should excuse Ricky so that he could go home to help with his brother. These differences between the responses of Latino parents and teachers in their children's school were statistically significant (chi-square [1, N = 35] = 8.24, p = .004). The children generally held the same views as the parents; 68% of the children thought that Ricky should be able to go home to help take care of his brother.

At School 1, the source of our European American sample, a significantly lower percentage of parents (31%) thought that Ricky should be excused from class to help with his brother than was the case in the Latino immigrant sample (chi-square [1, N = 35] = 6.30, p = .012). The teachers were very similar in their attitudes to the teachers at the other school: only 20% thought that Ricky should be excused from class to stay home.

Ethnographically, during the course of discussing this scenario, many of the teachers in the school serving Latino immigrant families mentioned that this issue came up frequently, and that they struggled to explain to the parents that going to school was the children's responsibility. In contrast, in the school serving mainly European American families, many of the teachers remarked that they had never encountered such a situation in their teaching experiences.

The pattern of findings revealed by the chi-square analyses was confirmed by analysis of variance. It revealed an interaction between school (European American and Latino) and role (students, parents, teachers) ($F [2, 103] = 3.80, N = 109, p = .026$). The nature of this interaction showed the same pattern as in the Credit scenario. The

Latino immigrant parents' mean familism score ($M = .82, SD = .34$) was significantly higher than that of their children's teachers' ($M = .10, SD = .28$) ($t [32] = 6.55, p = .000$, one-tailed test, 95% CI of difference [.49, .94]). Their mean of .82 was also significantly higher than that of the European American parents, who had a mean of .41 ($SD = .42; t [33] = 3.19, N = 35, p = .0015$, one-tailed test, 95% CI of difference [.15, .67]).

In addition to the interaction, there was a significant main effect of role, with students and parents scoring as significantly more familistic than teachers ($N = 109, F (2, 103) = 17.93, p = .000$; students, $M = .67, SD = .43$; parents, $M = .63, SD = .43$; teachers, $M = .16, SD = .30$; students vs. teachers: $t [unequal variances, 71.29] = 6.04, p = .000$, two-tailed test; parents vs. teachers: $t [unequal variances, 60.65] = 5.19, p = .000$, two-tailed test). The importance of teachers as a force for individualistic socialization is reinforced by these data. The pattern of results revealed by the analysis of variance is shown graphically in Fig. 2.

Although European American children were not significantly more collectivistic than European American parents in response to this scenario alone, a multivariate analysis of variance of the European American sample with individualism–collectivism scores on the Credit, 95% CI of difference [.20, .83] and Brother scenarios as the dependent variables and generation (parents vs. children) as the independent variable showed that, overall, European-American parents were significantly more individualistic than European American children in their responses to these two scenarios ($N = 32, F (2, 29) = 64.75, p = .000$).

No significant value differences between ethnic groups or between Latino immigrant parents and their children's teachers exist in the nonfamilistic domain of school achievement

In sharp contrast, the next two scenarios deal with situations that do not directly impact the home life of Latino immigrant families. In fact, these domains of personal achievement are much more central to school than home. As we will see, the values of Latino immigrant parents do not differ in these situations from European American parents or their children's teachers.

Scenario 3: Collectivistic responding in all groups to a school situation. The results reflect the fact that both these schools did emphasize cooperative group work.

SCENARIO 3: POSTER. A class of fifth-grade students is working on posters in their art class. Next week some teachers will come to select five posters for an art show. Then, one poster will be chosen for a \$50 prize. Erica and Victoria realize that they have some similar ideas for a really neat poster, and they want to work together.

What do you think the teacher should do?

This scenario was intended to address a potential cross-cultural value conflict between cooperative and competitive behavior. Cooperation is relatively more important in the collectivistic way of life; competition is relatively more important to the individualistic way

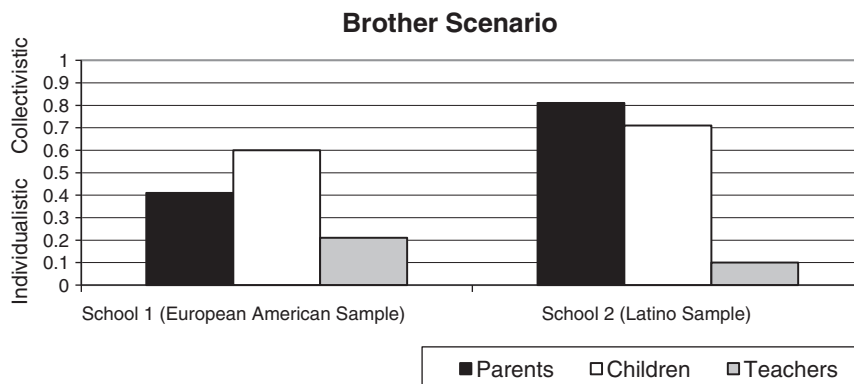


Fig. 2. Distribution of responses to the brother scenario from parents, children, and teachers in Latino immigrant and European American contexts.

of life. Two categories encompassed virtually all the participants' open-ended responses. The first, *Work Together*, represents a cooperative response; we considered it collectivistic; it was scored 1. The second, *Work Separately*, emphasizes individual achievement and greater competition; it was scored 0. Although all the children will be in the poster competition, in the *Work Separately* response, the two girls will also be competing against each other, rather than cooperating to make a single poster.

1. *Work Together*. The teacher should allow the children to work together if they want to because it is important to foster cooperation and social interaction, and they will be also able to produce a better poster if they work together.
 - “I think. Tell them, that’s great, go for it. Because this is what human beings are all about. And should be about. People sharing and being, and helping each other, and being cooperative.”
 - “Say, just let them work together. Because they both have the same idea, and they would probably get the prize because they were gonna put something together. It’s creative, more like.”
 - “The teacher should let them work together so they could get their ideas, and they could build to their ideas, and make something really good.”
2. *Work Separately*: The teacher should not allow the children to work together so that she will be able to know what each child did, and so that they do not argue over who did what.
 - “I think that maybe they should work separately and I think maybe they should do that because, umm, to make your own idea. ‘Cause I mean, nothing can be exactly the same in posters. Some stuff can be the same, but not everything on a poster can be exactly the same. So if they were sort of similar, they’d still be different. You still show what you really wanted to do. ‘Cause the teacher sees what you want to do and what the other kid wants to do. ‘Cause if it’s like a test and the teacher only knows what both want to do together instead of. Maybe like Victoria said that, no I don’t like your idea, I want to do my idea and then the [other] kids says, okay. Well, then the teacher wouldn’t know whose idea it was.”

The analysis of variance revealed no significant main effects; nor was the interaction of school and role statistically significant. Indeed, a clear majority of each group favored the two children working together to create the poster (Fig. 3). This result reveals the cooperative cultures of these particular two schools.

Scenario 4: Individualistic responding in all groups on the topic of school grades. The next scenario, also representing a school-bound issue, was designed to encapsulate the cross-cultural conflict between

keeping one’s position as part of a group vs “standing out” through self-recognition.

SCENARIO 4: GRADE. Rebecca tells her mother that she got the highest grade in the class on her math test. She says she is really proud of herself for doing so well, and for doing the best in the class.

What do you think the mother should do?

This scenario sets up a conflict between recognizing individual achievement and the potential for excessively high self-evaluation that may bother the child’s classmates. For this scenario, two individualistic categories, focusing on individual achievement, were the most frequent ones.

1. *Praise the Child*. The mother should praise the child for his/her achievement and/or effort.
 - “She should congratulate her and tell her that was very good, and she should keep studying hard, then she’ll get a lot of tests—high, higher scores.”
 - (in response to the version with a boy’s name) “I think the mother should congratulate him. ‘Cause he did a good job.”
 - “That’s very nice.” I’d say, ‘That’s good’ she worked so hard.
2. *Express Pride*: The mother should tell the child that she is proud of him/her. A third category was a combination of 1 and 2.
3. *Praise the Child and Express Pride*. The mother should praise the child for his/her achievement and/or effort, and she should also tell the child that she is proud of him/her.
 - (In response to the version with a boy’s name) “I think she should express how proud she is that he’s done so well. And give him positive feedback. For, for doing a good job. ‘Cause she should acknowledge the achievement, and provide, you know, positive reinforcement and support.”

The thoroughgoing individualism in response to this scenario across schools and cultural groups is attested to by the fact that none of the six groups had a mean on the collectivistic side of the scale (that is, over .5) (see Fig. 4). The overall mean for the total sample was .25, a highly individualistic mean.

The only significant result of the analysis of variance, again using school and role as the independent variables and the individualism–collectivism score as the dependent variable, was a school effect. Contrary to expectations based on the populations served by the two schools, the community of School 1, serving our European American sample, responded in a significantly less individualistic fashion to the Grades scenario. We use the phrase “less individualistic” rather than “more collectivistic” because the mean of .37 was still well on the individualistic side of the scale midpoint of .5. Most likely this difference between the two schools comes from the fact that School 1 deemphasizes grades as a matter of school philosophy. Although the

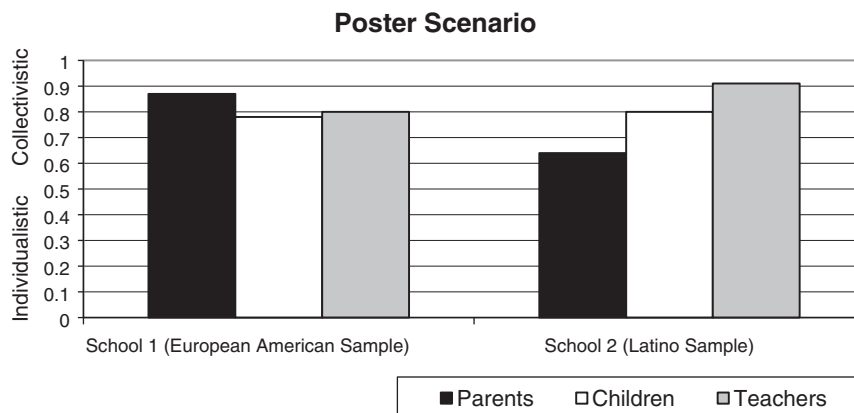


Fig. 3. Distribution of responses to the poster scenario from parents, children, and teachers in Latino immigrant and European American contexts.

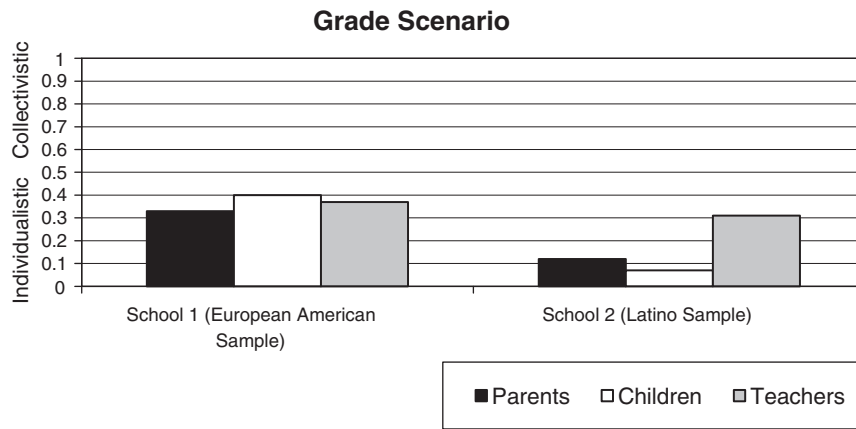


Fig. 4. Distribution of responses to the grade scenario from parents, children, and teachers in Latino immigrant and European American contexts.

school microculture could eliminate grades, note that the school culture still had an individualistic tendency, as manifest in a mean on the individualistic side of the scale.

Discussion

Research in Mexico has established that familistic values have remained strong in relatively *Gemeinschaft* settings with little formal education from the 1950s through the period when most of the parents in our sample would have immigrated to the United States (Holtzman et al., 1975; Manago & Greenfield, 2011; Whiting & Edwards, 1988; Whiting & Whiting, 1975). An important conclusion is that Latino immigrant families from similar backgrounds maintain familistic values in areas in which change would have a direct impact on family life (the Brother and Credit scenarios). In contrast, they are indistinguishable from European American families and their children's teachers in situations where individualistic school practices have no direct impact on their family life (the Poster and Grade scenarios). One conclusion is that in a complex *Gesellschaft* society, values are context-specific.

This context-specific pattern makes sense when one considers that a major goal of the Mexican families when they emigrated was to give their children more opportunity for formal education than they had in Mexico (Reese, 2002). Thus, conformity with host society values and practices is not uniform across various domains. However, we cannot necessarily call this acculturation because Mexican society has been simultaneously moving in the *Gesellschaft* direction, changing parental ethnotheories to value formal education more and to have greater opportunities for formal education as a major motive for immigrating to the United States (Reese, 2002).

However, we also need to make clear that we do not attribute these differences to ethnicity, but to the sociodemographic factors that drive cultural values (Greenfield, 2009). Most important are the nonoverlapping educational differences between the two samples, with the Latino parents averaging but a fifth grade education because of limited educational opportunity when they were growing up in Mexico and Central America. The extremely different educational levels of our two samples validate the *Gemeinschaft* environments of this sample of Latino immigrant parents. In contrast, our Latino immigrant teachers, who had a college education, were at least as individualistic (mean = .37) as the teacher group as a whole (mean = .45) and the European American parents (mean = .50). Given that education is probably the key social class indicator, class differences in the United States provide additional evidence that sociodemographics drive differences in values independent of ethnicity: ethnically diverse working class participants show a more interdependent orientation than equally diverse middle-class participants (Stephens, Markus, & Townsend, 2007).

The findings show important manifestations of cross-cultural value differences, as well as agreement. Cultural value differences emerged in response to the Brother scenario, where there was a substantial group among teachers and European American parents who felt that the child should simply stay at school and not help with brother, in contrast to the Latino immigrant parents. Cultural value differences also emerged for the Credit scenario where both immigrant parents and their children responded more collectivistically than did teachers, responding that both brothers should receive equal credit. In the domain of family values, Latino children from immigrant families were often receiving a collectivistic message at home, an individualistic one at school. However, contrary to the findings of Raeff et al. (2000), there were no significant differences between the Latino children, Latino immigrant parents, or their teachers for any of the scenarios that related exclusively to the school context.

In the earlier study such a difference arose in response to a scenario where the choice was between helping a sick classmate at school with her job (collectivistic) or completing one's own job (individualistic). Latino immigrant parents responded by applying the collectivistic value of helping to an in-group beyond the family; in contrast, their children (and their children's teachers) did not generally perceive that the classmate had a responsibility to help the sick child. Our ethnographic interviews indicated that helping a sick member of the group is basic to family obligation; and empathetic concern runs very high among Latinos (Guan, Orellana, & Greenfield, submitted for publication). We propose, therefore, that Latino immigrant parents transferred empathetic concern and desire to help to a member of an in-group (the child's class) beyond the family. On the other hand, their children, in line with their teachers' views, did not make this transference, and, instead, were collectivistic exclusively within the family; they applied collectivistic values in more restrictive contexts than did Latino immigrant parents. This same pattern of intergenerational difference in Mexican American families was described by Delgado-Gaitan (1994).

The poster and grade scenarios have no direct relevance to family values. The contrasting responses to these two scenarios – almost uniformly collectivistic in the case of the Poster scenario, uniformly individualistic in the case of the Grade scenario – indicate adaptation to teacher values on the part of all parents and children, regardless of ethnicity. The contrasting responses to the two scenarios also indicate that school culture itself can be context-specific, collectivistic in some situations, individualistic in others. Indeed, these two schools have adopted a work method, project-based cooperative learning, that may be compatible with the poster scenario findings, as well as the values that most Latino immigrant children bring to school.

We found no differences between the children in the two schools for any scenario. This similarity was not a result of Latino children acculturating to individualism, but rather a result of European American fifth-grade children's having, in many instances, more collectivistic values than either European American parents or teachers in their school. The finding that children are more collectivistic than parents agrees with Madsen's (1971) finding that, for European American and Mexican American children, competition, an individualistic behavior, develops after cooperation, a collectivistic behavior. Our finding that fifth-grade European American children are more collectivistic than European American parents (or teachers in their own school) also suggests that children of relatively individualistic parents may undergo a socializing process into the culture of individualism as they develop.

Like conceptions of interpersonal relationships (Raefff et al., 2000), the comparative study of conceptions of personal achievement provides important information about issues facing Latino immigrant families as they come in contact with the American public school system. Responses to the family-oriented scenarios show value differences between Latino immigrant families and their children's teachers, no matter what the teacher's ethnic background. However, responses to the Poster and Grade scenarios indicate that, where issues of personal achievement in the school context do not pose a direct challenge to family life, Latino immigrant families are indistinguishable in their value orientations from their European American counterparts or their children's teachers. Indeed, academic achievement is often viewed by Latino immigrant parents as a central route to success in the United States (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; Goldenberg & Gallimore, 1995).

In other words, despite the various instances of cultural value differences, there were also instances of cultural value agreement. Children, parents, and teachers from all ethnicities were in agreement that working on a poster together was better than working alone. These responses to the Poster scenario suggest that cooperative learning may offer an opportunity to bridge between the culture of the school and the culture of the home for Latino immigrant families. Our method was able to detect how values were constructed by different groups in different situational contexts.

Across thirteen societies, Berry et al. (2006) have identified four patterns of acculturation: ethnic separation, national assimilation, integration, and diffuse marginalization. Integration of the two cultures was the most common and associated with the best psychological and sociocultural adaptation. One can think of our study as exploring two sets of cultural values – host society and Latino immigrant. Looking across the four scenarios, we too find that integration is the modal response: two of the four scenarios elicited cross-ethnic differences; the other two elicited cross-ethnic similarities; and this pattern held for both parents and children. Hence, there was typically integration of the two value systems; which value system was triggered depended on the situational context. Generalizing from Berry et al. (2006), this integration pattern provides an optimistic outlook on the psychosocial adaptation of our Latino immigrant sample.

Limitations

One limitation is that we did not ask our participants whether they had ever experienced the dilemmas that constituted our stimuli scenarios. A second limitation is that we can make inferences about the translation of parent and teacher values into behavior, but we lack direct evidence. A third limitation is that, where we had evidence of conflicting socialization messages received by Latino immigrant children, we do not know whether these conflicting messages cause psychological stress nor how children resolve the conflicts. A fourth limitation is that we were not able to recruit the parents of every child in our sample, making direct matched-pair comparison of children with their own parents impossible. A fifth limitation is that there is value variability within each group, so that conclusions about group differences actually function as stereotypes that ignore

internal variability. Finally, although we attribute observed value differences to sociodemographic differences, this conclusion is limited by the fact that we do not have a sample of Latino families with middle class and upper-middle class status. Moreover, our comparison samples were each drawn from only one school. Nonetheless, we predict that, were we to match the European American families with Latino families of comparable SES, there would be no value differences. However, despite the limitations, this study makes an important contribution to understanding the experience of immigrant families in schools and therefore will hopefully stimulate future research in this area.

Educational application

The authors are part of a team that has utilized findings concerning the contrast between the familistic or collectivistic orientations of Latino immigrant families and the individualistic orientation of schools in an intervention called Bridging Cultures (e.g., Rothstein-Fisch, Greenfield, Trumbull, Keller, & Quiroz, 2010). This intervention, carried out first with elementary school teachers in Southern California, was designed to respect the familistic and collectivistic orientation of Latino immigrant families and to treat this cultural orientation as an educational strength rather than weakness. What the current study adds to the prior portrait of cross-cultural value conflicts (Raefff et al., 2000) is a portrait of common values regarding formal education and a picture of the context specificity of the distinctive values of Latino immigrant families. This new understanding can contribute to the bridging process between home and school for Latino immigrant families, enhancing the educational prospects of Latino children while reinforcing the values that lead to family cohesion.

In the Bridging Cultures Project, we found that one way to accomplish this goal is to incorporate collectivistic practices into classroom management at the elementary school level, making school values more similar to home values (Rothstein-Fisch & Trumbull, 2008). The more harmonious the values enacted at home and at school, the less children will have to make a choice between these two important socializing forces. Children will be more likely to persist with their education and achieve at school if they do not feel that they have to reject parental values by so doing.

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