The expressed values of European American and Latino children, their parents, and their teachers reveal the multifaceted nature of individualistic and collectivistic conceptions of relationships and the varied ways in which cultural value conflict may be manifested in children's daily developmental settings.

Conceptualizing Interpersonal Relationships in the Cultural Contexts of Individualism and Collectivism

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Contemporary American society is characterized by contact among people who enact different cultural values about interpersonal relationships in varied settings. As cross-cultural psychologists began to explore cultural dimensions of human behavior, individualism and collectivism were identified as useful constructs for theory and research concerning different cultural values about the self and relationships (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1989). Initially, there was a tendency to view individualism and collectivism as unidimensional and dichotomous constructs. However, recent work in this area indicates that individualism and collectivism are complex and multifaceted value systems that reflect different historically constituted standards for the interplay between independence and interdependence (Raeff, 1997). The individualism and collectivism constructs can be useful for understanding different cultural values about relationships, but more information is needed about these value systems and how their different conceptions of relationships are particularized in children's daily lives.

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In psychology, individualism has typically been defined in terms of independence (Greenfield, 1994; Markus and Kitayama, 1991), deriving from the central assumptions that human beings are ideally free and of equal status. Some theorists tend to view these assumptions as antithetical to interdependence (Sampson, 1988), thus ignoring the way relationships are structured and conceptualized in individualistic societies. In contrast, we start from the position that human beings, from any culture, are embedded in social relationships and that human development takes place in relation to others. Thus, we seek to consider how the individualistic assumptions of freedom and equal status shape the structuring of relationships.

Modern American individualism emerged during the eighteenth century out of Western liberal traditions in political and social philosophy. Democracy was viewed as the most viable political system for ensuring national unity while simultaneously preserving the liberty of all citizens. In this framework interpersonal relationships are typically defined contractually, and they may be explicitly negotiated in terms of the choices and goals of individual participants. Because previous views of individualism have emphasized the value of independence, these relational aspects of individualism have been neglected in psychology.

Previous work has defined collectivism in terms of interdependence and the central assumption that human beings are primarily members of groups (Triandis, 1989). Whereas individualism views group membership and social relationships ideally in terms of choice and mutual consent, collectivism treats social relationships as links that, ideally, establish interdependence and reciprocal obligations. Based on the priority of group membership, the self and relationships tend to be defined in terms of responsibilities that are inherent in the nature of relationships and in terms of mutually understood social roles, particularly within one's in-group (for example, one's family). Fulfilling social roles and responsibilities preserves and promotes the group's welfare, and the group's welfare also represents the welfare of its individual members. Thus, promoting social goals both maintains the social order and enhances the individual. Social roles are often organized in hierarchical terms (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994), but insofar as all group members are integral to social functioning, individuals and their social roles are considered to be of equal importance for maintaining and promoting the group's welfare. Collectivism is favored in agrarian societies and has been prevalent in varied non-Western cultures (Greenfield and Cocking, 1994).

European American and Latino Conceptions of Relationships

Because individualism and collectivism have different implications for the structuring of relationships, conflict can arise between them when they come into contact. Currently in the United States many minority and immigrant children come from cultural backgrounds that are rooted in collectivistic traditions (Greenfield and Cocking, 1994). Previous research shows that European Americans tend to favor individualism, whereas Latinos from Mexico and Central America tend to favor collectivism (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994). An orientation toward collectivism is particularly characteristic of the immigrant generation. As Latino children and their families come into contact with American individualistic conceptions of relationships, especially through the children's public school attendance, cultural value conflict may occur (Greenfield, Raeff, and Quiroz, 1996; Quiroz and Greenfield, in press). By exploring how European American and Latino children, parents, and teachers conceptualize relationships, this study will elucidate how conflict about appropriate modes of interacting with others may be manifested in school settings.

Expectations, Questions, and Design. As a first step in systematically studying conceptions of relationships and areas of cultural value conflict, scenarios involving interpersonal dilemmas were presented to European American and Latino children, to their parents, and to the teachers in the children's schools. It was expected that there would be two distinct ways of resolving these dilemmas, reflecting individualistic and collectivistic conceptions of relationships.

By including parents as well as teachers, it is possible to explore how immigrant children and their families may be struggling with the values of their collectivistic home cultures and the individualistic values of the public schools. In particular, this study was conducted in two different elementary schools in Los Angeles. School 1 served a primarily European American population, and School 2 served a primarily immigrant Latino population. Cultural value agreement among children, parents, and teachers, reflecting common individualistic values, was expected at School 1. In contrast, varied forms of cultural value conflict were expected at School 2, including value conflict between collectivistic parents and individualistic teachers. Value conflict between the children with collectivistic backgrounds and their individualistic teachers could also arise. And finally, there could be value conflict between the collectivistic parents and their children, as the children acculturate and begin to construct more individualistic conceptualizations of relationships. It was also expected that teachers of varied ethnicities would express generally individualistic values due to acculturation, formal education, and teacher training.

In addition to interviewing male and female child participants, we designed scenarios in two versions: one with female child characters and the other with male child characters. These gender variables were included because of questions concerning the role of gender in conceptions of relationships. Gilligan (1982) distinguished between a "care orientation" that is typically characteristic of females and a "justice orientation" that is typically characteristic of males. This perspective suggests that there would be differences in how males and females solve the scenario dilemmas and that

all participants might respond differently to the scenarios based on the gender of the scenario characters.

However, Miller (1994) argues that Gilligan's concept of a caring orientation reflects individualistic assumptions because it is based on individual choice, in contrast to the social duty orientation that is characteristic of collectivism. According to Miller's perspective, one would expect differences between Latino and European American participants rather than differences between male and female participants or differences based on scenario characters' gender. Manipulating the gender of the scenario characters permits analyses of whether the participants' expressed values reflect Gilligan's or Miller's analysis.

Samples and Methods. The samples came from two elementary schools in the Los Angeles metropolitan area. School 1 was a private, university-affiliated elementary school. 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 American-born, 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. The range of educational level among these mothers was 13 to 20 years (mean educational level = 16 years). There were fifteen teachers from this school, including eleven European Americans, two African Americans, and two Mexican Americans (one was born in the United States, and one had immigrated thirteen years before).

School 2 was an urban public school. Participants from School 2 included twenty-eight Latino fifth-grade children (sixteen girls, twelve boys). The children's parents were immigrants, and the children ranged from having been born in the United States to having immigrated one year ago (mean time in the United States = 6 years). The children were mostly of Mexican heritage (82 percent Mexican, 7 percent Guatemalan, 4 percent Niearaguan, 7 percent Salvadoran). From School 2, nineteen immigrant parents of the fifth-graders also participated in the study, including seventeen mothers, one father, and one grandfather who was the child's primary caregiver. 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). The parents were primarily Mexican immigrants (90 percent Mexican, 5 percent Nicaraguan, 5 percent Salvadoran). The range of educational level among these parents was 0–12 years (mean educational level = 5 years). Finally, sixteen teachers from School 2 participated in the study, including twelve European Americans, one African American, two Latinos (one was born in the United States, and one had immigrated twenty years before), and one Asian American (born in the United States).

Clearly, cultural differences cannot be separated from differences in educational level in the two parental samples. However, based on the assumption that individualism and collectivism constitute broad cultural constructs that can be enacted in different ways by various groups in a culture (see Chapter Three in this volume), the current sample of Latino participants is taken to be representative of the collectivistic values enacted by many immigrant Latino families who now populate urban American schools, particularly in California and the Southwest. The current sample of European American participants is taken to be representative of mainstream American individualistic values that Latino immigrants encounter as they participate in varied sociocultural settings, including school.

Materials. Open-ended hypothetical scenarios that describe children in interpersonal situations at home and at school were designed. The scenarios were based on observations of conflict situations involving Latino children in school, on observations of European American schoolchildren, and on the reported experiences of immigrant families. There was a total of eight scenarios; four involved home situations, and four involved school situations. To elucidate individualistic and collectivistic relationship themes, this chapter includes data from two home scenarios and two school scenarios that emphasize the structuring of interpersonal relationships.

Procedure. There were two random orders of presentation. For each scenario order, there was a version with only female names and a version with only male names, totaling four sets of scenarios. Names that could be used in either English or Spanish were selected. The scenarios were translated into Spanish, using the method of back translation, so that participants could choose to have the scenarios presented in either Spanish or English. In School 2, twenty-one of the twenty-eight Latino children and all of the Latino parents chose to participate in Spanish. The scenarios were presented orally to all participants individually, and all sessions were audiotaped. All of the children were interviewed in person, at their schools. The parents were interviewed in person or by telephone, depending on what made them feel most comfortable. Fifteen European American parents were interviewed over the telephone, and one was interviewed in person. Eighteen Latino parents were interviewed in person, and one was interviewed over the telephone. All of the teachers were interviewed in person at their schools.

After the presentation of each scenario, participants were asked an open-ended question about how the scenario's interpersonal dilemma should be resolved. After the participants gave their initial responses, they were asked why they thought this was the best way to handle the situation. This open-ended question was designed to probe the participants' personal constructions of meaning in relation to cultural values.

For each scenario, coding categories were derived from the data, and they encompass both the initial responses and the participants' justifications. A multicultural research team (including European Americans and Latinos) contributed to constructing the categories and to interpreting their central relationship themes. To assess interrater reliability for these categories, 21 percent of the English protocols were coded independently by three coders. Two of these coders also spoke Spanish, and they coded an additional 5 percent of the protocols to include the interviews that were

conducted in Spanish. Using Cohen's kappa coefficient, interrater reliability ranged from .78 to .96.

The research team also classified each category as individualistic (I), collectivistic (C), or as reflecting aspects of both individualism and collectivism (I&C). Participants' responses for each scenario received an I, C, 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 to 1.0. Using this scale, 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.

Statistical Analyses and Hypotheses. Two levels of data analyses were conducted. First, to analyze overall scores on the I-C dimension, analyses of variance (ANOVAs), using school and role (child, parent, or teacher) as the independent variables, were conducted on the participants' I-C scores. It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction between role and school. The hypothesized interaction was expected to yield differences in expressed values among parents, teachers, and children in School 2 (Latino families) but not in School 1 (European American families). In School 2, we expected parents to be more collectivistic in their value orientation than the teachers, with children falling in between their parents and teachers. In School 1, we expected all three groups to fall on the individualistic side of the scale.

Looking at the interaction in another way, we also expected increasing differences between expressed values at the two schools as one moved from teachers (no differences between schools), to children (Latino children slightly more collectivistic than European American children), and to parents (Latino immigrant parents significantly more collectivistic than European American parents). The hypothesis that the teachers' responses would reflect individualistic values, despite ethnic variation among the teachers, was also tested.

Second, in order to understand how the different scenarios were construed and resolved as reflections of cultural values about the structuring of relationships, responses to each scenario were analyzed separately. These analyses of the participants' construction of meaning will be presented for three scenarios that illustrate the overall patterns of results and that pertain to different individualistic and collectivistic relationship themes.

Results and Discussion

In accord with our hypothesis, there was a significant two-way interaction between school and role: F (2, 2) = 4.51, $p < .01$. With respect to differences in each school, t tests showed that there were no significant differences among the children, parents, and teachers at the European American school, and as hypothesized, all three groups fell on the individualistic end of the scale. However, as predicted, there was cultural value conflict at School 2, with significant differences between the Latino immigrant parents and the teachers: t (33) = 4.28, $p < .001$; significant differences between the children and the teachers: t (42) = 2.65, $p < .011$; and significant differences between the children and their parents: t (45) = –2.48, $p < .017$. Latino immigrant parents and their children were more collectivistic than the teachers, and Latino immigrant parents were also more collectivistic than their children.

Whereas the teachers did not differ in the two schools, the Latino parents and children tended to be more collectivistic than the European American parents and children. The mean I-C score for the Latino parents at School 2 was .63, and the mean I-C score for the European American parents at School 1 was .27. Results of t tests revealed a significant difference between the parents at the two schools: t (33) = –5.02, $p < .001$. The mean I-C score for Latino children at School 2 was .46, and the mean I-C score for the European American children at School 1 was .33; t tests showed that these differences were not significant. These results for the children and the parents at the two schools confirm the expectation that the differences between the children would be smaller than the differences between the parents. The mean I-C score for the teachers at School 1 was .24, and the mean I-C score for the teachers at School 2 was .29, indicating that the teachers at both schools were generally individualistic. In t tests it was confirmed, as hypothesized, that there were no significant differences between the European American and non–European American teachers.

An ANOVA indicated that there was an effect for scenario order: F (4, 1) = 10.67, $p < .001$; but there were no interaction effects between scenario order and school or between scenario order and role. Consequently, it was reasonable to collapse across orders in the statistical analyses, as in the ANOVAs reported earlier. Paired t tests showed that there were no differences in the participants' responses to the home and school scenarios, indicating that value orientations did not differ by scenario setting.

Regarding gender, an ANOVA comparing all participants' I-C scores by gender of participant and gender of scenario characters yielded no main effects and no interaction effects for the two factors. Thus, the participants' responses support the predictions based on Miller's theory of culture rather than Gilligan's theory of gender differences.

These overall analyses provide general confirmation for the expectations regarding differential expressions of individualism and collectivism for the children, parents, and teachers at the two schools. However, qualitative analyses of individual scenarios are required to explore the substance of individualistic and collectivistic conceptions of relationships and to explore how cultural value agreement and conflict are particularized in relation to specific relationship issues.

Individual Scenario Analyses

Each scenario and the coding categories will be presented with either female or male names. The most common responses will be presented, and all reported results will be depicted graphically.

SCENARIO 1: JOBS. It is the end of the school day, and the class is cleaning up. Denise isn't feeling well, and she asks Jasmine to help her with her job for the day, which is cleaning the blackboard. Jasmine isn't sure that she will have time to do both jobs. What do you think the teacher should do?

For this scenario, the following two coding categories encompassed 82 percent of the participants' open-ended responses:

1. *Find third.* The teacher should find a third person to do Denise's job. There were four subcategories indicating different justifications for this core category. The subcategories were coded as individualistic because the main goal is to protect Jasmine from the burden of helping the other child without her explicit consent or agreement, so that she can complete her own task.
   a. *Find third to excuse the sick child.* "Well if I were the teacher I think I'd probably . . . see if there were some other child who would volunteer to help the child who isn't feeling well to do the blackboards" (teacher, School 2).
   b. *Find third to protect Jasmine's task.* "Give the work to another pupil. Because the teacher has to understand that the pupil can't do the two things at the same time because [she] doesn't know if [she] has time" (child, School 2).
   c. *Find third to ensure that all jobs are completed.* "I think the teacher needs to find somebody else that can also help them and maybe if we divide up Denise's job then there will be time to get everything done" (teacher, School 2).
   d. *Find third for a combination of the above reasons.* "Is there someone else who can help Denise, who isn't feeling well? Because it's being sensitive to Denise's feelings, emotions, and also sensitive to Jasmine so she is not overwhelmed by her duties" (teacher, School 1).
2. *Help.* The teacher should tell Jasmine to help Denise. This category was coded as collectivistic because the main goal is to help Denise, without concern for Jasmine's personal preferences or job. "The child should help the girl because she's sick, and she could get sicker" (child, School 2).

The category of finding a third person indicates the importance of finding someone who is not otherwise occupied and agrees to help, as well as the importance of helping others. In this way, help is provided by mutual agreement, and requests for volunteers are explicitly stated. By finding a third person, Jasmine's goals and rights are respected and not infringed upon, and Denise may also receive help. This category reflects the individualistic assumption that, as a free individual, Jasmine has the right to pursue her own goals and to make her own decisions, without external infringement.

The second category, telling Jasmine to help Denise, illustrates the implicit expectation of helping a classmate and friend; it is treated as an automatic social responsibility. This response reflects the collectivistic

assumption that human beings are responsible for helping group members in order to contribute to the welfare and unity of the group. From a collectivistic perspective, helping Denise does not constitute an infringement on Jasmine. Instead, it enables Jasmine to fulfill her role in relation to one of her classmates, thus strengthening this particular relationship, which in turn can contribute to her welfare and the welfare of the entire class.

These contrasting conceptions of relationships were distributed differently in the two schools. Sixty percent of the European American children, 63 percent of the European American parents, and 47 percent of the teachers at their school said that the teacher should find a third person. In contrast, 20 percent of the children, 19 percent of the parents, and 20 percent of the teachers said that the teacher should tell Jasmine to help Denise with the job. There were no significant differences among the children, parents, and teachers at School 1, revealing cultural value harmony between European American families and the teachers at their school.

In School 2, 64 percent of the Latino children, 16 percent of the Latino parents, and 50 percent of the teachers thought a third person should be found. In contrast, 36 percent of the Latino children, 74 percent of the Latino parents, and 13 percent of the teachers said that Jasmine should be asked to help Denise with her job. This distribution in the predominantly Latino School 2 shows that cultural value conflict is played out in complex ways. Fisher Exact Tests indicated that the parents were significantly more collectivistic than the teachers ($p = .002$) and that the parents were significantly more collectivistic than the children ($p = .002$). There were no significant differences between the children and the teachers. For this school situation, cultural value conflicts between the teachers and parents, as well as between the children and parents, suggest that the children may be struggling to balance the values of their homes and schools.

SCENARIO 2: T-SHIRT. Adam and Johnny each get $20 from their mother, and Johnny buys a T-shirt. A week later, Adam wants to borrow Johnny's T-shirt, and Johnny says, "No, this is my T-shirt, and I bought it with my own money." And Adam says, "But you're not using it now." What do you think the mother should do?

For this scenario, the following two coding categories encompassed 80 percent of the participants' open-ended responses:

1. *Choice or personal property rights.* The mother should tell Adam that it is Johnny's choice because the T-shirt belongs to him. This category was coded as individualistic because the main goal is to protect personal ownership rights and the individual's right to make decisions about one's own property. "I think since he had bought it, then it is his. . . . And if he doesn't want him to wear it, then he shouldn't be able to wear it" (child, School 1).

2. *Share.* The mother should tell the boys to share. For this category there were two subcategories, reflecting different justifications for the core category. Both subcategories were coded as collectivistic because the solution emphasizes promoting relationships based on implicit expectations.
   a. *Share to be a good person as a general principle.* "Tell the boy that he should lend it to him. Because they should share" (parent, School 2).
   b. *Share because they are siblings.* "Let him borrow it. Because they're brothers" (child, School 2).

The "share" category reflects the collectivistic values of sharing for the sake of overall social cohesion and sharing to promote the welfare of the group (in this case, the family) as a whole. This category is compatible with previous research, which shows that the primary value of material goods in a collectivistic framework lies in their capacity for facilitating social relationships. The individualistic "choice or personal property rights" category indicates that because individual rights and personal property are primary, it is Johnny's choice whether he wants to share or not, even though sharing is valued. This category suggests that, in an individualistic framework, the interpersonal activity of sharing is negotiated around individual choice and the mutual consent of the participants.

These conceptions of relationships were played out differently in the two schools. In School 1, 60 percent of the European American children, 81 percent of the European American parents, and 53 percent of their teachers claimed that, because the T-shirt belonged to Johnny, it was his decision whether or not to share. In contrast, 30 percent of the children, 6 percent of the parents, and 13 percent of the teachers said that the mother should tell Johnny to share his T-shirt. Once again, there were no significant differences among the children, parents, and teachers at School 1.

In School 2, 50 percent of the Latino children, 42 percent of their parents, and 69 percent of the teachers said that because the T-shirt belonged to Johnny, it was his decision whether or not to share. Thirty-two percent of the children, 58 percent of the immigrant Latino parents, and 6 percent of the teachers said that the mother should tell Johnny to share his T-shirt. In this case, there was statistically significant value conflict only between the parents and the teachers ($p = .006$), showing again that Latino immigrant parents were more collectivistic than the teachers. It is noteworthy that the children's responses fell in between the responses of the parents and teachers, although they were not significantly different from either their parents or their teachers. Comparing the findings of the first two scenarios, we see that the children depart more from their parents' value system when the scenario setting is school, rather than home.

SCENARIO 3: DINNER. *Jessica is the first one home in the afternoon. When her mother gets home at seven, she finds that Jessica has not started cooking dinner yet. When she asks Jessica why she didn't get dinner started, Jessica says she wasn't hungry. What do you think the mother should do?*

For this scenario, the following two coding categories accounted for 66 percent of the participants' open-ended responses:

1. *Chore.* If getting dinner was the child's prearranged chore, then she should have done it, and the mother should talk to her about her agreed-upon responsibilities. This category was coded as individualistic because it emphasizes the contractual nature of relationships and social obligations. "If it's her responsibility, then she should explain that it's not a matter of whether she's hungry or not, it's part of what she's been asked to do as a member of the household and the expectation is that she will do it" (parent, School 1).
2. *Group.* The mother should tell the child she should have thought of the rest of the family and she should have started dinner. This category was coded as collectivistic because the main goal is to emphasize the individual's implicit awareness of other people's needs and to place the needs of others above her own needs and preferences. "Tell her that if she's not hungry, maybe the others are hungry. And since they're going to be coming home from work tired, they're not going to be able to make the meal" (child, School 2).

The "chore" category is in keeping with the individualistic assumption that because people are free and responsible for their own needs, some dimensions of their relationships are explicitly created. Thus, aspects of the child's role in the family can be explicitly created and negotiated. Once established, these roles represent responsibilities to a wider whole that take precedence over momentary individual needs. However, insofar as individual roles in relation to others are explicitly created by the participants, they may be subject to ongoing negotiation based on the changing needs, goals, and choices of the group's individual members. From a collectivistic perspective, the "group" category elucidates the importance of automatic responsibility for contributing to the family unit. This response indicates the value of having an implicit understanding of the group members' goals such that they do not have to be explicitly stated. It is expected that these goals will be anticipated by individuals, who will not only bring value to the group by contributing to family needs but will also be valued for their contributions as group members.

These conceptions of relationships were differentially evident in the two schools. In School 1, 30 percent of the European American children, 56 percent of the European American parents, and 80 percent of the teachers responded according to the "chore" category. At the same time 45 percent of the children, 19 percent of the parents, and 7 percent of the teachers said that Jessica should think of the family or group and should have started dinner. In this case there was a significant difference between the children and the teachers at School 1 ($p = .007$), with the teachers more individualistic than the children. It is possible that this difference reflects a developmental progression whereby European American children at first emphasize automatic

helpfulness and are socialized into a more contractual approach to relationships (see, for example, Madsen, 1971).

In School 2, 43 percent of the Latino children, 37 percent of their parents, and 13 percent of the teachers said that Jessica should have thought of the family or group and started dinner. Fourteen percent of the children, 16 percent of the parents, and 44 percent of the teachers said that if it was Jessica's prearranged chore, she should have started dinner. There was agreement among the Latino children and their parents, but there were significant differences between the teachers and the children ($p = .015$), as well as between the teachers and the parents ($p = .046$). Significantly more Latino parents and children, and significantly fewer teachers, thought that Jessica should have started dinner. The children's tendency to respond collectivistically may reflect the preservation of their families' original collectivistic values for dividing labor at home. This division of labor may be contrasted to the division of labor at school as reflected in the Jobs scenario, where the Latino children responded more like their teachers, and significantly more individualistically than their parents.

The participants' responses to the scenarios discussed in this chapter are depicted graphically in Figures 4.1 and 4.2.

Individualistic Conceptions of Relationships. The three scenarios provide information about how the individualistic assumptions that people

Figure 4.1. Distribution of the European American School 1 Participants' Responses to the Scenarios

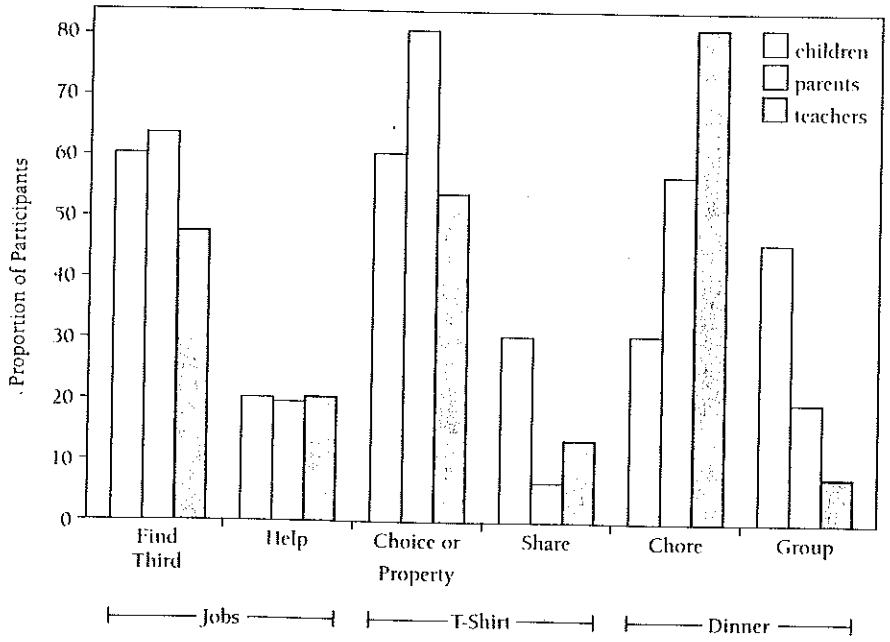
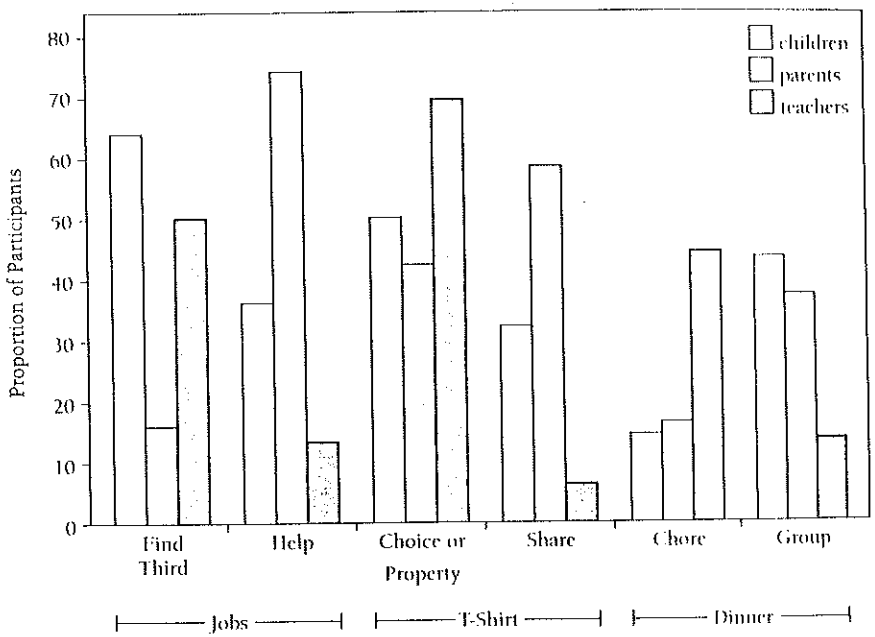


Figure 4.2. Distribution of the Latino School 2 Participants' Responses to the Scenarios



are ideally free are reflected in conceptions of relationships. The Jobs scenario highlights how attention to others is conceptualized in terms of not infringing on their individual goals. The solution of finding a third person to help the sick child demonstrates the importance of not infringing on someone's task or goals while helping another person and of creating relationships in terms of the individuals' choices and goals. Moreover, the Jobs scenario reveals the importance of both receiving and giving help through negotiation, thus going beyond previous approaches to individualism, which have suggested that such attention to others is precluded by the individualistic worldview.

The T-Shirt scenario also reveals that interpersonal interactions and relationships are ideally structured in terms of individual choices and goals in the individualistic framework. The solution that emphasizes the owner's right to choose to share ("choice or personal property rights") indicates how individual and private ownership rights may form the foundation of relationships in which sharing material goods is negotiated between the owner and potential borrower. This scenario also indicates that sharing is a valued dimension of social relationships when it is a matter of individual choice and preference.

In the Dinner scenario, viewing cooking dinner for the rest of the family as a prearranged chore reflects a contractual model of social obligations, and this precondition suggests the importance of negotiation based on the mutual

consent of individuals in relation to each other. The "chore" category also shows that when certain individual needs or goals are in conflict with a negotiated and prearranged group social role, the group's interests and personal responsibility for that social role may be emphasized over individual goals.

Collectivistic Conceptions of Relationships. The three scenarios also provide information about how the collectivistic assumption that social responses are implicit in the roles of individual group members is reflected in conceptions of relationships. Thus, mutually understood expectations regarding relationships are emphasized in the domain of social behavior. In the collectivistic framework, the "help" category for the Jobs scenario indicates the absolute value of helping. From a collectivistic perspective, this solution is perceived as an opportunity to make or strengthen interpersonal relationships. Moreover, the possibility of exerting extra effort to finish one's own job in order to be able to help a group member is not viewed as an infringement. This view indicates that the primary goal for an individual—that is, for a group member—is to form links with other group members, which in turn promote the welfare of both the group and the individual.

The T-Shirt scenario suggests that, in a collectivistic culture, sharing material goods is an assumed aspect of interpersonal relationships, thus revealing the priority of relationships over private property and individual ownership. It also elucidates how material possessions can serve to facilitate relationships rather than serve as a source of conflict among individuals. Similarly, in the Dinner scenario, cooking dinner for other family members without regard for personal preferences ("group" category) indicates how individual roles within a wider social matrix involve an assumed or implicit awareness of the group's needs and how, therefore, these obligations do not need to be explicitly stated or arranged. In such situations, it is the individual's responsibility to determine how to act in the best interests of the group, thus also promoting the individual's own well-being.

Cross-Cultural Differences in Value Conceptualization and Intragroup Variability

Based on different conceptions of relationships, the results indicate that there was general cultural harmony among the European American children, their parents, and their teachers. In contrast, there was general cultural value conflict between the teachers and the immigrant Latino families. The findings suggest that these children of Latino immigrants may be struggling to balance the individualistic conceptions of relationships valued by the school with the collectivistic conceptions valued by their families.

These results indicate that when European American families send their children to school, the schools support the parents' goals concerning the development of their children's social relationships and, conversely, that the parents support the school's goals for their children's social development. However, such a situation of mutual support for common developmental goals does not necessarily exist when Latino immigrant parents send their children to school. Instead, the school's ideals concerning the development of social relationships may undermine the parents' goals for their children's social development, and, conversely, the parents may undermine the school's goals for children's social development. These contrasting social developmental goals set up a difficult situation for both families and schools to negotiate, and knowing about these kinds of subtle dynamics may help to build bridges between home and school.

Although the most common solutions for each scenario dilemma distinguish the Latino families from the European American families and the teachers in both schools, there was also variability in each group. For example, some of the Latino parents and children used the "choice or personal property rights" response in the T-Shirt scenario, and some of them used the "chore" response in the Dinner scenario. For the Latino children and parents, these findings may be attributed, in part, to acculturation. It is also possible that individualistic values are making inroads in the immigrants' countries of origin, especially in relation to increasing industrialization, urbanization, and opportunities for formal education in Mexico (Tapia Uribe, LeVine, and LeVine, 1994). With respect to the heterogeneous responses of many participants from the primarily European American School 1, it is possible that there is bidirectional cross-cultural influence between immigrants and the mainstream culture (Rodriguez, 1993).

In addition, if individualism and collectivism are viewed as different cultural systems composed of interrelations among constituent parts, then categories that are ostensibly the same take on different meanings when they are embedded in different systems (Raeff, 1997). For example, in the T-Shirt scenario, sharing is valued in both individualistic and collectivistic cultures, but the differences lie in how sharing is conceptualized, prioritized, and particularized in relation to customary action patterns. Similarly, in the Jobs scenario, highlighting the importance of helping in the collectivistic "help" response should not obscure the importance of helping others in the individualistic "find third" response. However, within the individualistic framework, helping is not conceptualized as an implicit social responsibility, as it is in the collectivistic framework. Thus, helping others may be a common dimension of human social life, but there are differences in the cultural meanings and values regarding how, why, and when help is provided.

Such findings indicate the complexities of individualism and collectivism, showing that they are neither dichotomous value systems nor constituted by mutually exclusive values. Instead, individualism and collectivism are both value systems for the structuring of independence and interdependence, and the differences between them lie in how values regarding social relationships are conceptualized, prioritized, and enacted in everyday contexts. Continuing to explore multifaceted dimensions of cultural value systems in relation to the personal construction of meaning will promote further understanding of the dynamics of culture and development.

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Teachers, it seems, have much more uniform beliefs about "the" child than do parents or students—a fact with implications for the education of all three groups.

Uniformity and Diversity in Everyday Views of the Child

Kelvin L. Seifert

Too often everyday discussions about children are inconclusive. Interlocutors propose ideas, offer opinions, and describe personal experiences—but where does it all lead? The conversations may create new insights, but often they leave initial ideas unchanged. Communication has not occurred, or at least has not occurred well. We "talk past each other," much of the time even cheerfully and without awareness.

It is this experience—of individuals talking past each other—that motivated the research summarized in this chapter. Miscommunication about children can have important consequences. A parent and teacher may need to discuss a child's difficulties in school, and to do so they must understand each other in ways that are more than superficial. A professor may wish to discuss the nature of human development with students, yet success doing so will depend on the professor's sensitivity to assumptions about human nature that the students bring to class. Spouses may argue, sometimes furiously, about what a child "really needs," but resolving such encounters may require attending less to stated positions than to unstated beliefs about the sort of creature children in general are.

Still, misunderstanding is not universal, and communication does succeed sometimes; individuals may indeed understand each other's opinions and observations, whether about a particular child or about children in general. What accounts for the difference? Why might two parents (or teachers or students) "hit it off" well in talking about children, whereas two others do not? A number of factors contribute to mutual understanding, but one that may be especially important is the implied *root metaphor* in an everyday dialogue—the underlying image or analogy about what the world is like in general and