Journal of Adolescent Research
2015, Vol. 30(3) 271–305

DOI: 10.1177/0743558414561297
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Exploring Home-School Value Conflicts: Implications for Academic Achievement and Well-Being Among Latino First-Generation College Students

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Abstract

U.S. colleges place a high value on the fulfillment of academic obligations by their students. The academic achievement of each individual student is the institutional priority; this is an individualistic frame of reference. However, many Latino first-generation college students have been raised to prioritize family obligations; their home socialization is collectivistic. Our exploratory study investigated how Latino first-generation college students experience home-school value conflict between family obligation and individual academic achievement during their transition to college. A group interview followed the prompt of a conflict scenario that each group member first responded to in writing. The written responses provide evidence of the prioritization of school or home and the conflict that can arise in making these decisions. The group discussions that followed identified multiple types of home-school conflict and provide insights into how these conflicts are experienced. Conflicts revealed by the data included attending family events or visiting

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parents versus doing academic work, family assistance versus focusing on academics, allocating money for travel to see family versus allocating money for educational expenses. In turn, these home-school value conflicts were experienced both as lasting over time and as playing a negative role in students' academic achievement and sense of well-being.

Keywords
Latinos, immigrant families, first-generation college students, culture, family obligation, individualism, collectivism, academic achievement, well-being

Although schooling everywhere is based on individual academic achievement, many immigrant groups, such as those from Latin America, hold strong collectivistic values. Often, these collectivistic values center on the importance of the family collectivity (e.g., spending time with family, assisting family; Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999). In elementary school, this situation results in a cultural mismatch between values learned at home and school (Greenfield & Quiroz, 2013; Raeff, Greenfield, & Quiroz, 2000). From a developmental perspective, the potential for *home-school value conflict*—conflict between the individualistic behavioral demands of college and collectivistic behavioral demands of family—could peak in a 4-year college where the demands for individual academic achievement become noticeably greater than in high school, while spending time with family and assisting family with tasks becomes much more difficult. We conceptualize this as a conflict between internalized demands for family obligation behaviors and internalized demands for academic performance.

What happens when Latino first-generation students from a collectivistic/familistic home environment enter college, with its extreme value emphasis on the individualistic behaviors of academic achievement? Our study explored inner conflicts between internalized values that require in-person interaction with and help to family members at home and internalized values that require devotion to academic performance. These are personal inner conflicts, but they were often closely interrelated with family conflicts because of the reciprocal nature of family obligations—that is, the obligations felt by the student are experienced precisely because they are also expected by the family. Indeed it is the family that has socialized them to internalize the sense of family obligation. We explored this conflict during the transition to college by recruiting a sample of Latino first-generation college students from immigrant families who were in their first year of college.

Theory of Social Change and Human Development

Our study was inspired by Greenfield's (2009) theory of social change and human development. In the theory, collectivistic values are an adaptation to ecologies in which education is predominantly informal and at home, material resources are low, family relationships are close and at the center of social life, and a goal of development is the interdependent individual. In contrast, individualistic values are an adaptation to ecologies in which formal educational opportunity is great, material resources are more abundant, many social relationships are both extrafamilial and relatively impermanent, and a goal of development is the independent individual.

Immigrant Latino parents in California typically have lacked educational opportunity in their countries of origin (Fuligni, 2001; Guan, Greenfield, & Orellana, 2014), while permanent family relationships are central to social life. Values are therefore generally collectivistic (Greenfield & Quiroz, 2013; Raeff et al., 2000). In contrast, the college environment is organized around higher education; social relationships are with nonfamily members and often impermanent, for example, classroom teachers and fellow students in a class; academic performance by each individual is the central organizing principle. Therefore, values are generally individualistic.

Another influence on whether values will be more individualistic or more collectivistic is relative wealth, with greater economic resources associated with individualism and lesser economic resources associated with collectivism (e.g., Park, Twenge, & Greenfield, 2014). Latino immigrants in California have the lowest incomes of all ethnic groups. Hence, their collectivism is multiply determined.

Therefore, the theory predicts that, when transitioning to college, Latino first-generation college students will experience a cross-cultural value conflict between internalized demands for family obligation behaviors and internalized demands for academic behaviors. We expected that this situation would lead to inner turmoil and family conflict, which in turn would have implications for development. While many Latino parents immigrated to give their children opportunity to get ahead through formal education, they see family-centered values and academic achievement as a unified whole (Reese, Balzano, Gallimore, & Goldenberg, 1995); they therefore do not realize that academic achievement and family values may be partially incompatible. Latino immigrant parents, moreover, prioritize family values over academic values (Reese et al., 1995). This priority is quite different from that of the faculty teaching their children in college. Latino youth from immigrant families want to repay their parents by doing well in school. Therefore, they are caught between two conflicting definitions of family obligation: aiding the family directly and aiding the family in a long-term sense by doing well in school.

We apply the theory to a new developmental period—the transition to college. We also apply it to new areas of development, namely, academic achievement and well-being.

Rationale for Latino First-Generation College Sample

Latino college students surpass European Americans (67%) in college enrollment rates but lag behind all groups in earning a bachelor's degree (Pew Hispanic Center, 2013). This pattern suggests that Latino youth want to attend college but may have difficulty adjusting to the environment. One reason may be that most Latinos are first-generation college students (i.e., neither parent attended college nor had any form of postsecondary education; Saenz, Hurtado, Barrera, Wolf, & Yeung, 2007); first-generation students lag behind other students in graduation rates (Stephens, Hamedani, & Destin, 2014). First-generation students also have fewer resources (e.g., financial—Saenz et al., 2007; parent knowledge about college—Tienda & Mitchell, 2006) that predict college adjustment. However, we explored the possibility that value differences might also come into play.

Indeed, first-generation college students typically have more collectivistic motives for attending college and lower grade point averages (GPAs) than other students (Saenz et al., 2007; Stephens, Townsend, Markus, & Phillips, 2012). Most pertinent, the relationship between college-generation status and college GPA is mediated by motives for attending college—individualistic motives for attending college are positively related to GPA, whereas collectivistic motives are negatively related (Stephens, Fryberg, Markus, Johnson, & Covarrubias, 2012). Consequently, one reason first-generation college students have difficulty adjusting to an individualistic college environment stems from the collectivistic values they bring with them to college. We explore this issue in depth with first-generation Latino college students from immigrant families. We also differentiate various forms of family obligation, rather than utilizing the general concept of collectivism.

Family Obligation Values Versus Family Obligation Behaviors

Family obligation values are defined as youths' attitudes toward respecting and assisting family members, both now and in the future (Fuligni et al., 1999). Family obligation applies to both immediate and extended family members and is a central feature of Latino families (Fuligni, 2001), especially

immigrant families (Fuligni, 2007; Tseng, 2004). The behavioral component of family obligation, known as family assistance (Telzer & Fuligni, 2009a, 2009b; Tsai, Telzer, Gonzales, & Fuligni, 2013) or family behavioral demands (Tseng, 2004), is also prominent among immigrant Latino families; it consists of spending time with family (Sy & Brittian, 2008), running errands for family, helping siblings with homework (Telzer & Fuligni, 2009a; Tseng, 2004), or helping one's family financially (Tseng, 2004; Vallejo, 2012). Youth who value family obligation are more likely to engage in these behaviors on a daily basis (Hardway & Fuligni, 2006). This relationship suggests that family obligation values and behaviors are connected; it supports research attempting to understand values through self-reported behaviors, as we do in this study.

Quantitative surveys have been the primary means to assess youths' family obligation attitudes and behaviors. We have learned a great deal from such surveys, but they cannot assess how youth handle family and school demands when they are in competition. Do students experience internal conflict, regardless of whether they choose to fulfill family or school demands?

Family Obligation and Personal Inner Conflict

The increase in family obligation during the transition to young adulthood (Fuligni & Pedersen, 2002), especially pronounced among youth from Latino and Filipino backgrounds, provided further motivation for our study because of its potential to clash with school demands when transitioning to college. A few case studies have documented that Latino students face difficulties when having to choose between moving away to college and remaining closer to home so that they can be with family (Lara, 1992) or assist family (London, 1989). Qualitative work with Mexican American youth has shown that they feel torn in choices between going to school and working to help their families (C. Suárez-Orozco & M. Suárez-Orozco, 1995). We extend this work to explore the same type of inner conflict when Latino students from immigrant families have made the commitment to higher education.

We have developed a novel way to operationalize the experience of inner conflict in choice situations between family obligation behaviors and academic behaviors: the existence of stimuli that function as triggers to reinstate rumination or reflection of the conflicts after they occurred (Nolen-Hoeksema, Wisco, & Lyubomirsky, 2008). If a conflict is reinstated outside the situation that originally instigated it, it must be internal rather than external. Such reinstatement at a later point in time is also evidence that an internal conflict is long lasting rather than transitory. Hence, our study explored situational triggers for reinstatement of an inner conflict.

Family Obligation and Its Relation to Academics and Well-Being

Family obligation has a complex relationship to academics (Fuligni, 2001; Fuligni et al., 1999; Telzer & Fuligni, 2009b; Tseng, 2004) and well-being (Fuligni & Pedersen, 2002; Fuligni & Telzer, 2013, 2009a). Although immigrant Latino youth hold high values for family obligation and frequently engage in these behaviors, values and behaviors lead to different academic outcomes. Latin American, Asian American, and European American youth who reported high family obligation values also reported being more academically motivated and studying for longer periods of time than other youth (Fuligni, 2001; Fuligni et al., 1999). These values also helped buffer the decline in academic motivation that adolescents experience during high school (Fuligni, 2001).

On the other hand, behavioral engagement in these values was related to negative academic outcomes: Adolescents who reported spending more time assisting family experienced declining grades in both high school (Telzer & Fuligni, 2009b) and college (Tseng, 2004). For Latino immigrant youth, differential academic outcomes of family obligation values versus family obligation behaviors are explained by their awareness of their parents' sacrifices for them to have a better future and their consequent motivation to give back to their families by working hard in school (Fuligni, 2001; M. Suárez-Orozco, 1991; C. Suárez-Orozco & M. Suárez-Orozco, 1995; Tseng, 2004). However, family behavioral demands disrupt their capacity to fulfill their academic goals, both in high school (Telzer & Fuligni, 2009b) and college (Tseng, 2004). Thus, one perspective on home-school conflict is that it is a conflict between two ways of contributing to the family.

Even if conceptualized in this way, the conflict is nonetheless stressful. On the one hand, family obligation values and behaviors are related to positive emotional well-being (Fuligni & Pedersen, 2002; Telzer & Fuligni, 2009a). On the other hand, helping family too much is related to increases in biomarkers of stress (Fuligni & Telzer, 2013; Fuligni et al., 2009), which can, in turn, lead to detrimental health outcomes (Nater, Skoluda, & Strahler, 2013). Our study extends the current body of work by exploring the subjective experience of these conflicts and their subjectively felt connection to academic achievement and sense of well-being.

Family Obligation and Distance From Home

Because of higher family obligation values, emerging adults from Filipino and Latin American backgrounds were more likely to live with their parents

compared with East Asian and European American youth (Fuligni & Pedersen, 2002). Likewise, among Latin American, Asian American, African American, and European American first-year students at a 4-year university, residing with parents was one factor that led immigrant youth to report higher levels of engagement in family behavioral demands than nonimmigrant youth (Tseng, 2004).

Although fruitful, the aforementioned studies are restricted to a binary residential status variable (i.e., living with parents vs. not) and do not take geographical distance into account (e.g., living 30 minutes away from parents vs. 10 hours away). They also do not consider how distance from home could lead to different forms of home-school conflict. Our study fills this gap. Exploring the role of geographical distance is also interesting because about half of first-generation students live within 50 miles of their parents' homes (Saenz et al., 2007).

Family Obligation and Parent Level of Education

Greenfield's theory of social change and human development also predicts that Latino students with more highly educated parents would have fewer conflicts because their parents would themselves have more individualistic values. Other studies have shown that individualistic values are significantly stronger with higher parental education levels (Greenfield & Quiroz, 2013; Greenfield, Quiroz, & Raeff, 2000; Raeff et al., 2000). This is the case even within a given ethnicity (Park, Greenfield, Joo, & Quiroz, under revision).

Considering the relationship between family obligation behaviors and parental education, we see that one important form of family obligation behavior in immigrant families, translation assistance (otherwise known as language brokering), occurs more often when parents have less education (Guan et al., 2014). How does parent education relate to the experience of home-school conflict? We explored this issue with a sample in which the highest level was high school completion.

Current Study

The increase in family obligation demands over developmental time (Fuligni & Pedersen, 2002), combined with an increase in school demands as one enters college, points to a need to examine the experience of Latino first-generation college students in facing these two conflicting sets of behavioral expectations. It is, moreover, crucial to understand the developmental role of these inner conflicts, in relation to both academics and well-being. Relying primarily on qualitative discourse analysis, the present research begins to fill this gap.

Research Questions

Research Question 1: Do Latino first-generation college students from immigrant families prioritize individualistic demands of college or collectivistic demands of their families? Do they experience inner conflict no matter which choice they make?
Research Question 2: How do Latino first-generation college students experience the demands of home and school during their first year in college?
Research Question 2a: What types of conflicts do they experience?
Research Question 2b: Do they later reflect on those conflicts? What triggers this reflection?
Research Question 3: What are the implications of those conflicts for their academic achievement and well-being?
Research Question 4: How does geographical distance from home and parent level of education relate to their experiences with these conflicts?

Method

Participants

During the spring quarter of their first year of college at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), Latino college students were recruited via the psychology subject pool, campus flyers, and friend recommendations. Participants had to (a) have two parents who migrated from a Latin American country, (b) be a first-generation college student (i.e., have parents with no form of postsecondary education), and (c) be in their first year of college.

Fourteen of the 18 students who participated in our study met all criteria; the other 4 students were not used in any data analysis (see Table 1 for sample details.). Thirty-six percent and 29% of the eligible students reported that their mother's and father's highest level of education was "high school," respectively. Twenty-one percent of mothers and 14% of fathers had attended middle school in Mexico (Grades 7-9). Thirty-six percent of mothers and 43% of fathers had attended elementary school in Mexico or had never been to school (ranged from 0 years of education to Grade 6). Education levels were not reported for one mother and two fathers. These education levels are similar to that of a recent study that included Latino college students from immigrant families at UCLA (Guan et al., 2014).

A small sample is useful in qualitative research as it facilitates a close relationship between the researcher and participants; it also enhances the potential for fine-grained, in-depth inquiry (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006). Additionally, a small sample is valuable for exploring a wider range of

Table 1. Gender, Number, Age, Living Situation, Distance From Home, Parent Demographics, and Scenario Value Choice.

Group	Gender	*n*	Age	Living situation	Distance from home	Parent education (mother/father)	Parent place of birth	Value choice
I.	Female	2	19 years old	Dorms	30 min (LA)	Elementary	Mexico	School
	Male		19 years old		4 hr	9th/3rd	Mexico	School
II.	Female 1	6	19 years old	Dorms	40 min (LA)	9th/4th	Mexico	School
	Female 2		18 years old	Dorms	4 hr	4th/6th	Mexico	School
	Female 3		18 years old	Dorms	40 min (LA)	Unknown	Mexico	Home
	Female 4		18 years old	Dorms	30 min (LA)	2nd/unknown	Guatemala	Both
	Female 5		18 years old	Dorms	40 min (LA)	Elementary/0	Mexico	School
	Female 6		18 years old	Dorms	2.5 hr	MS/HS	Mexico	School
III.	Male	3	18 years old	Dorms	1 hr (LA)	HS/MS	Mexico	School
	Female 1		18 years old	Dorms	7 hr	HS/HS	Mexico	School
	Female 2		18 years old	Dorms	14 hr (out of state)	HS/HS	Mexico	School
IV.	Female	3	18 years old	Parents	40 min (LA)	HS/MS	Mexico	School
	Male 1		19 years old	Dorms	30 min (LA)	3rd/6th	Mexico	Home
	Male 2		18 years old	Dorms	16 min (LA)	HS/HS	Mexico	School

Note. "Unknown" suggests that students were unsure about their parents' exact education level, and "0" means that a parent had no formal education. LA = Los Angeles; MS = middle school; HS = high school.

participant experiences instead of focusing on a narrower range with a larger sample (Russell & Gregory, 2003). Finally, because qualitative data are not, by definition, subject to data reduction, a small sample allows for a more complete presentation of the data.

Individual Data: Home-School Conflict Scenario

Students were presented with the following home-school conflict scenario and responded individually in writing. The scenario depicted a situation in which they had to choose between attending a family event and studying; it was developed out of our prior ethnography with Latino first-generation college students, indicating that it was a commonly experienced conflict situation.

David is a first-year student at UCLA. He lives on campus and his parents live in Ventura, California (about two hours away from campus). It's Saturday afternoon and he receives a call from his mother, requesting that he attend a family reunion on Sunday. The only issue is that David has an important math exam on Monday morning that cannot be rescheduled; he hasn't even started studying! On Saturday night, he spends a few hours studying for his math exam but still finds himself extremely behind! It's Sunday morning and his mother calls him again, asking him whether he will attend the event.
What would you do? Why?

The scenario produced individual data that could serve as a baseline before interactive processes began; even more important, it served as a prime to get the group conversation going. The leader was able to start group discussion by asking whether the students in the group had ever experienced such a situation; it was thus a springboard to discussing their own personal experiences.

There were three categories of response to the question "What would you do?" (a) Prioritize home: attend the event, (b) prioritize school: stay at school to study, and (c) prioritize both equally: find a way to do both.

Qualitative analysis of students' choice and response to the question "Why?" yielded one of two alternative codes—conflicting priorities or clear choice. A case of conflicting priorities was identified when the student anticipated a negative consequence to occur as a result of the choice taken or when the way he or she expressed his or her choice and/or the reason for it expressed conflicting priorities. Clear choice meant that the student did not express conflicting priorities or a negative consequence of the choice. Examples of the two codes will be provided in the Results section.

Interrater reliability. The first author inductively developed the "What would you do?" codes and coded all responses. The first and second author developed the "Why" codes and coded all responses collaboratively. The third author was then given a definition of each code for both variables and independently coded all data. Cohen's kappas for responses to "What would you do" and "Why" were 1.00 and .84, respectively. These kappas are both in the "excellent" range (Landis & Koch, 1977).

Group Discussion

The individually administered written scenario was the starting point for semistructured group interviews. Four group interviews of three to seven students each were conducted. These discussions got at the lived experience of Latino first-generation college freshman and provided the material for our

qualitative analysis. Group discussion was a powerful tool to elicit these experiences because students could see that they were not unique in experiencing home-school conflicts. Also, the semistructured group interview (Aurbach & Silverstein, 2003) enabled us to incorporate the concept of collectivism into our methodology. Harmonious group interaction is more highly valued by Latino immigrants with collectivistic values than is one-on-one interaction (Quiroz, Greenfield, & Altchech, 1998). Therefore, we expected that a social atmosphere would be more conducive than a survey or one-on-one interviews to elicit the voices of Latino first-generation college students. In addition to group support, the presence of a Latina leader who told each group that she was also a first-generation college student added to the available social support. Finally, group interviews are particularly useful for facilitating research that reflects the social realities of a cultural group (Hughes & Dumont, 2002); they allow researchers to delve into the group thinking that constitutes shared culture (Johnson & Turner, 2003).

Group Interview Format

Based on the initial written scenario, the group leader (first author) provided a set of probes tailored toward answering our research questions: "Have you ever experienced these types of situations in college?" "Can you share some of your experiences?" "Do you continue to reflect on your decisions after making them?" and if so, "Is there anything that triggers this reflection?" "Do you feel as though these home-school conflict situations impact you in any way?" "Have these home-school conflict situations impacted your academics?" and "Have these home-school conflict situations impacted your well-being?" Beyond these probes, the conversation was open-ended. The scenario was designed to elicit responses to a hypothetical situation; the group interview discussion elicited lived experience.

Procedure

After signing consent forms, students were told a set of group interview rules that were meant to foster a psychologically safe environment. In an effort to build an open and comfortable environment, the researcher (the first author), told all students that she had a similar background to theirs and that it was a personal topic for her. Participants in each group interview were then given the above scenario and responded individually in writing. A second scenario exploring possible cross-cultural value conflict in peer relations was also administered and discussed; findings concerning cultural issues in peer relations will be the topic of a second article and are not discussed here. The group interview followed data collection on the individual level.

At the end of the group interview, students were given a short demographic survey containing questions about their living situation, immigration history, and parents' education. Each student was given either two movie tickets or research credits for their participation. An audio recording of each focus group was made. On average, data collection took 1 hour and 20 minutes.

Data Analysis

Each group interview was fully transcribed verbatim. Any potentially identifying information has been changed for this article. Commas or semicolons are used to segment an utterance and make its meaning clearer, where necessary. Discourse material between brackets means that it was added by a researcher when something seemed to be missing. The first author read each transcript 3 times. Themes were considered important or notable if they appeared in three of the four group interviews. Also, subthemes were identified in the discourse in order to specify the types of conflict experienced by students and the types of stimuli that served as triggers, as well as the way in which these conflicts impacted students' development—namely, their academics and well-being (see Table 2 for a full list of themes and subthemes). The Results section contains illustrative examples of each theme and subtheme and is organized in the order presented in Table 2. Our standard for selecting themes has been used in previous group interview studies (Manago, Graham, Greenfield, & Salimkhan, 2008; Uhls & Greenfield, 2012).

In reporting the discourse, the gender (F or M) of the participant is labeled (and numbered if more than 1 person of his or her same gender participated in the group interview), and a Roman numeral, shown in Table 1, labels groups at the end of each conversational extract. F [?] in one case indicates the particular female could not be identified on the audio file. L labels the leader of the group interview (the first author). In order to make a certain theme or subtheme clear to the reader, irrelevant information was eliminated from a participant's response; these omissions were denoted by three dots (i.e., . . .).

If a line of several dots appears within a conversation, this convention denotes that an intervening participant's remarks were eliminated. If a speaker paused during his or her response during discussion, two dots were utilized (i.e., . .). When several students spoke at once, the label "All" is used.

Interrater reliability. After the first author had identified group interview themes, interrater reliability was assessed. For example, in order to assess reliability of identifying home-school conflict, the first author extracted 25%

Table 2. Qualitative Analysis: Themes and Subthemes.

Theme	Subthemes
Types of home-school conflict	Attending family events vs. doing academic work
	Visiting family vs. doing academic work
	Assisting family vs. focusing on one's academics
	Allocating money for travel to see family vs. for educational expenses
	Homesickness
Continued reflection via triggers	Tests and grades
	Family updates
	Development in family back at home
Impact on academics	Unable to concentrate or study
	Earned poor grades
Impact on well-being	Stress
	Feeling guilty, bad, or like they disappointed family
	Emotionality
	Perceived negative impact on physical well-being

of data that she had identified as a home-school conflict and, thereafter, randomly selected discourse that did not consist of a previously identified home-school conflict. A randomly ordered list was compiled so that 50% would consist of instances of home-school conflict and 50% would not. The third author was then given the list as well as a definition of the theme and told to code "1" when a section of the transcript signified a home-school conflict and a "0" when it did not. The same procedure was conducted for assessing the reliability of the three remaining themes: continued reflection via triggers, impact of home-school conflict on academics and impact of home-school conflict on well-being. Cohen's kappas for identifying home-school conflicts, triggers, their impact on academics, and their impact on well-being were .83, 1.00, 1.00, and 1.00, respectively, all in the "excellent" range (Landis & Koch, 1977).

Results

Prioritizing Home Versus School: Individual Results

Responses to the written scenario. In response to the scenario, 11 of 14 college students, or 79%, said that they would stay at school to study, signifying that students selected and therefore prioritized the individualistic option in response to the scenario. Deciding to stay at school occurred significantly

Table 3. Individual Responses to Home-School Conflict Scenario.

	Prioritize school	Prioritize family	Prioritize both	Total
Conflict	3	1	1	5
No conflict	8	1	0	9
Total	11	2	1	14

Note. Columns represent students' decisions in response to "What would you do?" Row represents conflict identified through qualitative analysis of the way they expressed their decision and their reason for it.

more often than expected by chance (with three possible values, the chance value is 33%; binomial test, $p = .001$). Clearly, the students understood what was expected in a highly selective college.

However, qualitative analysis of their choice and the follow-up question, "Why?" elicited an expression of conflicting priorities or a negative consequence for 5 of the 14 students. The remaining students (9 of 14) did not express conflict. However, later group discussion of personal experience showed that the type of conflict represented in the scenario, while the most frequent, was only one of five types experienced. Including all five types in the qualitative analysis, in addition to the expressions of conflict in response to the scenario, we found the experience of home-school conflict to be unanimous in this group.

Table 3 and the following examples provide evidence that conflict can be experienced regardless of whether one chooses home, school, or both.

Prioritizing school, experiencing conflict. This student's response manifests conflict because she anticipated a negative consequence to result from her decision to prioritize school. In response to the question, "Why?" she replied, *Many times I find I don't make time for family and they look down on that, but I tell them I have priority things to do* [F1, Group 2]. Here the student indicates a negative consequence—disapproval from the family—because of a discrepancy between her priorities and her family's expectations.

Prioritizing family, experiencing conflict. This student's response illustrated conflict in her decision to prioritize family.

> "What would you do?" *I would attend the reunion, but let my mother know to let me know with more time in advance.*
>
> "Why?" *It's important and family fun. I understand school is 1st but I can't overdo myself too much*. [F3, Group 2]

Here conflict is expressed both in the implication that, although she would choose to go to the reunion, she feels the mother did not give enough notice and in her statement that school is No. 1, a statement that is in direct conflict with her choice to go to the family reunion.

Prioritizing both home and school, experiencing conflict. This student who prioritized both family and school also illustrated conflict in her response.

> "What would you do?" . . . *I would go with only one condition that I'll show up for a few hours and then leave again [to study at school]*
>
> "Why?" *I would go to the family event because I wouldn't want my family to think they aren't important to me but they have to understand education is as important as family reunions*. [F4, Group 2]

The fact that she had to enforce conditions on her family in order to have the needed study time and the implication that her family does not understand the importance of school indicated both inner conflict and tensions with the family.

Personal Experiences of Home-School Conflict: Findings From the Group Interviews

Types of home-school conflict. In each group interview, students unanimously said that they had experienced a situation similar to the scenario during their first year of college. Thirteen out of 14 students (93%) shared at least one example of a home-school conflict they experienced. Their own experiences included the type presented in the scenario (attending family events vs. doing academic work), as well as four other types (see Table 2). The distribution of subtypes over the 13 participants who shared examples is shown in Table 4. Examples of how students experienced the first three types of conflict (attending family events vs. doing academic work, visiting family vs. doing academic work, assisting family vs. focusing on one's academics) in their own lives follow. Examples of the fourth (allocating money for travel to see family vs. allocating money for educational expenses) and fifth type (homesickness) of conflicts will be provided in connection with the role of geographical distance from family and its impact on type and frequency of home-school conflict.

Attending family events versus doing academic work. This was the most frequent subtype (Table 4). Here is an example

Table 4. Reported Home-School Conflicts, Triggers, and Impact on Academics and Well-Being Expressed During Group Discussion.

		Home-school conflicts							
Group	Student	FE	V	FA	T	H	Triggers	Academics	Well-being
I.	Female	*			*		*	*	*
	Male	*		*			*	*	*
II.	Female 1		*	*			*	*	*
	Female 2								
	Female 3		*				*	*	*
	Female 4		*				*	*	*
	Female 5		*					*	*
	Female 6	*		*			*		*
III.	Male	*	*				*	*	*
	Female 1	*				*	*	*	*
	Female 2				*	*	*	*	*
IV.	Female	*		*			*	*	*
	Male 1	*				*		*	*
	Male 2	*	*				*	*	*

Note. Asterisk denotes that the student gave an example of the theme or subtheme during group discussion. FE = attending family events versus doing academic work; V = visiting family versus doing academic work; FA = assisting family versus focusing on one's academics; T = allocating money for travel to see family versus educational expenses; H = homesickness.

> [M] *It was ... my nephew's baptism ... during October ... That's ... the beginning of school and ... that's when I was getting adjusted and ... I had told my sister I was gonna be for sure his godfather .. and ... I had ... some test or ... quiz or something .. and that was kind of tough.*
>
> [L] *But you went?*
>
> [M] *I went either way . . yeah.*
>
> [L] *How did you feel during that time?*
>
> [M] *I was ... not really into the event ... I was ... more focused like, okay you know I need to get back to studying ... I was trying to get back to my studying but it was not possible ... I was kinda worried ... it threw me off schedule.* [Group I]

The example given here illustrates the challenge felt by the student vis-à-vis competing demands between his nephew's baptism and studying for a test.

Although he attended the family event, he could not stop thinking about studying; in the end, he did not fully enjoy the event, and he also did not prepare for the academic test, as he had hoped to. Family events were not restricted to religious rites of passage: Other students experienced similar conflicts for other family events (e.g., Thanksgiving, Mother's Day).

Visiting parents versus doing academic work. The conflicts between home and school demands were not restricted to family events as several students described a sense of obligation to visit their parents and how this obligation conflicted with their academics. Here is an example:

> [F4] *Even though ... my mom's proud that I am here and she understands that like I have a lot of work to do, ... it's hard ... to explain to her, like I can't come all the time when you want me home and ... sometimes I guess it makes her feel like I don't want to be home; and ... that's why I would choose to go, but ... with the condition ... you bring me back to campus like ... a few hours later or no deal; so you know you would get both, so that that's what I would say.*
>
> [L] *So you would kinda find a way to do both?*
>
> [F4] *Yeah ... I always find myself in that situation; like this weekend I have to go home and I have a midterm on Monday, and, like, I told my mom already, like I can't be home, like it's ... stressing there, like with the little kids around, like I can't, I can't concentrate, like I can't study, so I told her as long as you bring me back to campus like really early, then I can go home; then she was like ok*. [Group II]

This example describes the obligation the student felt to visit her mother frequently and how it conflicted with her academic work. Although she made arrangements to fulfill both obligations, it was still a conflict for her: She did not want to hurt her mother's feelings by not going home; yet, she did not have conditions that allowed her to study at home.

Family assistance versus focusing on one's academics. Students also felt conflict between obligations to assist their family with tasks back at home and their academics:

> [F6] *I was actually thinking about ... transferring because ... my mom was diagnosed with cancer my sophomore year in high school and ... she got cleared ... Winter quarter when it ended ... I hadn't gone home in a few weeks, so I hadn't really ... seen her much, so I get home and ... I guess she was diagnosed again and she was gonna start chemotherapy, and no one had told*

me anything ... I went through that my sophomore year [in high school] ... my mom went to Mexico for like two months, so I was ... the one ... cooking for my dad and ... taking care of my sister, getting her ready for school and stuff ... I had to kinda take her role, and then it's ... my sister, she's like fourteen, and she was the one that was gonna have to do that; and I thought, that's not fair, ... I should be there ... I feel really guilty ...

[F1] ... *The same thing happened to me but my mom she passed away my senior year [in high school] so that's partly the reason why I chose to go to UCLA to be close to home ... initially I wasn't supposed to ... dorm, but a lot of my ... teachers from high school and counselors were, like, you really need to get away because your family is basically suppressing you, they are not gonna let you, you're not gonna be able to study, going to college with all that stress*.

. . . . . .

[F6] ... *My brother ... he was like, yeah, just go to a community college there and ... stay at home, get a job, help out, and I'm just like ok, ... I talked to my counselor and stuff like that, but I could do so much more if I go to UCLA, like go to medical school, getting a better job ... no offense to anyone going to community college, but it's just like UCLA can give you better opportunities, and it's ... something they don't understand, like every time I go home, like, yeah, you should just ... transfer, like go to UCI or ... go to a community college here, so you can stay at home and help out your mom and ... you'll be fine, but I'm just like, no, ... I don't know if I'll even be able to do that*.

. . . . . .

[F1] *For me, it's not just my family, my close family, like my dad, [or] brothers ... it's my entire family like my aunties, my grandmas, ... they expected me to stay home and take my mom's role, and I did take it when I was in high school and I was doing it, but it was different, like, honestly, high school was much easier than college, and this is not just this regular college, it's UCLA and ... I've talked to friends who are going to other universities and they're like, yeah, it's so chill, and I wish it was like that too, but it's not, it's different; it's more competitive here, harder, more challenging ... I'm struggling and just to make it hard, like your family puts this pressure, so yeah it's hard*. [Group II]

This dialogue describes the pressure each experienced from family members to live at home so that he or she could assist them; each notes how living at home conflicts with his or her academics goals. For one student, living at home meant she would have to transfer to a different campus or even to community college. At some point in their academic careers, both students met with academic counselors who encouraged them to pursue their academic

goal of attending UCLA and/or to live on campus instead of at home. Although both students pursued their academic goals, pressure to assist their family continued.

Continued reflection via triggers. Almost all students said that they continued to reflect on their decisions or second-guess themselves after having made them, and many shared triggers that reinstated this reflection (Table 4). These examples show that these situations are indeed inner conflicts because they do not go away after they occur. Instead, they are triggered by particular stimuli. As shown in Table 2, emotional reinstatement was triggered by three types of stimuli:

Tests and grades. Seeing tests or grades at the end of the quarter was one type of trigger:

> [M] *Sometimes when you're ... taking the test, like for .. today, ... like you just look at the test like .. oh maybe I could have studied this more if I wouldn't have ... called during the time .. or like if I wouldn't have gone to the event, like that's what kinda triggers ... my reflection*. [Group I]

> [F4] *This week I broke down because ... I got put on academic probation cuz of, by point zero one of my damn GPA, but, yeah, so like I broke down and I was ... oh my god ... it really brought me down because ... I started thinking ... I'm away from my family like most of the time, I'm like here on my own. I'm always stressing over all this, all these other things that I shouldn't be thinking about, and on top of that ... school, and ... yeah this week I broke down*. [Group II]

Family updates. Receiving updates about family events or activities made students reflect on their decisions.

> [M] *When I call during the event, and then ... they're telling you you're missing out .. or so and so is here, that you probably haven't seen in so long .. that's what kind of triggers me to reflect on should I have gone or should have I stayed .. like was it okay for me to stay?* [Group I]

> [F1] *Well ever since we got text ... my mom texts me ... so many pictures from back home .. oh look what I cooked today ... or ... just pictures of my sister or my family or ... how ... everything at home is ... so, yeah, that triggers me ... I should've gone home*. [Group III]

> [M2] *I can definitely identify with the social media thing .. like my sisters post a lot of pictures too, like, oh look we went to Chinatown .. like oh we went here .. I wasn't there.* [Group IV]

Development in family back at home. Students felt as though growth or changes in family members that they could not be there to see in person served as triggers:

> [F2] *The trigger for me is my little brother ... he has ... track meets or football stuff ... it's ... one of those things, like he's growing up so fast and you're not .. I'm not able to see him grow up so fast (laughs), so ... all these videos that he posts online, like, oh I just got second place or something .. It's just one of those things .. I could've been there cheering him on*. [Group III]

> [M] *Like my uncle just had a baby like and its like, oh you should see the baby's ... starting to walk and this and that and I'm like, you're missing stuff*. [Group III]

These examples illustrate that students continued to reflect on whether they made the correct decision and that specific environmental stimuli triggered this reflection. In other words, they second-guessed themselves around their decisions when they faced their low grades, when they heard about what they were missing out in family events, or when they realized that they missed out on witnessing the development of family members back at home. These three types of triggers were most frequent across the sample. Lower frequency triggers included being compared with other family members who fulfill family obligations while attending less rigorous colleges, not getting enough schoolwork completed, studying at the last minute, and feeling fatigue from last-minute study.

Academic achievement. Almost all students felt as though these conflicts had a negative impact on their academics (Table 4). As outlined in Table 2, sometimes the impact came because the student was *unable to concentrate or study*, as in this example:

> [L] *Do you feel these home-school conflicts impact you in any way?*

> [All] *Yes, definitely*.

> [L] *How so?*

> [F?] *Grades*.

> .....

> [F4] *Yeah, focusing on school in general ... If you're having problems at home ... you're like sitting down at lecture and you're like, shit, all this is going on*

and I can't, I'm not even paying attention to what the professor is saying ... so much going on that you don't focus on anything at all, you're just like stuck and confused and like super stressed.

.....

[F1] *I guess the example would be like not being able to, you know, study or concentrate like you have all these things bugging you*. [Group II]

As outlined in Table 2, students also felt that these conflicts led them to *earn poor grades* on homework assignments, tests, or courses, as in the following example:

[F] *Like .. again with the studying ... how my decision to choose the parties or like the family reunions over studying and then ... seeing my midterm .. and ... seeing my grades like go down and go down.*

[L] *Okay .. anybody else?*

[M2]: *I think yea just the school aspect .. grades .. homework grades .. tests*.

[L] *... When you say that do you mean that if you go home you notice that you didn't get the grade you wanted or?*

[M2] *Yeah, because I spent less time .. doing school work and more time socializing .. yeah*. [Group IV]

The objective measure of grades reinforces the students' subjective experience: The group's average self-reported high school GPA was 4.03, whereas their average self-reported UCLA GPA for their first two quarters was 2.36. Although this GPA is lower than that of a recent study conducted with Latino college students at UCLA (i.e., 3.05), the students in their sample included students whose parents went to college, whereas ours did not. Their sample also contained significant numbers of upperclassman (mean age = 21); they have had a chance to adjust to college that the freshmen in our study did not yet have (Guan et al., 2014).

Lastly, some students experienced both an inability to concentrate and earned poor grades on their tests or courses.

[F5] *I remember once, not once but multiple times, like I dunno why it's so hard for me to actually study and dedicate myself to studying; but things like this would happen, like my parents would want me to go home and ... half of me would want to go and like half of me would be so strict on myself to force myself*

to stay, but ... I couldn't do my work because in my mind I was like I should have gone home, I should have done this and that, and ... in the end ... I did really bad because ... I couldn't be there and I had to be here. [Group II]

Overall, students shared experiences indicate that their grades suffered if they adhered to family behavioral demands; but if they did not engage in these demands, they could not concentrate or study. Lack of concentration or studying, in turn, negatively impacted their grades.

Sense of well-being. Almost all students felt that these conflicts negatively impacted their well-being (Table 4). Students' interpreted well-being in various ways (Table 2). Some focused on the stress these situations produced; others focused on the guilt or negative emotions elicited by the conflicts, while still others focused on physical health.

Stress. The following example illustrates that, aside from feeling academic stress, Latino first-generation college students can experience additional psychological stress from not being able to engage in family obligation behaviors at home.

[M] *I know like family situations ... add on to ... stress ... not being able to be there and help .. like I know I was like .. [pauses to clear throat] umm a big help to my family when I was there .. but like not being able to be there and like help them out .. with what they need .. especially my dad .. umm .. like .. it stresses me out ... I'm always like under that constant pressure, like I could be you know helping him, I could be doing this for him .. but yet I'm here and .. so it's that kind of situation is hard*. [Group I]

Feeling guilty, bad, or like they disappointed family. Students also shared different types of negative feelings they experienced when undergoing these conflicts. Here is an example of one student who felt guilty and bad about not visiting her mother:

[F4] *Like she guilt trips me and I'm like, don't, it's not gonna work, stop; but it does work and I feel guilty and ... even when I try to get stuff done like study, I can't focus cuz I just feel so bad*. [Group II]

Another student felt guilty about not doing schoolwork:

[F1] *I guess ... I feel guilty, like I'm here instead of studying or sometimes ... I'm there, and I'm just ... sitting by myself ... I'm not doing anything there, and I feel like I could've been studying right now .. It shouldn't have mattered that they were pressuring me so I start like getting mad at myself*. [Group IV]

Emotionality. Students sometimes became emotional while talking about these conflicts, as in the following dialogue:

> [F1] *The fact that I couldn't go home, that conflict between there ... it brought me ... I was sad and it really did ... I don't know how to really express it that well .. to put into words ...* [student's eyes became very watery]

> [F2] ... *I understand* [students eyes also became watery] ... *I guess it's ... breaking your heart just to know that you can't ... go with them, I guess it makes you very emotional sometimes, like I have to admit I break down sometimes ... I just start bawling out of nowhere and I am just like, oh my god, stop, stop Jessica*. [Group III]

Perceived negative impact on physical well-being. Students also shared their perception of a negative impact on physical well-being. Here is one example:

> [F5] [I] *was just trying to balance everything off, and after a while I just, I completely didn't want to eat anymore, and I think ... sometimes, you don't care about your health or anything, that's the last thing on your mind; ... [It] is really bad because you ... should focus on yourself first and that is something that I didn't do. Like even if I was sick like no, who cares if I was sick, like I have to do my work, like I have to do this I have to do that, so there is no time for, well, for me*. [Group II]

Taken together, students subjectively described these conflicts as having a negative impact on their well-being, especially when they could not engage in family behavioral demands.

Geographical distance from home. Students who lived closer to home experienced direct conflicts with their family more frequently; students who lived further from home experienced this type of conflict less frequently, but paid different prices: (a) extreme homesickness and (b) conflicts between allocating money for travel to see family versus educational expenses. A comparison of four girls who have different degrees of geographical separation from their parents shows this relationship.

Lives with her parents, 40 minutes away from campus: Direct conflict between family demands and academic demands

> [F] T*here's always things like this with my family .. They never plan things .. It's kind of like .. oh we're going to a party this weekend like .. really when did this happen? And .. I feel ... when I don't go, the people that go to the party .. like*

the host, they're, like, oh where's your daughter? So I feel guilty ... [and] pressured ... so I end up going instead of, like, studying and doing homework.

.....

For example this weekend is my little sister's birthday party .. and, like this whole week, my mom's like, oh when you get home from school, go to, like, downtown and buy this, this, and this; and I was, like, okay mom, I'll do it, but then, like, I'm done with that .. and then I still have to study; but then I still have to help her prepare, like, food, and then I still have to do all this, and it just, like, .. it's overwhelming. [Group IV]

Lives in dorm; parents live 40 minutes away: Direct conflict between family demands and academic demands

[F5] *Well, I remember that last two quarters I would always go home ... every weekend because my mom would never stop bugging me because she'd be, like, so ... you're gonna come home, right? And I'd be like, no mom, and sometimes I would see that she would be upset ... I think that is part of the reason why I didn't do so well the last two quarters* [Group II]

Lives in dorm; parents live 7 hours away: Extreme homesickness

[L] *Okay .. um .. can you share some experiences of how .. you feel these situations impact you?*

[F1] ... *I feel homesick when ... when my mom like sends a picture of my favorite food or .. or just like my sister or something um .. and then like sometimes I'm in the middle of reading .. um like reading a textbook or something, and then like I get the text message; I see it and then its just, like, oh I feel homesick sometimes .. and ... sometimes [it] makes me unfocus and ... think about ... the times .. like the previous times that I've had with my family and how I can't really be experiencing .. that with them right now .. just because I'm over here .. like far away*.

Lives in dorm; parents live out of state: Extreme homesickness. F2 then responds to F1:

[F2] *Think it uh .. it blocks you from doing so much work .. it just blocks your mind and makes you, like I don't know .. every time I talk to my grandma I just .. I make sure I talk to her, like, between classes because I know I won't do anything after I talk to her .. like ... it's just so hard like*

[L] *What do you mean, like, you like talk to her between, like?*

[F2] *... Class is over, so I call her just because I know, like, if I was studying .. like, I wouldn't do anything; I would just, like .. go look at family pictures and be, like, oh I miss that; like just my grandma reminds me of, like, just the whole family, so it's .. it just makes you want to stop doing work and just .. think like, oh what if I .. chose to just stay over there, like it would've been different* [Group III]

Lives in dorm; parents live out of state: Money to travel to see family versus educational expenses

[F2] *For spring break .. I had the opportunity of ... either going home or staying here .. um, but it's not more, like ... choose between school versus family; its more ... like money for school or money to go home, ... just because I'm so far away ... it's such a big trip ... My mom had said, like, don't come for spring break, like save your money, we understand ... You know ... it is difficult just choosing ... especially when they tell you, like .. it's alright, like .. and you know deep down, like they just want to see you.*

Thus, students reported different types of conflict, depending on geographical distance. The student who lived with her parents reported two types of home-school conflict: attending events versus doing academic work and family assistance versus focusing on one's academics. The student whose parents lived 40 minutes away but resided in the dorms reported conflict between visiting home to see her parents and doing academic work during her first two quarters; during discussion, she mentioned that she stopped visiting home as often—a choice that was not possible for the student who lived at home. The student whose parents lived 7 hours away said she experienced one conflict during her first year in college—attending a family event (i.e., Thanksgiving) versus doing academic work (and she chose to stay at school). The student whose family lived out of state shared two instances of conflict with regard to travel costs for visiting home versus educational costs. Finally, these last two students, the ones who lived the farthest away, also reported extreme homesickness. Evident in their responses, when this extreme conflict arose, students seemed almost incapacitated to complete schoolwork. Interestingly, both students had a GPA that was below the 2.36 average of the sample, with F1 (the student whose parents lived out of state) having a 1.1 GPA, the lowest of the entire sample.

Parental education. A careful examination of students at two extremes (i.e., lowest and highest parent education level in the sample) revealed that parent

education might play a role in the frequency of home-school value conflicts. A comparison of four female students—two with the lowest levels of parental education (F4 and F5, Group II) and two with the highest levels of parental education (F1 and F2, Group III) in the sample—makes this relationship visible. On the low end, F4's mother had a second grade education (her father's education was unknown). F5's mother had an elementary education; her father had never been to school. On the high end, both F1 and F2 had two parents who had completed high school.

Students whose parents had lower educational levels had stronger familistic expectations to meet than those whose parents had higher educational levels. As noted in earlier sections, F4 and F5 in Group II both mentioned that their mother always called them about visiting home. The young women (F1 and F2) in Group III reported the exact opposite. Their mothers never pressured them to visit home and often understood that academic achievement was a priority. For example, F1 mentioned that her mother rescheduled her younger sister's first holy communion mass to occur during summer, so that it did not interfere with her school obligations. It is also significant that the two sets of parents with the highest level of education had allowed, or possibly even encouraged, their daughters to attend college the farthest away from the family home (a 7-hour drive in the case of F1, out of state in the case of F2).

Discussion

It has been generally assumed that the low college completion rate of Latino students is due to academic issues. However, this study illuminates what may be the biggest barrier of all: cultural conflict between the collectivistic demands of family relationships and the individualistic demands of school achievement. In response to a hypothetical scenario that depicted a conflict between family and school demands, students tended to prioritize school; however, regardless of their decision (i.e., school, family, both), a number of students expressed personal inner conflict. Considering both individual responses to the scenario and the group interviews, we found that all students experienced conflicts between the demands of home and school. Five different kinds of conflict emerged. These results provide a unique perspective that is not captured in current measures of family obligation (Fuligni et al., 1999; Telzer & Fuligni, 2009a, 2009b; Tseng, 2004). Current measures assess only whether or not one sees family obligations as important or engages in them behaviorally. They therefore miss the inner conflict or family tensions experienced by students in making decisions between family obligation and academic obligation. Our study suggests that these choice situations between

home and school obligations are indeed experienced as conflictual and produce inner turmoil, as well as family tension.

The negative emotional experience of home-school conflict situations was not transitory. After students first experienced a given conflict situation, they continued to ruminate on their decision to act in accord with either family values or school values. This continued reflection, or second-guessing one's decisions, was stimulated by situational triggers: tests and grades, family updates, and development in family back home. Continued postdecision reflection reinstated the emotions engendered by the original conflict; this postdecision reflection and second-guessing suggest that these choice situations between family obligation and academic obligation do indeed lead to inner conflict. The documentation of situational triggers that reinstate the subjective sense of conflict was an original and unique contribution of this study.

Although previous literature has suggested that engagement in family behavioral demands is related to a decline in grades (Telzer & Fuligni, 2009b; Tseng, 2004), our study suggests a new psychological mechanism that contributes to this effect. If students fulfill behavioral demands, their grades suffer. However, if they do not engage in these demands, they cannot concentrate on their studies; this lack of concentration is later reflected in their grades. This latter dynamic is the new mechanism.

Students' sense of well-being was negatively impacted by these conflicting situations, mostly when they were not able to be with or assist family. This finding reinforces previous research, which has found that assisting family members in adolescence and young adulthood is related to more positive emotional well-being for Latino young people from immigrant families (Fuligni & Pedersen, 2002; Telzer & Fuligni, 2009a). Therefore, it is not surprising that an inability to fulfill family obligations has a negative impact on one's sense of well-being. Overall, our results contribute to the literature by documenting that conflict between family and school demands plays a negative role in students' perceptions of their psychological and physical well-being.

While previous research has documented that youth who choose to live with parents fulfill more family behavioral demands (Tseng, 2004), it has not documented the inner conflicts associated with living at various geographical distances from parents. The case analysis presented here illuminates that, while living at home presents Latino first-generation college students from immigrant families with more opportunities for direct home-school conflicts, living far away also has an extreme disadvantage. That is, living far away makes it nearly impossible for Latino students to fully engage in familistic practices, such as visiting their family and attending family events;

this situation results in extreme feelings of homesickness. The GPA evidence suggests that this geographical distance (i.e., being very far away from one's family) might also play a negative role in students' academic work.

Generalization of Greenfield's Theory of Social Change and Human Development

These findings align with the theory of social change and human development (Greenfield, 2009), which states that conflict can occur when one transitions from an environment that encompasses collectivistic values to one that encompasses individualistic values. Our research provides new evidence for the theory by documenting cross-cultural value conflict at a different developmental period (i.e., the transition to college) and with outcomes not previously tested (i.e., academics, well-being). In line with the theory, the research also suggests an important sociodemographic influence on the conflicts, parent education level. Parents with more formal education were more understanding of students' school obligations and need for independence while at school. In contrast, parents with little or no formal education were very demanding of students to visit home and did not fully understand their children's academic obligations. In line with the idea that formal education develops the value of independence (Greenfield, 2009), parents with more formal education also encouraged their children's independence by supporting their decisions to go to a college further from home.

Prior research indicated that, in Mexico, a high school education (compared with leaving school after elementary school) led adolescents to more independent values (Manago, 2014). The present study suggests that increasing parent education to the high school level can have a similar effect on their children. We have a tendency to regard college as higher education, but we fail to realize the fact that high school can function as higher education among Latino immigrants from Mexico and Central America, where college education is rare. Because of the unavailability of secondary education in Mexico at the time our students' parents immigrated to the United States, the completion of high school can be a great success for them and for their children's education.

Developmental and Applied Implications

The transition to college has important developmental significance because it lays the foundation for future success (Hurtado, Laird, & Perorazio, 2003). The negative effect of internalized home-school value conflicts experienced

by Latino first-generation college students, on their academic achievement and sense of well-being, suggests the need to develop early interventions for these youth in order promote their future college success.

One promising route might be to design an intervention that has a similar group interview format as the current study. The group interview format elicited sharing; in each group, students shared a similar experience with at least one other person. One group was very cohesive, with many members sharing similar experiences and supporting one another. The discourse indicated that this cohesion helped one student to harmonize her home-school conflicts,

> *... thinking that no one else has the same problems I do and then coming to things like these, I see that there's other people who either have it easier or have it worse or have it just like me, so knowing that we are struggling in the same way or knowing that we are struggling in different ways, and we're all coping in different ways ... is helping me understand that I can do it in some way ...* [F3, Group II]

Given the beneficial nature of the group interview itself, one potential avenue may be to alter it slightly, so that it could serve as an intervention. The effectiveness of group discussion as an intervention that integrates students' backgrounds has recently been implemented and found to be effective for increasing the grades of first-generation students during their first year of college (Stephens et al., 2014).

Although we do not know whether students had ever spoken about these conflicts prior to our group interviews, previous research has found that first-generation students typically do not talk about issues at school with either family members or peers (Barry, Hudley, Kelly, & Cho, 2009). We also know that disclosure about circumstances that students find stressful is vital for academic success and overall health (Pennebaker & Francis, 1996). Thus, it is likely that students had not discussed these conflicts sufficiently, a circumstance that might explain, at least partly, the negative impact these conflicts have had on their academics and sense of well-being.

Another possible intervention might be for high school and college academic counselors to make Latino students from immigrant families aware of the potential home-school conflicts that might arise, depending on how far they choose to live from their parents during their first year of college. Students who lived closer to home experienced more frequent direct home-school conflicts and students the furthest from home experienced these less frequently, but paid a different price (i.e., conflict between allocating money for travel costs to see family or for educational expenses, and extreme homesickness). This is important because one of the biggest decisions that

college-bound youth make is where they will attend college and whether or not they should attend a college that is closer or further from home. Latino (Fuligni & Pedersen, 2002), immigrant (Tseng, 2004), and first-generation college student populations (Saenz et al., 2007) typically decide to attend a college that is close to home. This decision is not surprising given the familistic (Arnett, 2003; Fuligni & Pedersen, 2002; Tseng, 2004) or collectivistic (Stephens, Fryberg, et al., 2012) values that these populations hold. Moreover, as home-school conflict seems to take its most extreme forms at both ends of the distance continuum, counselors should make clear that neither living with parents nor living very far from home is optimal. Instead, our case analysis indicates that living within driving distance, but not with parents, seems optimal. This is because a student who lives within driving distance can still have the opportunity to engage in family obligation behaviors and, at the same time, have the opportunity to choose when he or she wants to engage in these behaviors. This choice is less available to students who live either with their parents or very far from their parents. If students decide to select either of these latter two geographical options, perhaps counselors could provide Latino students with more resources to aid them in coping with the extreme home-school conflicts that they might experience (e.g., homesickness resources for those living far away; involvement in a peer group of students living at home for those living with their parents).

Limitations and Future Research Directions

One might suggest that the frequency of conflicts in our sample was due to the social pressure of hearing other students speak about them. Our students' comments suggest otherwise: that sharing experiences encouraged the expression of feelings that might have gone unexpressed because of their social undesirability in a college situation. However, this study was primarily qualitative and exploratory; it was not designed to assess prevalence. Follow-up research will assess these conflicts with a large-scale survey in order to examine the issue of prevalence.

In addition, although we were able to understand Latino college students' experiences with home-school conflicts, our study did not include other ethnic groups. In order to determine the role of sociodemographic factors and values more generally, as well as the role of ethnicity, follow-up research will examine these relationships quantitatively with a diverse sample. For example, a large-scale survey currently in progress will allow us to test the generalizability of our observation that more parent education led to fewer conflicts because parents encouraged more independent behavior from their children.

While it is clear that these inner value conflicts played a role in Latino students' subjective sense of their academics and well-being, this phenomenological relationship is not sufficient to establish objective causality. A future behavioral experiment will examine the causal path from students' experiences of home-school conflict to academic achievement and well-being.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

This research was supported by the University of California Institute for Mexico and the United States (UC MEXUS) Grant SCR-43.

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