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CHILDREN'S SELF-REPRESENTATIONS, CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTAL GOALS AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOR IN MEXICAN AND EURO-AMERICAN CHILDREN

BY

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
Psychology

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

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ABSTRACT

The current study investigated the development of cultural self-concepts in children and relationships between self-concept, social behavior and maternal parenting and cultural values. Preschool and kindergarten Mexican and Euro-American children (N =56) participated. Children described themselves in response to open-ended questions, mothers completed self-report measures and teachers completed questionnaires regarding children's social behavior with peers and authority figures. Overall, significant differences were found in children's self-descriptions between the two groups. Mexican children's self-descriptions were balanced between private, relational, and descriptions of significant others whereas Euro-American children's self-descriptions were dominated by private descriptors such as personal attributes, preferences and possessions. Contrary to prediction, there were no differences between Mexican and Euro-American children in the valence of self-evaluation and both groups tended to describe themselves in neutral terms. Mexican mothers endorsed a

higher perceived degree of collectivism in their country, and endorsed "cooperation" as a developmental goal for their children as significantly more important than did Euro-American mothers. Further, endorsement of cooperation was related negatively to independent orientation in children's self-descriptions for both groups. Lastly, though significant differences were found in teacher ratings of children's cooperative and prosocial behavior, I failed to find associations between teacher ratings of child behavior and orientation in children's self-descriptions.

These results are discussed in terms of the emphasis on cooperation and "the family" in Mexico, and subsequent implications for the self in contrast to the emphasis on an individualized self in the United States. Shortcomings are discussed including: importing methodologies which birth from western psychology; categorizing countries dichotomously as collectivistic or individualistic and difficulty capturing the degree of variation along this dimension; and the lack of indigenous psychologies to inform knowledge of children's development of self-concepts. Future research is needed in order to investigate children's development of self-concept across cultures and potential parenting goals and behaviors which may transmit cultural values and influence the form of self.

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Introduction

Perspectives on the Development of the Self

The form of and development of self in childhood have been studied largely from an individualistic perspective which assumes that a self is independent and unique, separate from others (see Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989). From this perspective, prevalent in the western developmental literature, parent-child interactions are acknowledged as initially influencing a child's developing sense of self, yet how culture influences the form the self takes is often overlooked (Wang 2004; 2006). Other perspectives on the development of self, most notably those that arise from a collectivistic cultural perspective, have achieved prominence in the last two decades, and recent work has begun to articulate the differences that exist between these perspectives (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Wang 2004; 2006). In comparisons of self-concepts across individualistic and collectivistic cultural orientations, typically the United States is contrasted with Asian countries such as Japan or China (e.g., Han, Leichtman, & Wang, 1998; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Wang, 2004; 2006).

Despite the increasing emphasis on cultural differences, relatively little developmental work exists to empirically validate these claims, and what work does exist has largely focused on a narrow subset of individualist and collectivist cultures (e.g., Wang 2004; 2006). Self-concepts in Hispanic cultures, though also considered to be collectivistic (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), have not been explored with the exception of one study conducted with school age children in Puerto Rico. This study found that Puerto Rican children described themselves in terms of their relationships with others whereas Euro-

American children described themselves in terms of unique, personal attributes (Hart, Lucca-Irizarry, & Damon, 1986).

Researchers have implicated parenting and child-rearing practices as a primary means of transmitting cultural values (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989; Wang, 2004; 2006). Studies which examine parent-child interactions across differing cultural orientations reveal that parents emphasize different developmental goals for their children (e.g., Carlson & Harwood, 2003; Friedlmeier, Schafermeier, Vasconcellos, & Trommsdorff, 2008; Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, & Maynard, 2003). Rather than focusing heavily on development of an independent sense of self, parents from collectivistic cultures tend to emphasize social relations, respect for authority, and proper behavior (Carlson & Harwood, 2003; Cervantes, 2002; Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; Leyendecker, Harwood, Lamb, & Scholmerich, 2002). Differences in parenting values and practices are thought to result in the adoption of culture-specific ways of viewing and evaluating the self (Wang, 2004).

The few studies which have examined cultural differences in children's self-development focus on the correlates of an independently focused sense of self, such as autobiographical memory ability (e.g., Wang, 2004; 2006). For example, Wang (2004; 2006) found that children who had more independently focused self-descriptions (focusing on unique attributes, personal preferences and opinions) produced lengthier descriptions of personal memories. Possible correlates or alternate indices of self-concepts in collectivistic cultures, such as social behaviors as a reflection of the self (e.g., exhibiting better behavioral control or more cooperative play behavior), have not been studied in children.

In this study, I examined children's self-concepts in an understudied collectivistic culture (Mexican). I also compared and contrasted Mexican and Euro-American children's

self descriptions. Additionally, I explored parental attitudes across these groups to examine if there are differences in line with individualistic versus collectivistic goals. Finally, in this study I explored young children's social behavior in relation to their self-concept.

Self-Terminology

Bruner (2003) noted that "'Self' is a surprisingly quirky idea – intuitively obvious to commonsense, yet notoriously evasive to definition by the fastidious philosopher" (p. 209), and indeed the psychology literature lacks an agreed upon definition for the self (Leary & Tangney, 2003). Contemporary definitions include conceptualizing the self in cognitive or structural terms, such as "the psychological apparatus that allows organisms to think consciously about themselves" (Leary & Tangney, 2003, p. 8) and a "knowing-thinking-feeling-action system," (Mischel & Morf, 2003, p. 30), as well as in social terms, such as an "interpersonal system that is constructed and re-constructed in social contexts and relationships throughout its development" (Mischel & Morf, 2003, p. 30). Though definitions of the self in western literature focus on the self as a discrete entity, cross-cultural psychology notes that the self may be defined in terms of relationships. Furthermore, others may be integrated within the bounds of self definitions, comprising a different way to mentally represent the self that is not necessarily limited to the physical bounds of the individual (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Multiple terms are used in the literature to describe the knowledge, beliefs, and judgments one holds about oneself. These include, but are not limited to: self-representations, self-descriptions, self-perceptions (Harter, 1999); self-schema, self-image (Kihlstrom, Beer & Klein, 2003); self-beliefs (Leary & Tagney, 2003); self-identity (Ryan & Deci, 2003); self-understanding (Nelson, 2003); self-knowledge (Neisser, 1997); self-

theories (Mischel & Morf, 2003); self-constructs (Wang, 2004; 2006); and self-concepts (Neisser, 1997; Wang, 2004; 2006). Authors have noted the importance of clarifying the definition of self-terminology to be used (Harter, 1999; Leary & Tangney, 2003). In this study, I will use the terms "self-representation" and "self-concept" to refer to a mental representations of the self, "a general conceptual representation of the self," (Wang, 2006), "what we bring to mind when we think about ourselves," (Neisser, 1997), and the "attributes or characteristics of the self that are consciously acknowledged by the individual" (Harter, 1999). I will use the term "self-construal" to refer to culture specific, characteristically different ways of viewing the self within which individual self-concepts are embedded (see Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

The Self from a Cross-Cultural Perspective

Individualism-collectivism. In its most basic form, the dimension "individualism-collectivism" refers to the degree to which societies are concerned with the individual self versus the larger group (see Triandis, 1989; 1995). Majority cultures in the United States and Western European countries are considered to be individualistic or independent in orientation (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dason, 2003; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989). Cultures which are viewed as individualistic have been described as valuing emotional independence from the larger group or collective, individual initiative, a right to privacy (Hofstede, 1980), competitiveness, and prioritizing personal goals, views and opinions (Triandis, 1989). In contrast, Latin-American, Asian, African and some Southern European countries have been classified as interdependent or collectivistic (Chen & French, 2008; Hofstede, 1990; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). Collectivistic cultures tend to value cooperation, place group goals, views and needs above

individual ones (Gudykunst, Yoon, & Nishida, 1987), emphasize duties and obligations (Hui & Triandis, 1986) and focus on developing harmonious relationships (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Cultures are often labeled dichotomously as individualistic or collectivistic in orientation when comparing parenting behaviors (e.g., Greenfield et al., 2003; Ispa et al., 2004; Keller et al., 2004) and children's development of self-concepts across cultures (e.g., Wang, 2004). Although this offers, arguably, a useful way to distinguish cultures for comparison, this distinction has fallen under recent criticism for being too simplistic in depicting cultural differences (Brewer & Chen, 2007; Wang & Li, 2003). Markus and Kitayama (1991) hold that individualism-collectivism exists on a continuum and will vary within a given country. Other authors also acknowledge that the degree of individualism or collectivism reflected in the values of a society will vary between individuals and within cultures (e.g., Friedlmeier et al., 2008; Wang, 2004). Though this distinction has been challenged, salient differences have been found cross-culturally between individualistic and collectivistic groups. Differences include content of self-descriptions in both adults and children (Cousins, 1989; Wang, 2004; 2006), observed and reported parenting behavior and goals (Friedlemeier et al., 2008; Greenfield et al., 2003; Keller et al., 2004; Leyendecker et al., 2002), and behaviors deemed as socially competent in young children (Chen & French, 2008; Chen et al., 1998).

Cultural self-construals. Culture provides various ways to conceptualize the self that are in line with differing societal goals (Cousins, 1989; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; 2003; Triandis, 1989), effect the organization of self-relevant processes in cognition, memory, emotions, and motivations (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; 2003) and guide which

aspects of experience we attend to and integrate into our self-concepts (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Markus and Kitayama (1991) delineated independent and interdependent self-construals based largely on observations and research comparing American and Japanese culture, which are thought to be representative of various independent (American and Western European) and interdependently oriented cultures (Asian, African, Latin-American and Southern European). An *independent self-construal* represents a view that the self is autonomous, a discrete entity from others with a focus on distinct, internal attributes. An *interdependent self-construal* represents a view that the self is linked with others and defined largely within social relationships (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). More recently, other authors have argued that independence and interdependence are not mutually exclusive constructs, but rather co-exist in the individual as two distinct dimensions of self-construal (Matsumoto, 1999; Oyserman et al., 2002; Singelis, 1994). The terms *individualism* and *independent*, and *collectivism* and *interdependent*, are frequently used interchangeably in the literature to describe cultural orientations and the values of individuals within cultures.

The Development of Self in Early Childhood

Children's self-representations in individualistic culture. From a developmental perspective, how one comes to a general sense of who they are and their abilities to perceive, think about, and describe themselves evolves gradually throughout childhood (Harter, 1999; Neisser, 1997; Sroufe, 1990). Within the western literature on child development, the self is viewed as both a cognitive and a social construction (Fivush & Nelson, 2004; 2006; Harter, 1999; 2003; 2006). A central role is given to the child's developing cognitive abilities, which allow for mental representations of a self (Lewis & Sullivan, 2005) and which constrain a child's ability to think about and describe the self (Harter, 1999). The

construction of self-concepts and the ability to describe and evaluate oneself emerges as a process over the course of childhood (Damon & Hart, 1988; Harter, 1999; 2003; 2006). With the emergence of increasing language and memory skills in the early preschool years, it becomes possible to examine children's developing self-descriptions as an index of self-concept (Harter, 1999; 2003; 2006).

Self-concepts have largely been explored via self-description or other means of self-report, thus tapping into how an individual verbally relays what they think about who they are. Most studies use "open-ended techniques," methods similar to the Twenty Statements Test used to elicit self-descriptions in adults (e.g., Cousins, 1989). Hart et al. (1986) asked children, "What kind of person are you?" Wang (2004; 2006) used a similar but more involved descriptive method where children were told, "I would like to write about you, to write something that will tell about, insert child's name," and were prompted after each response for what else the experimenter should write about them. Following this, children were asked to complete sentences that started "I am _____." Experimenters provided additional prompts to finish the sentences, in ways that informed about the child, "insert child's name is ____." Such methods have been employed to elucidate the progression of children's self-concepts or self-representations within western culture (e.g., Harter, 1999), have revealed differences in how adults report on the self across cultures (e.g., Cousins, 1989; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989), and more recently, have been employed to examine potential cultural differences in young children's self-concepts (Wang, 2004; 2006).

Studies with primarily Euro-American children in the United States have revealed that in very early childhood (ages 3 to 4 years), self-descriptions are characterized by a string of concrete, basic, observable and unrelated characteristics or traits with a strong emphasis

on positive abilities and emotions and an inflated sense of capabilities (Harter 1999; 2003; 2006). A child may describe herself in terms of physical characteristics (e.g., "I have red hair"), abilities (e.g., "I can jump high"), basic social relationships (e.g., "I have two brothers"), emotions (e.g., "I am happy"), personal preferences (e.g., "I love ice-cream") and what possessions they have (e.g., "I have a dog"). As children progress through early and middle childhood (ages 5 to 7 years), elements seen in earlier self-descriptions persist, though young children begin to group similar self-concepts in simple ways, such as listing various things they do well (e.g., "I'm good at schoolwork," "I can run fast and climb high, a lot higher than when I was younger") (Harter, 1999; 2003; 2006).

Other studies with Euro-American children (ages 3 to 8 years) similarly demonstrate that young children tend to focus on listing their personal attributes, dispositions, preferences, and beliefs in a generally positive light in their self-descriptions (Wang, 2004). Further, it is considered typical and normative of a young child to acknowledge only their positive abilities and emotions and to hold an inaccurately inflated, even grandiose, view of their own skill (Harter, 1999; 2003; 2006); however, a primary focus on personal attributes and inflated esteem has not been found in the self-descriptions of children across cultural groups (Sakuma, Endo, & Muto, 2000; Wang, 2004).

Children's self-representations in collectivistic culture. The majority of studies involving children's self-representations with cultural groups considered interdependent or collectivistic in orientation have been conducted with Chinese or Chinese-American children (e.g., Han et al., 1998; Wang 2004). In general, these studies reveal that young children in collectivistic cultures tend to focus on social relationships more than private attributes in their self-definitions (Han et al., 1998; Hart et al., 1986; Wang, 2004; 2006). In contrast to

Euro-American children, young Chinese children (ages 3 to 8 years) describe themselves by social categories (e.g., "I am my father's son") and situation-bound characteristics (e.g., "I like to help my mom with dishes"), include more descriptions of others (e.g., "My mom is a teacher") within their own self-descriptions, and make statements about themselves that are generally neutral (Wang, 2004; 2006). One study calculated children's "agentic self-score" by subtracting the number of collective statements (e.g, "I am a child in daycare"), and public (relational) statements (e.g., "I am my mother's son") from private statements (e.g, "I am kind," "I like bears"). Euro-American children's self-concepts were significantly more "agentic" than were Chinese children's (Wang, 2006).

These differences between Euro-American and Chinese children's self-descriptions have been found in very early childhood (preschool, ages 3 years 3 months to 4 years 11 months) and are more pronounced with age across preschool, kindergarten and second grade (ages 3 to 8 years) (Wang, 2004). Examples of child self-descriptions from these studies are as follows: Chinese child: *"I'm a human being. I'm a child. I like to play cards. I'm my mom and dad's child, my grandma and grandpa's grandson. I'm a hard working good child."* Euro-American child: *"I am a wonderful and very smart person. A funny and hilarious person. A kind and caring person. A good-grade person who is going to go to Cornell. A helpful and cooperative girl."* (Wang, 2006, p.1). No studies to date have examined the self-descriptions of young children from other cultures with the exception of one study with Puerto Rican school-aged children (8 to 11 years old) which found that Puerto Rican children described themselves in terms of social behavior (e.g., "I try not to hurt my friends feelings") and personal relationships rather than by unique, personal attributes (Hart et al., 1986).

Self-relevant Tasks and Alternate Indices of Self-Representations

Children's autobiographical memory. Markus and Kitayama (1991) theorize that the developmental tasks considered most relevant to ones' being will vary across culture. For an independent self, primary tasks include "be unique, express self, realize internal attributes, and promote own goals," whereas primary tasks of an interdependent self include "belong, fit-in, occupy one's own space, engage in appropriate actions, and promote other's goals" (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, p. 230). Studies examining cultural differences in children's self-descriptions have related these to constructs such as autobiographical memory (i.e., children's descriptions of their personal memories and the stories they come to create about themselves), with an emphasis on how Euro-American children have "greater" autobiographical memory ability (i.e., creating richer and lengthier narratives of their memories) (e.g., Fivush, 2007; Wang, 2006). This reflects a bias towards independent cultural values and the ways in which children organize information around an independent self-construal.

Perhaps rich autobiographical memories are an aide to a child taxed with viewing the self as autonomous and unique, navigating a highly individualistic culture; however, a different skill set may be of more value to a child navigating a culture with an interdependent focus. Less examined is whether children from interdependent cultural orientations whose mothers focus on feelings of others, commitment to family, and socially appropriate behavior demonstrate knowledge and behaviors in line with such socialization goals; for example, greater moral knowledge or more cooperative social behavior. Further, no studies have examined children's social behaviors in relation to the independent or interdependent focus of their self-concepts.

Children's social behavior. Child behaviors are culturally dependent in so far as different behaviors are considered ideal. Preferences for child behavior across cultures are based on how they facilitate cultural goals (Harwood, 1992; Chen & French, 2008). Individualistic cultures, such as the dominant culture in the United States, value competitiveness and tend to permit more aggressive behavior in their children (Bergeron & Schneider, 2005). Further, individualistic cultures value social initiative, or the tendency to initiate social activities and assertive social skills (Triandis, 1995), and the lack of these attributes is seen as maladaptive (Rubin, Burgess, & Coplan, 2002). This type of social initiative may be seen as undesirable in collectivistic cultures including Hispanic cultures, as it does not serve to promote and may even disrupt group cohesion and harmony (Chen & French, 2008). In collectivistic cultures, behavioral control, including cooperative and compliant behaviors are more valued in young children (Chen & French, 2008).

Several studies have found significant differences in social behaviors between Canadian children and Chinese children (for a review see Chen & French, 2008); however, few studies have examined differences in young children's social behaviors between Mexican and Euro-American children. One study with older children (ages 7 to 9) found that Mexican children displayed more cooperative behaviors than did Euro-American children using a game-playing task (Kagan & Madsen, 1972). Interestingly, in a study examining cooperative behavior in Mexican-American children, less cooperative behavior was exhibited in third generation as compared to second generation Mexican-American children which was assumed to be due to the process of acculturation (Knight & Kagan, 1977). As cultural self-construals guide which aspects of experience we attend to and integrate into our self-concepts, and differ in how the self is seen in relation to others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991),

it follows that social behaviors associated with an independent and interdependent view of the self would vary as well.

Parenting and Children's Development of Self across Cultures

With respect to the processes involved in the formation of self-representations in the western literature, early symbolic interactionists (e.g., Baldwin, 1897; Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1925) set the theoretical stage for the self as formed predominantly via social interactions. A developing sense of self is formed and maintained in an ongoing manner within the playground of interpersonal relationships (Bowlby, 1973; Harter, 1999; Mischel & Morf, 2003; Wang, 2004; 2006). Self-concepts are influenced by the back and forth inherent in early child-caregiver relationships (Bowlby, 1973; Harter, 1999; Sroufe, 1990) as well as in parent-child conversation and reminiscing (Fivush & Nelson, 2004, 2006; Wang, 2004; 2006). The developing child both shapes and is shaped by such an environment (Mascolo & Fischer, 1998; Sroufe, 1990), and the process of refining self-concepts within the context of social interactions and relationships continues throughout one's life course (Mischel & Morf, 2003). Although the social environment, with a particular focus on the primacy of parents, is implicated in children's development of a sense of self (Bowlby, 1973; Harter, 1999; Fivush & Nelson, 2004; 2006), culture is often placed on the periphery, without consideration for how it might permeate on all levels, impacting parental goals and child development (Garcia-Coll & Magnunson, 1999). Whereas the western literature emphasizes the role of social interactions in forming an individual identity, cross-cultural psychology reveals that in collectivistic societies, the self may be viewed not just as shaped by social interactions but rather as defined by and embedded within them (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Parents as cultural transmitters. Parental beliefs and socialization strategies, both implicit and explicit, aim to produce children who will be effective or competent in their specific, larger cultural environment (Bornstein, 1994; Greenfield et al., 2003; Harwood, Schoelmerich, Schulze, & Gonzalez, 1999; Keller, 2003). Cross-Cultural researchers have implicated the role of parenting and child-rearing practices as affecting the development of independent versus interdependent self-construals (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989; Wang, 2004; 2006). While there are multiple vehicles for cultural transmission, such as non-parental caregivers, extended family, communities, media, and peers, parents constitute one way of enculturation and socialization for the developing child (Berry et al., 2003).

Across cultures, parents hold differing knowledge and beliefs, referred to as "parental ethnotheories," regarding optimal parenting as well as child development (Harkness & Super, 1995). In a study of stated developmental goals from Brazilian and German caregivers, maternal perception of her cultures' degree of collectivism was related to her endorsed developmental goals for her 5-year-old child (Friedlmeier et al., 2008). The greater the perceived degree of collectivism, the more mothers endorsed group-oriented goals for her child (e.g., sensitivity for others' needs, co-operation, responsibility for others) and the less she endorsed individual-oriented goals for her child (e.g., autonomy, independence, self-realization). Furthermore, as was anticipated by overarching cultural orientations, German mothers endorsed individualistic goals significantly more than did Brazilian mothers (Friedlmeier et al., 2008). Individualistic and collectivistic cultural orientations differentially shape what is considered to be normative and optimal parenting behavior and organize parent-child interactions (Greenfield et al., 2003; Harwood et al., 1999; Keller, 2003).

Differences in parenting values and practices across Euro-American and Hispanic cultures. Studies comparing parenting goals in Euro-American and Hispanic mothers have revealed differences corresponding to values of individualism and collectivism (Carlson & Harwood, 2003; Harwood et al., 1999; Leyendecker et al., 2002). Euro-American mothers typically endorse a style of parenting that is child-centered, emphasizing children's autonomy (Harwood et al., 1999), individuality, self-expression, and enhancement of their self-esteem (Harkness, Super, & Keefer, 1992; Wang, 2004) and avoid criticism of the child (Harkness et al., 1992). The value placed on autonomy in children's development can be seen throughout literature on children's self-concepts as well as literature foundational to western developmental psychology. Feelings of self-reliance are equated with a healthy view of self in the child (Bowlby, 1973); toddlerhood is capped as an important time for the "emerging autonomous self" (Houck, 1999); and subscales of autonomy are included in measurements of children's self-concept (e.g. Self Concept Questionnaire; Stipek, Gralinski, & Kopp, 1990). Bowlby (1973) proposed that parental respect for a child's need for independence contributes to a child developing an internal working model of the self as valued and self-reliant. Winnicott's (1958) concept of the "good enough mother" includes parenting that necessitates the mother stepping back to let her child explore, thus giving the child a sense of autonomy which in turn contributes to the child developing a stable and happy self. Such concepts in the literature assume that autonomy is central to children developing a healthy self-concept and do not explicitly acknowledge that such values stem from an independent cultural orientation.

In contrast, Hispanic mothers emphasize parenting strategies believed to foster their child's sense of interpersonal obligation, connectedness (Harwood et al., 1999), cooperation

and proper social behavior (Leyendecker et al., 2002). Hispanic cultures value family membership and interdependence between generations (Diaz-Guerrero, 1977). Furthermore, Hispanic parents emphasize *familism;* the connectedness of family members and a commitment to their well-being, and *respeto*; honoring of adult authority and proper behavior in social situations, in the socialization of young children (Zayas & Solari, 1994). When asked what they wanted their child to be like as an adult, Central American mothers (who had immigrated to the United States), reported that they wanted their children to become respectful, obedient, and have good family relationships whereas Euro-American mothers desired that their children develop their individual talents, self-confidence, and independence (Leyendecker et al., 2002). Puerto Rican mothers (who had been living in the United States for over 8 years) listed ideal infant behaviors as "calm," and "obedient," significantly more often than did Euro-American mothers (Harwood, 1992). Further, Puerto Rican mothers described an ideal infant as maintaining greater proximity to the mother, and found it undesirable for the infant to be more active in play and unresponsive to the mother (Harwood, 1992). They referred to children's "cooperative" and "appropriate" behavior as contributing to pleasure in play episodes three times more often than did Euro-American mothers, who emphasized pleasure in watching their child explore independently (Harwood, 1992).

Cultural differences can also be seen in the emphasis of mother-child conversation. In conversation with children, Mexican parents were observed to impart "nurturing advice about the social world," empathy for others, and awareness of familial expectations (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994). A study examining emotional content in mother-child conversation found that Mexican immigrant and Mexican-American mothers discussed past events and emotions with

an emphasis on the feelings of others and moral values or proper actions (Cervantes, 2002). This is in contrast to Euro-American mothers who tend to discuss past events highlighting their child's personal experiences, opinions, preferences (Wang & Leichtman, 2000; Wang & Fivush, 2005), personal emotions and resolution of these (Wang & Fivush, 2005). Such differences in parent-child interactions are thought to shape the form of self in line with cultural values, "micro-level enculturational processes embedded in a myriad of daily exchanges between parents and their preschool-age children that transmit to children cultural ideologies and beliefs pertinent to the self (Wang, 2004, p. 4)."

Summary

The western literature on children's development paints a picture of young children coming to a sense of self that is differentiated from others (Butterworth, 1990; Neisser, 1993; 1997), autonomous (Bowlby, 1973), comprised of attributes which make them unique (Harter, 1999), positive (Harter 1999; Wang, 2004) or perhaps even grandiose in self-evaluation (Harter, 1999) and complete with a personal autobiography (Fivush & Nelson, 2004; Snow, 1990). Parenting values in individualistic cultures, such as majority culture in the United States, are considered to be child-centered (Harwood et al., 1999), emphasize a child's autonomy, personal independence (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978), individuality, self-expression, and enhancement of self-esteem (Harkness et al., 1992; Wang, 2004). Such values are thought to foster an independent and unique sense of self in the developing child. Indeed, Euro-American children make more references to themselves than others and their own personal emotions, opinions, and preferences in their self-descriptions (Harter, 1999; Wang, 2004). A view of the self as autonomous and individuated has often

been taken as being universal, however cross-cultural research has revealed that this is just one way to be a self, and one way to think about the self (Markus & Kitayama, 2003).

In contrast to western views of a self that derives identity via separation and uniqueness (Berry et al., 2003; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989), collectivistic cultures view the self as being realized within the context of social relationships and social responsibilities (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Wang, 2004). Parenting styles in collectivistic cultures emphasize appropriate behavior (Wang, 2004), cooperation, social harmony, and creating a sense of belonging (Harwood et al., 1999; Wang, 2004), all of which are thought to influence a relational sense of self in the developing child. A focus on social roles and social relationships can be seen in the content of young children's self-descriptions in collectivistic cultures (Hart et al., 1986; Wang, 2004; 2006). Further, children from collectivistic cultures include more references to others in their self-descriptions and are more neutral in self-evaluation (Wang, 2004). Rather than a primary task being to develop a unique, independent sense of self, children in interdependent cultures may have other tasks as their priority such as becoming aware of social rules within interpersonal contexts and monitoring overt behaviors with a focus on how to be a harmonious member of a group (Wang, 2004). As such, correlates of an interdependent sense of self in childhood may include social behaviors which facilitate these cultural goals.

Current Study

The majority of studies examining children's self-concepts have included Chinese and Chinese-American children as representative samples of interdependent or collectivistic culture (e.g., Wang 2004; 2006). Only one study has examined self-description in Hispanic children (Hart et al., 1986) and no studies to date have examined the self-descriptions among Mexican children to see if they vary in culture specific ways from those of Euro-American children. Though parenting practices are implicated in children's development of different self-representations across cultures (Wang, 2004) as well as varying behaviors with peers in classroom settings (Chen & French, 2008; Chen et al., 1998), studies examining these cultural differences have divided groups based on ethnicity or country of origin and assume parental goals are in line with an overarching corresponding individualistic versus collectivistic culture. In such studies, neither parental perception of their culture's orientation nor their developmental goals for their child have been directly measured in relation to the subsequent content of their child's self-descriptions. Furthermore, rather than examining potential competencies related to an interdependent self in childhood such as cooperative social behavior, the emphasis in the literatures remains on the competencies associated with an independent self, such as autobiographical memory.

In this study, I examined and compared the content of young children's self-descriptions between Mexican children in Mexico and Euro-American children in the United States. I also explored parental endorsement of developmental goals for their children as well as their perception of their culture's degree of collectivism. Lastly, in this study, I examined social behaviors of preschool children, more specifically teacher ratings of children's social initiative, cooperative peer behavior, cooperative behavior with authority

figures and autonomous behaviors. The examination of these variables and relationships across two groups believed to vary in degree of individualism-collectivism, Mexican and Euro-Americans, allowed for cultural comparisons as well as exploration of children's development of self-concepts in an understudied cultural group.

Hypotheses

1. It was expected that Mexican children would evidence a greater interdependent orientation in their self-descriptions than Euro-American children, who would evidence a greater independent orientation (i.e., Mexican children's self-descriptions would have a greater proportion of relational, collective and descriptions of others than Euro-American children, whose self-descriptions would be more positive, have a greater proportion of private self-descriptions and a higher agentic self-score than Mexican children).
2. It was expected that Mexican children would display more cooperative social behavior with teachers and peers than Euro-American children who would display more autonomous and assertive social skills, as measured by teacher ratings.
3. It was expected that Mexican mothers would perceive their culture as more collectivistic than Euro-American mothers, and endorse group-oriented goals, including cooperation, as more important for their children than would Euro-American mothers.
4. It was expected that Euro-American mothers would rank the importance of individual-oriented developmental goals, including autonomy, for their children more highly than would Mexican mothers.
5. It was expected that across Mexican and Euro-Americans, an interdependent orientation in child's self-description would be positively associated with maternal endorsement of group-oriented goals, including cooperation, and teacher ratings of cooperative social behavior.
6. It was expected that across Mexican and Euro-Americans, an independent orientation in child's self-description would be positively associated with maternal endorsement of

individual-oriented developmental goals, including autonomy, and teacher ratings of autonomous and assertive social behavior.

Methods

Participants

The participants in this study were Mexican and Euro-American older preschool and kindergarten children, their mothers and their classroom teachers. Thirty-four Mexican and thirty-two Euro-American (Caucasian) children and their mothers completed the study. However, ten of the child interviews could not be validly coded due to either experimenter error (e.g., leading the child's responses), the child engaging in conversation but not responding to the interview, or the child producing all nonsense phrases (e.g., "I'm a truck," "I'm a dog"). Thus, these ten cases were excluded from analyses. All Mexican participants were living in Merida, Yucatan, Mexico and mothers endorsed their and their child's ethnicity as Mexican. All Euro-American participants were living in Albuquerque, New Mexico, United States and mothers endorsed their and their child's ethnicity as Euro-American/Caucasian.

The total sample analyzed was comprised of 56 preschoolers and kindergartners (32 boys and 24 girls; mean age = 5 years 3 months; range = 4 years 1 month to 6 years 4 months old) and their mothers. The Mexican children included 28 kindergartners (15 boys and 13 girls; mean age = 5 years 7 months; range = 4 years 3 months to 6 years 4 months). The Euro-American children included 28 preschoolers and kindergartners (17 boys and 11 girls; mean age = 5 years old; range = 4 years 1 month to 6 years 4 months). Regarding teacher report, five female teachers in Mexico and five teachers in the U.S. participated in the study by filling out questionnaires regarding social behaviors of the child participants in their classrooms.

Merida, Yucatan, Mexico has a population of approximately 970, 377 (as of 2010) over 331.43 square miles, and is ranked as the 12th most populated Mexican metropolitan area. It is situated on the Yucatan Peninsula, 22 miles inland from the Gulf of Mexico. In comparison, Albuquerque, New Mexico has a population of approximately 869,684 (as of 2010) over 181.3 square miles across its metropolitan area. Recruitment occurred via *Rayitos de Sol*, a kindergarten in Merida, Yucatan, Mexico as well as at three preschool programs and one aftercare program in Albuquerque, New Mexico, United States.

The kindergarten experience at *Rayitos de Sol* provides a three hour, half-day of school (one hour of which is snack and recess), Monday through Friday. Basic curriculum and enrichment activities are provided at *Rayitos de Sol*, such as music, art and story time, much like the preschool programs selected in the United States. The preschool programs in the United States from where participants were recruited included the *University of New Mexico Children's Campus*, *A Child's Garden*, and *Los Vecinos Community Center*. These preschools were targeted to attempt to recruit children within the same age range as well as with a comparable school experience to the children in the Mexican sample. Each of the preschools selected in Albuquerque similarly offer a half-day program Monday through Friday, with a basic, educational curriculum and group activities including story time, music and art as well as a daily snack and recess time. In order to recruit children who were young, 6-year-olds in the United States (to match the upper age range of the Mexico sample) recruitment was also extended to the afterschool program at UNM Children's Campus.

Recruitment

The same recruitment methods were used in Mexico as in the United States. A letter explaining the study to parents (including dates that researchers would be at the schools to

answer their questions), along with a study packet including a consent form, a demographic form, the *Cultural Orientation Scale* (COS), the *Self-Construal Scale* (SCS), and a *Developmental Goals Questionnaire* asking parents to rate their developmental goals for their child were sent home from the classrooms (see Appendices A, B, and C, respectively). All measures for the Mexican population were provided in Spanish and had been translated and back-translated (to check for the equivalence in meaning) for the purposes of this study. Children of parents who consented to the study and returned a completed packet, were interviewed individually at school and in their native language to obtain their self-descriptions.

Measures

Child self-description. A self-description interview was employed following the open-ended technique of Wang (2004; 2006) in order to index children's self-concepts. The interviewer told the child, "(Child's name), I would like to write about you, to write something that will tell about (child's name). What's the first thing I should put in what I write about you?" The interviewer then prompted the child after each response, "And what else should I write to tell about you?" until the child indicated by speech or gesture that he/she was finished. Following this portion of the interview, children were asked to complete sentences starting with "I am____" in as many ways as possible. The interviewer told the child, "Now, (Child's name), let's see if we can think of some more things about you. How about if you finish a sentence like this, (child's name) is _____." After each response, the interviewer said "Can you finish the sentence in another way that tells about you? (Child's name) is _____," until the child indicated by speech or gesture that he/she was finished. These narratives were then coded for verbal content.

***Coding of self-description*.** Each independent utterance (subject-verb pair) was coded as an instance; for example "I like ice-cream" would be one codeable utterance, and "I like to draw pictures and ride my bike," would be coded as two separate utterances. Repetitions and meaningless responses were not coded (e.g., "I am a dinosaur"). Total number of self-descriptions was calculated by adding together all codeable utterances (i.e., adding the total number of private, relational, collective and other self-descriptions and excluding repetition and meaningless responses). Each category was then measured as a proportion of the total length of self-description produced, generating a proportional score each for relational, private, collective and other self-descriptions.

Organization. Statements were classified into three, mutually exclusive categories in relation to the agency-community dimension of self. Responses referring to personal attributes, beliefs and behaviors unrelated to other people were coded as *private self-descriptions* (e.g., "I'm happy," "I like ice-cream," "I have a pink bed"). Responses referring to interpersonal relationships, responsiveness to others or sensitivity to other's viewpoints were coded as *public self-descriptions* (e.g., "I love my mommy," "Bobbi Jo is my friend"). In this study, I will refer to "public self-descriptions" as *relational self-descriptions*. Responses referring to social or demographic categories or group memberships were coded as *collective self-descriptions* (e.g., "I am a girl," "I am in school"). Lastly, descriptions of others included in self-description (e.g., "My mom is a teacher") were coded as *other-descriptions*.

Evaluation. Each item is then coded as positive, negative or neutral based on whether the description implies a clearly positive or negative evaluation. For example, "I'm good at sports," or "I'm beautiful," would be coded as positive whereas "I'm annoying," or "I have

bad manners," would be coded as negative. An example of a neutral evaluation is "I have a dog." The proportion of positive, negative and neutral statements was calculated and each child received three separate scores corresponding to valence.

Agentic self-score. Finally, an "*agentic self-score"* was computed by subtracting the total number of collective, relational and other self-descriptions from the total number of private self-descriptions. A higher score reflects a greater independent orientation and a more individuated, autonomous, self-concept as a child is able to describe at length, their individual attributes. In the western literature, children who produce lengthier and more self-focused narratives are viewed as having a "stronger," more coherent self-concept and this has been related to their ability to also produce lengthier memory narratives with more references to themselves, their personal preferences and opinions (Bird & Reese, 2006; Wang, 2004). In this study, the "strength" of self-concept was not presumed, as this assumes that a lengthy and self-focused self-description represents a "strong" or ideal self-concept.

Teacher Report Measure. ***Social Competence Behavior Evaluation: Preschool Edition*** **(SCBE)**. The SCBE (LaFreniere & Dumas, 1995) is an 80-item instrument designed to measure social and emotional adjustment in the classroom, including behavioral competencies and vulnerabilities of young children ages 30 to 78 months of age. Teachers rate on a 6 point scale (1 to 6; Never to Always) the frequency of various behaviors. The SCBE has demonstrated sound psychometric properties including interrater agreement of .72 to .89 and internal consistency of .80 to .89 across all 8 subscales (LaFreinere & Dumas, 1995). The SCBE has also demonstrated good test-retest reliability (LaFreinere et al., 2002) as well as convergent and discriminate validity (LaFreniere & Dumas, 2002). The SCBE has been employed in a number of studies with diverse groups of children (LaFreniere et al.,

2002) including with Brazilian children (Bigras & Dessen, 2002). The Spanish version of the SCBE has demonstrated comparable psychometric properties to the English version (Dumas, Martinez, & LaFreniere, 1998).

The SCBE contains eight basic scales and three summary scales (Social Competence, Internalizing Behaviors, Externalizing Behaviors). For the purposes of this study, two basic scales designed to measure social interactions with peers (*Egotistical-Prosocial* and *Isolated-Integrated*) and two basic scales designed to measure teacher-child relations (*Oppositional-Cooperative* and *Dependent-Autonomous*) were utilized. As social competence as well as maladaptive behaviors in children may be defined by a different set of behaviors across cultures (Chen & French, 2008) the summary scales were not utilized in analysis as the SCBE reflects western notions of socially competent behaviors. Rather, basic scales were selected based on the items and child behaviors of interest contained in each. Furthermore, the valence of each basic scale assumed (or implied by the scale title) by the authors of the SCBE was not assumed for this study.

Egotistical-Prosocial. This basic scale measures a child's ability to take another's perspective into account. Examples of items from this scale are: assists another child in difficulty; shares toys with other children; cooperates with other children in group activities; has to be first; makes games competitive. At the high end of this scale, children are considerate of others, putting others' needs first and at the low end children are self-centered in their play behavior. This scale was selected for this study to examine the cooperative social behavior of children.

Isolated-Integrated. This basic scale, according to the authors of the SCBE, assesses the extent to which a child is part of his or her peer group. Children high on this scale are

said to be "active and popular" whereas children low on this scale are said to be "loners." Example items from this scale include: initiates or proposes games to other children; inactive, watches the other children play; goes unnoticed in a group; is involved wherever the children are having lots of fun. If examined from a cross-cultural perspective these items appear to measure levels of social initiative and outgoingness which are valued in independent cultures. This scale was selected to examine children's social initiative.

Oppositional-Cooperative. This basic scale measures cooperativeness in interactions with adults. Examples of items from this scale are: helps with everyday tasks; stops talking immediately when asked; accepts teacher's involvement in own activity; ignores directives and continues what he/she is doing; opposes the teacher's suggestions. Children who score high on this scale tend to be more cooperative, and children who score low tend to more oppositional. This scale was selected for this study to examine children's cooperative versus defiant behavior with authority figures.

Dependent-Autonomous. This basic scale measures a child's independent behaviors in the classroom setting. Examples of items from this scale are: takes initiative in situations with new people; is persistent in solving own problems; needs teacher's presence to function well; asks for help when it is unnecessary; cries for no apparent reason; cries when parent leaves. Higher scores reflect a child who functions well with little adult supervision. This scale was selected for this study to examine children's frequency of autonomous behaviors. The opposite end of this scale, "dependence," does not represent interdependent behaviors. The negative items on this scale tend to reflect "neediness" within a culture context that values autonomy over interdependent values such as group harmony or respect for authority.

Alpha values for SCBE subscales for this study ranged from .70 to .89 for the group (.76 to .89 for Mexico sample; .69 to .90 for U.S. sample).

Maternal report measures. ***Demographic form.*** A brief form was filled out by mothers and included ethnicity, language spoken and child's date of birth. Exact age (in months) at time of child interview was calculated using date of interview and date of birth.

Cultural Orientation Scale **(COS).** The COS (Brierbrauer, Meyer, & Wolfradt, 1994) is a 26-item questionnaire designed to measure individual's perceptions of their cultures' collectivist versus individualistic norms as well as their own personal evaluation of these norms. Internal consistency of the measure is .82. The first 13 items are ranked on a 7 point scale (1 to 7; Not at all to Always) and the last 13 items are ranked on a different 7 point scale (1 to 7; Very bad to Very good). The first set of items list various behaviors and asks that these be ranked based on the frequency of these behaviors in the individual's country or culture (e.g., How often do teenagers in your (native country/culture) listen to their parent's advise on dating?; How often do people in your (native country/culture) take care of a sick relative rather than go to work?). The second set asks that each of these times be ranked based on how good or bad the individual views this behavior. The higher the score, the more collectivistic the person perceives their culture to be. Alpha values for this measure for the current study were .60 (.42 for Mexico sample, .78 for U.S. sample).

Self-Construal Scale **(SCS).** The SCS (Singelis, 1994) is a 24-item questionnaire designed to measure interdependent and independent self-construals as two distinct dimensions. Internal consistency of the measure is .69 for independent and .73 for interdependent self-construal (Singelis & Brown, 1995), and studies have demonstrated construct and predictive validity (Singelis, 1994). Items 1-12 represent an interdependent

orientation and 13-24, an independent orientation. Each item is ranked on a 5 point scale (1 to 5; Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree). The scale is designed to measure interdependent and independent self-construals as two distinct images that may co-exist in the individual. The scale produces two distinct scores, one for interdependent self-construal and one for independent self-construal. A higher score indicates a stronger orientation; an individual may score high or low on both interdependent and independent self-construal scores. The alpha values for this measure for the current study were .78 (.63 for Mexico sample, .86 for U.S. sample) for the interdependent scale, and .73 (.63 for Mexico sample, .71 for U.S. sample) for the independent scale.

Developmental Goals. Based on pilot studies with German and Brazilian mothers, Friedlmeier et al. (2008) selected 8 developmental goals to reflect values of independence and interdependence. Key words chosen were tested across cultural groups and found to be equivalent in meaning or definition, though not value. These are as follows: *Individual-Oriented* (autonomy, independence, self-realization and tolerance); and *Group-Oriented* (sensitivity to others' needs, cooperation, responsibility for others, and ability to interact). Parents are presented with these goals and then asked to rank order (5 to 1) the five most important development goals. Each goal is then given a score, 5 – most important; 4 – second most important; 3 – third most important; 2 – fourth most important; 1 – fifth most important; and 0 – not selected. Based on these rankings, the maximum score one set can receive is 15. Total scores for individual versus group goals are analyzed in addition to comparisons of ranking of individual items. For this study, rankings for the individual items of *Cooperation* and *Autonomy* were chosen specifically to examine across Mexico and the United States.

Study Procedure

A native female interviewer collected the data in Mexico (in Spanish) and a native male and native female interviewer collected the data in the United States (in English). Before interviews were conducted, the interviewers spent several days participating in the classrooms and during recess so that children could become more familiar and comfortable with them. At the beginning of the interview, the interviewer talked with the child to establish rapport. Once the child seemed relaxed and comfortable, the interviewer asked the child to tell a warm-up story about what they had done last night. Following the chatting, the interviewer told the child, "You and I are going to play a fun game...," and continued with the protocol as described in the methods section.

Child interviews were audio-recorded and then transcribed verbatim onto paper from the recording. Interviews conducted in Spanish were translated by the interviewer into English and then coded. All coding was conducted in English by three, trained research assistants who were blind to the study hypotheses. Transcripts were scored independently and all discrepancies were then reviewed in a group format to reach a final consensus. Any discrepancies that could not be universally agreed upon were decided by majority vote (2 out of 3). Twenty-percent of transcripts (12) were randomly selected to examine percent agreement by coders prior to consensus meetings. Percent agreement ranged from 80 to 100%.

Lastly, classroom teachers (5 teachers in Mexico, and 5 teachers in the United States) were asked to fill out the *Social Competence Behavior Evaluation*: Preschool Edition (SCBE), rating the child participants' social behaviors in the classroom.

Statistical Analyses

Preliminary Analyses

As a preliminary step, a t-test was conducted by ethno-cultural group on the demographic variable of children's age. T-tests were also conducted by child gender on all variables (child self-descriptions, maternal-reports and teacher-reports). As proportional data were used to compare the content of child self-descriptions across groups, arcsine transformations were conducted to normalize the distribution of proportional data.

Primary Analyses

To examine hypotheses 1 through 4, multivariate analyses of covariance (MANCOVA) controlling for child's age, was conducted to detect potential ethno-cultural group differences across Mexican and Euro-Americans. MANCOVA was selected given the number of dependent variables in this study and the potential relationships between these. This analysis corrects for potential interactions between outcome measures and being a more conservative test, does not necessitate further alpha correction. Group was entered as the fixed factor, and child's age was entered as a covariate. The following were entered as dependent variables: children's self-descriptions (6 values including proportion of collective statements, relational statements, statements including others, private statements, neutral statements and agentic self-score); maternal perception of her cultures' individualism-collectivism (1 value); maternal endorsement of developmental goals (4 values including group-oriented, individual-oriented, cooperation and autonomy); and teacher ratings of children's social behavior (4 values including prosocial, integrated, cooperative, and autonomous).

To examine hypotheses 5 & 6, a series of individual comparisons were employed using Pearson partial correlations (controlling for child's age) between child self-description variables (5 values including proportion of collective, relational, private and statements including others, and agentic self-score); maternal report of developmental goals (4 values including individual-oriented, group-oriented, cooperation and autonomy); and teacher ratings of children's social behaviors (4 values including prosocial, integrated, cooperative, and autonomous). Pearson partial correlations were selected after determining that data distribution requirements were met. To correct for multiple comparisons, critical alpha was adjusted to .01; I did not employ a Bonferroni adjustment due to the stringency of this correction and the risk of inflated Type II error (Perneger, 1998).

Exploratory Analyses

Post-hoc analyses were conducted to further explore child self-description variables. An analysis of covariance (ANCOVA), controlling for child's age, was conducted to see if there was a significant difference in the number of codeable self-description utterances between Mexican and Euro-Americans. Paired sample t-tests within each group were then conducted to explore potentially significant differences in the number of responses children gave to the first prompt in the child-interview protocol (i.e., "What should I write to tell about you?") versus the second (i.e., "How about if you finish a sentence, like this, (child's name) is _____."). In order to examine the relative frequency of each category of self-description within Mexican and Euro-American children, paired sample t-tests were conducted within each group between each category of self-description (private, relational, collective, and other).

To examine potential group difference in maternal endorsement of independent and interdependent self-construal, an ANCOVA (controlling for child's age), was conducted between Mexican and Euro-American mothers on independent, interdependent, and the ratio between the two dimensions of self-construal. Lastly, to further explore maternal endorsement of developmental goals, paired sample t-tests were conducted within each group between the endorsement of cooperation and autonomy.

Lastly, for all hypothesized associations which achieved significance for the groups combined, partial correlations (controlling for child's age) were conducted within each group (Mexican and Euro-American) to see if the correlations observed for the total sample were significant in only one group or significantly different between groups (Mexican and Euro-American). Fisher's z transformations were then conducted to see if there were significant differences between the correlations by group.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

No significant differences were found on child, maternal report or teacher report variables by gender and thus, gender was not considered further. A t-test revealed a significant difference in child's age with children in the Mexico sample being significantly older than children in the U.S. sample (t (2, 54) = 4.48, $p < .0001$). Child's age was controlled for (i.e., used as covariate) in all subsequent analyses. Descriptive statistics (mean and standard deviations) for the total sample and by group (Mexican and Euro-American) for all variables can be found in Table 1.

Primary Analyses

To examine hypotheses 1 through 4, a MANCOVA (controlling for child's age), was conducted. There was a significant difference between groups on the set of dependent variables entered in MANCOVA (F (16, 38) = 2.80, $p = .005$); individual dependent variables were next examined. Hypothesis 1, regarding children's self-descriptions, was partially supported. Euro-American children made proportionally more private statements about the self than did Mexican children (F (2, 53) = 6.51, $p = .003$), and Mexican children made proportionally more statements regarding others in their self-descriptions (F (2, 53) = 4.24, $p = .02$), as hypothesized. Euro-American children had significantly higher agentic self-scores than did Mexican children (F (2, 53) = 9.36, $p < .0001$), as hypothesized. However, there were no significant group differences in the proportion of relational and collective statements in children's self-descriptions. Neither were there significant differences in the proportion of positive, negative and neutral statements made. In fact, both Mexican and Euro-American children produced overwhelming neutral self-descriptions.

Referring to Table 1, the mean proportion (on a scale of .0 to 1.0) of neutral responses for Mexican children was .94 (sd =.14) and for Euro-American children was .99 (sd =.02).

Hypothesis 2 regarding teacher ratings of children's social behavior was partially supported. As hypothesized, Mexican children were rated as displaying significantly more cooperative behavior with authority figures (F (2, 53) = 6.43, p = .003) and significantly more prosocial behavior with their peers (F (2, 53) = 3.44, p = .04) by Mexican teachers than were Euro-American children by their Euro-American teachers. No significant differences between groups were found in teacher ratings of children's assertive social skills or autonomous behaviors in the classroom.

Hypotheses 3 and 4, regarding maternal perception of collectivism and endorsement of developmental goals were partially supported. Maternal perception of collectivism in her country was significantly higher among Mexican mothers than among Euro-American mothers (F (2, 53) = 3.49, p = .038), as hypothesized. Mexican mothers ranked "cooperation" as a more important goal for their child than did Euro-American mothers (F (2, 53) = 4.71, p = .013), as hypothesized. There were no significant group differences in maternal rankings of the importance of individual-oriented goals, group-oriented goals, or the importance of "autonomy" as a specific goal for their child.

Correlations between all measures employed in this study can be found in Table 2 (correlations pertaining to hypotheses are in bold). Hypotheses 5 and 6, regarding associations between child self-description variables, maternal endorsement of the developmental goals, and teacher report of child social behaviors were largely unsupported. Across groups, maternal endorsement of "cooperation" as a developmental goal for her child was significantly negatively associated with child's agentic self- score (r = -.378, p = .007)

and positively associated with the proportion of statements describing others in child self-descriptions (r = .354, p = .01). No other relationships hypothesized between child self-description variables, maternal endorsement of developmental goals, and teacher ratings of social behavior were significant.

Exploratory Analyses

Pertaining to children's self-descriptions, an ANCOVA (controlling for child's age) revealed that Euro-American children produced significantly lengthier self-descriptions (F (2, 53) = 7.21, p = .002). Paired sample t-tests also revealed that both Mexican (t (1, 27) = 4.47, p <.0001) and Euro-American (t (1, 27) = 3.76, p = .001) children produced significantly more responses, in fact over twice the amount, in response to the first portion of the child interview than the second.

Paired sample t-tests within Euro-Americans revealed that the proportion of private statements was significantly greater than relational (t (1, 27) = 6.19, p <.0001), other (t (1, 27) = 9.73, p <.0001), and collective (t (1, 27) = 4.47, p <.0001) self-descriptors. The proportion of relational statements was significantly greater than other (t (1, 27) = 3.99, p <.0001) and collective (t (1, 27) = 4.89, p <.0001) self-descriptors, and the proportion of descriptions of others was significantly greater than collective self-descriptors (t (1, 27) = 2.20, p <.0001). Paired sample t-tests within Mexican children revealed that the proportion of private (t (1, 27) = 2.84, p = 008), relational (t (1, 27) = 2.53, p = .017) and other (t (1, 27) = 2.43, p = .022) self-descriptors were all significantly greater than the proportion of collective self-descriptors. There were no significant differences in the proportions of private, relational and descriptions of others.

An ANCOVA (controlling for child's age) revealed that Mexican mothers endorsed the dimension independence significantly higher than did Euro-American mothers (F (2, 53) = 9.18, p <.0001). There were no significant differences in the endorsement of the dimension of interdependence, or in the ratio of endorsement of independence relative to interdependence. Paired sample t-tests revealed that within Mexican mothers the developmental goal of cooperation for her child was rated as significantly more important than autonomy (t (1, 27) = 4.07, p < .0001) and no difference was found between the relative endorsement of the importance of cooperation and autonomy with Euro-American mothers.

Partial correlations (controlling for child's age) were conducted post-hoc within each group separately (Mexican and Euro-American) between "cooperation" and proportion of descriptions of others, and child's agentic self-score. None of the associations with "cooperation" reached significance within Mexican and Euro-Americans examined separately, and Fisher's z transformations failed to show a significant difference between groups in associations with cooperation and descriptions of others (z = .76, p = .22) and agentic self-score (z = -.5, p = .31). Thus, significant associations with maternal endorsement of "cooperation" and child self-description variables were interpreted for the groups combined as one.

Discussion

This study examined children's self-descriptions, children's social behavior, mothers' endorsement of developmental goals for their child, and maternal perception of the degree of collectivism in their country, comparing across two cultures considered broadly as collectivistic (Merida, Yucatan, Mexico) and individualistic (Albuquerque, New Mexico, United States). Prior studies examining children's self-representations have focused on comparisons between collectivistic cultures in Asia, such as China, with the United States. These studies have assumed differences in the degree of collectivism and parenting values across countries and have focused on associations between children's self-descriptions and autobiographical memory, an alternate narrative task indexing self-concept. The current study was the first to explore young Mexican children's self-descriptions and to explore children's social behavior as a possible alternate index of the self. The current study also attempted to measure maternal perception of the degree of collectivism in her country, potential differences in maternal endorsement of the importance of developmental goals and associations between developmental goals and the subsequent content of her child's self-descriptions.

Overall, this study found that Mexican mothers endorsed a higher degree of collectivism, and endorsed cooperation as significantly more important for their children than did Euro-American mothers. Mexican children focused more on others and less on their private attributes in their self-descriptions than did Euro-American children. Although teachers endorsed higher levels of children's cooperative and prosocial behavior in Mexico, no associations were found between children's behavior and the content of children's self-descriptions. No differences were found in maternal endorsement of the goal of autonomy

for her child between Mexican and Euro-American mothers. These results are discussed in terms what constitutes the "collective" in collectivism, and the emphasis on cooperation and "the family" in Mexico with possible subsequent implications for the self such as including others within the bounds of self-concept rather than focusing solely on personal, distinctive attributes. Shortcomings in the current study, including importing methodologies developed within psychology in the United States to Mexico, categorizing countries dichotomously which may be better represented as existing on a continuous dimension of collectivism-individualism, and difficulties inherent in capturing these qualities are discussed.

Collectivism-Individualism

In the current study, Mexican mothers endorsed the degree of collectivism in their country as significantly greater than did Euro-American mothers, as expected. Another study which used the same measure compared Brazilian and German mothers and found that Brazilian mothers perceived their culture as more collectivistic (Friedlmeier et al., 2008). Though significant differences were found in the direction expected regarding maternal perception of collectivism, results are suspect given that the scale did not achieve an acceptable alpha value in this study for Mexican mothers, which will be discussed in more detail later.

Typically studies have examined children's self-representations in cultures assumed to be collectivistic or individualistic without assessing maternal perception of her countries' degree of collectivism. Certainly, current measurements of collectivism have been criticized as an imperfect method of assessing and capturing cultural differences (Brewer & Chen, 2007). It has been noted that there is a failure to define the "other" or the "group" in collectivism. Brewer and Chen (2007) propose delineating "relational collectivism," referring

to relation of self with significant others including family, and "group collectivism," referring to relation of self with the larger society (Brewer & Chen, 2007). These authors also note that what is most frequently observed and measured in studies is actually "relational collectivism." The concept of relational collectivism suggests that the collective one refers to casts a wider net than the "individual self" yet a smaller net than the "society as one collective."

The concept of relational collectivism is consistent with observations in the current study, both in the types of questions used to assess maternal perception of collectivism (e.g., largely pertaining to the degree to which family relationships are prioritized and significant others and family members are included in decision making), as well as in children's self-descriptions, as discussed below. The finding that Mexican mothers endorsed a higher degree of collectivism supports the expectation of differences in children's self-representations along the lines of independent/interdependent orientation. Results will be discussed in the frame that the "collective" being referred to is comprised of significant others and family members, rather than the larger society.

Children's Self-Representations

Content in children's self-descriptions: Painting a different picture across cultures. Consistent with prior research examining the content of young children's self-descriptions in Chinese and Euro-American children (Harter, 1999;2003;2006; Wang 2004;2006), both Mexican and Euro-American children provided self-descriptions referring to private aspects of the self, such as abilities (e.g., "I can jump"), personal preferences (e.g., "I like the color yellow"), physical characteristics (e.g., "I have blonde hair"), and possessions (e.g., "I have a movie of Sponge Bob"); making reference to their relationships

with others (e.g., "I play with my sister"); and referencing collective attributes of the self such as being a "human being" or a "student in primary school." Additionally, even when directed specifically to describe themselves, children in both countries included statements describing significant others, such "my mother is beautiful." Wang (2004; 2006) similarly found that both Chinese and Euro-American young children (ages 4 through 8) included others in their self-descriptions, though to varying degrees, when asked to describe themselves.

Although similar in the types of content provided in self-descriptions, differences emerged in the patterns of content provided by Mexican and Euro-American children, painting a different overall picture of the self between these two groups of children. For Euro-American children, self-descriptions contained a highly significant, greater proportion of private descriptions than all other categories, and a greater proportion of relational statements than descriptions of others and collective descriptions. For Mexican children, there were no significant differences between the proportions of private, relational and descriptions of others produced in their self-descriptions, though they produced significantly fewer collective self-descriptions than all other categories. Thus, Mexican children's self-descriptions appeared balanced between private, relational and descriptions of others while Euro-American children's self-descriptions were dominated by private descriptions and both groups provided relatively few collective descriptions.

The following are examples of children's self-descriptions from this study:

Mexican child: *"I love my mom. I play. How the fruits grow on the trees. I love my dad. I play with my cousins. I play with my little brothers. I behave. I play with my friends. I am a boy."*

Euro-American child: *"I make things with my friend Jake. I like to build with my dad, except he never does. I like to collect rocks. Sometimes, I ride in the car, but I be quiet. I like to draw. I like to climb. I like to pull plants from the earth with my dad. I like to make caves out of pillows. I like to hide under my bed...."*

Mexican child: *"I love my mom. I love my brother. I also love my cousins. I love my aunt. I love my dad. I love my dog. I can make an elephant out of play-doh."*

Euro-American child: "*Sometimes, I like to jump in leaves. I can whistle, watch (demonstrates)! I like dressing up and dancing to music. I'm so happy when I get lots of rubies because I like rubies. I like to play with toys but sometimes I get out lots of toys and I don't clean them up. "My baby sister gets presents because she's still inside my mommy's tummy...."*

Descriptions of others: Family as the "collective" and a self-referent for Mexican children. This study explored young children's self-descriptions as an index of developing self-representations, across Mexico and the United States, and found salient differences as well as similarities in how young children from these two countries describe themselves. As predicted, Mexican children included proportionally more statements describing others within their self-descriptions, as compared to Euro-American children. This finding is consistent with prior studies with children from China, another country with a collectivistic orientation, which found Chinese children referred more to others in their self-descriptions than Euro-American children (Wang, 2004; 2006). In the current study, Mexican children persisted in providing descriptions of others, when the prompt provided was, "And what else should I write to tell about you?" and perhaps more strikingly, when filling in the blank "(Child's Name) is _____."

Of note, when Mexican children described others in their self-descriptions, the "others" were not public figures such as presidents or unrelated community members, but rather significant others. This finding lends support to the need to delineate "group" from "relational collectivism," (see Brewer and Chen, 2007), and suggests that young Mexican children use an intimate group as a referent rather than the larger society. In the current study, children described family members including mother, father, siblings, cousins, aunts, uncles, grandparents and occasionally friends. Some examples of Mexican children's descriptions of others are, "my grandmother is precious," "my dad is handsome," "my mother cleans the house," and "my cousin has a baby." As well, some children responded with a list of family members when asked to respond to "(Child's name) is _____." For example, one child responded with, "*My name. My house. My dad. My whole family. My little brother. My cousins. My uncles. My aunts. My whole family. That is it*."

The presumption from a western perspective might be that children did not understand the task, as they are focusing on others and not "the self." However, an alternate interpretation is that Mexican children incorporate others into their mental representation of self, and thus including descriptions of others is relevant to the task of telling about who they are. Some have theorized that though dominant culture, with an individualistic focus, in the United States draws a distinct boundary between self and other, this boundary may not be as clearly demarcated in other cultures and might be extended to include others within the bounds of self (Sampson, 1988; Markus & Kityama, 1991). Sampson delineates orthogonal dimensions on which cultures may vary including, the "self-other boundary" which may vary between "firm and fluid" and the "conception of self" which may vary in exclusion or inclusion of others in self definition (p. 16, 1988). Further, Markus and Kitayama (1991)

also theorize that mental representations of the self may include others and are not necessarily limited to the physical boundaries of the individual.

It is interesting to further consider the finding that Mexican children included significantly more descriptions of others, primarily family, in their self-descriptions than did Euro-Americans, in light of "*the family*" as a central Mexican cultural value (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1985). A recent focus group for identifying core values pertaining to Mexican culture noted the importance of the "family as referent" for which to define the self (Knight et al., 2010). Perhaps young Mexican children define themselves in part by family characteristics, membership and relationship, and extend beyond the bounds of themselves to include significant others within their mental self-representations.

Private self-descriptors: A focus on individual attributes and independent orientation in Euro-American children. As predicted, Euro-American children provided private self-descriptors, including references to their personal preferences, abilities, physical characteristics and possessions, significantly more than did Mexican children. In addition to proportional data, an "agentic self-score" was derived for each child by subtracting relational, collective, and statements regarding others from the total number of private self statements (see Wang, 2006). A higher agentic self-score is thought to reflect a sense of self that is more independent and autonomous in orientation, focusing relatively more on private aspects of the self which make the child unique and distinct rather than on relational and collective aspects and including others in one's self-representation.

As predicted, Euro-American children also had significantly higher agentic self-scores than did Mexican children. This result is parallel to within group findings that Euro-American children's self-descriptions are comprised mainly of private statements, with some

reference to relational aspects and few references to others and collective descriptions, while Mexican children display a relative balance between private, relational and other. These finding are also consistent with prior research comparing Euro-American to children from China, which found that Euro-American children had higher agentic self-scores and referred to private attributes in their self-descriptions more often than Chinese children (Wang, 2004; 2006). The emphasis on private attributes in the self-descriptions of Euro-American children is also consistent with theories that self-representations in individualistic cultures, such as the United States, emphasize an independent or autonomous orientation, focusing on personal attributes (Cousins, 1989; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Wang, 2004; 2006).

Results such as these are often interpreted with an individualistic bias and phrased with value laden terms. For example, children who produce more statements regarding themselves and referring to their likes, dislikes, abilities and opinions are perceived to have a "strong self-concept" (e.g., Bird & Reese, 2006; Sharma, 2010), and studies that examine alternate indices of self-concept such as autobiographical memory, report that children with a higher agentic self-score evidence "more advanced independent memory skill" (Wang, 2006). However, what is actually reflected in agentic self-score and autobiographical memory is not "strength" or "skill" per se, but rather, a child's ability and propensity to talk at length about their personal attributes, preferences and opinion. Arguably, this ability might be in service to children navigating an individualistic society which places demands on the individual to assert a distinct and individuated self. However, a self-concept which is focused relatively more on relational aspects as well as incorporating others into their sense of self, in addition to private attributes might aide a child's navigation of a society which values cooperation and family relationship. For example this view of self might aide in the

ability to attend to others, be sensitive to the characteristics and needs of another, be aware of one's role in relation to others, or feel their own needs are met when the group's needs are met.

Developmental goals as influencing the form of children's self-representations: Maternal emphasis on cooperation. Parenting behaviors, which may vary across cultures, are viewed as a medium for imparting cultural values and influencing self-representations (Wang, 2006). The form of day to day parent-child interactions and parenting behaviors are driven by knowledge and beliefs, referred to as "parental ethnotheories," regarding optimal parenting as well as child development (Harkness & Super, 1995). The current study sought to assess maternal endorsement of developmental goals for her child in relation to children's self-descriptions. As hypothesized, Mexican mothers rated cooperation as significantly more important for their children than did Euro-American mothers. Within groups, Mexican mothers endorsed cooperation as significantly more important than they did autonomy and Euro-American mothers endorsed cooperation and autonomy with relatively equal importance. The finding that Mexican mothers endorsed cooperation as more important for their child is consistent with the literature which suggests that cooperative behavior in children is highly valued in Hispanic cultures (Harwood et al., 1999; Leyendecker et al., 2002).

Furthermore, maternal endorsement of cooperation was related to the content in her child's self-descriptions including an independent orientation and the inclusion of descriptions of significant others. That is, across both Mexican and Euro-American mothers, the more importance mothers assigned to cooperation as a goal for their children, the higher their children's inclusion of descriptions of others in their self-descriptions was, and the

lower their children's agentic self-score was. Though no other studies have examined maternal rating of developmental goals in relation to children's self-representations, the endorsement of "cooperation" as an important goal may translate to parenting practices which encourage the development of a self-representation in children that is more interdependent in orientation.

Unexpected Findings and Null Results

Depicting parenting values and goals across cultures. Although significant differences emerged between groups regarding the rating of cooperation, this study failed to find cultural differences in maternal endorsement of the importance of her child developing autonomy. I had hypothesized that Euro-American mothers would endorse autonomy as more important than Mexican mothers would, and the lack of difference is surprising and difficult to explain given the primacy placed on autonomy in child development within Euro-American populations (Ainsworth et al., 1978; Harwood et al., 1999; Wang, 2004). Perhaps the value of autonomy in Mexican culture has been underestimated; a recent ethnographic study followed mothers in Chiapas, Mexico (Roughly 300 miles from Merida, and also influenced by both Mayan and Spanish culture), and found that these mothers were increasingly valuing autonomy and independence and were imparting these values to their children (Manago & Greenfield, 2011).

As well, the measure used to assess maternal endorsement of developmental goals for her child might have been insensitive to identifying true differences in the two groups studied. This study failed to find differences between groups on the overall rating of group-oriented versus individual oriented developmental goals. The scale used was developed for a study between German and Brazilian mothers and found that German mothers endorsed

individual-oriented goals as more important the Brazilian mothers, (Friedlemeier et al., 2008), however this scale may not be generalizable or representative of specific developmental goals in other cultures considered individualistic (e.g., United States) and collectivistic (e.g., Mexico). There were no available measures specific to assessing the developmental and behavioral goals of Mexican mothers, or for that matter, Euro-American mothers. Furthermore, prior studies exploring maternal goals have relied on interview with the mother (e.g., Harwood et al., 1999).

Multiple parenting practices, including sleeping arrangements (Greenfield et al., 2003), parent-infant interaction including proximity and joint attention (Keller et al, 2004), the extent of responsibilities assigned such as household chores and caregiving of younger children (Calderon-Tena, Knight & Carlo, 2011), and parent-child conversation both in the content and role of child as a conversant (Bird & Reese, 2006; Wang, 2006), are all thought to differentially influence a child's development of a sense of self. The question still remains of how to best capture and measure parenting values and styles which influence the development of self in children. Although it may be possible to gather information from brief questionnaires, this method inevitably is limited. Perhaps more in depth study of the goals and values endorsed by parents in the cultures and communities being examined, via in home observation of family interaction, interviews with parents regarding values and beliefs, observation of mother-child conversation or most importantly, descriptions and insights originating from indigenous psychologies specific to the cultures being studied would lead to better measures and estimates of the processes that lead to variation in children's self-descriptions. The current study is limited by the use of one brief measure and the assumption

that endorsing the importance of certain values is associated with parenting behaviors which lead to the encouragement of this value in children.

Alternate indices of self: Social behavior. This study investigated associations between an interdependent focus in children's self-descriptions and prosocial and cooperative behaviors as an alternate index of the self. This approach was presented as an alternative to examination of autobiographical memory ability, which is frequently measured relative to self-description, and is biased toward goals of individualistic cultures (e.g., Wang, 2006). As hypothesized, Mexican teachers rated Mexican children as being significantly more cooperative with authority figures and more prosocial with peers in the classroom, than did Euro-American teachers with Euro-American children. No significant differences emerged on teacher's ratings of children's assertive social skills with peers, and autonomous behaviors in the classroom. Contrary to hypotheses, this study failed to find significant associations between children's self-descriptions and teacher report of children's behaviors in the classroom.

One explanation for the lack of significant findings, and a limitation of this study, is the method used to assess child behaviors in the classroom. Teacher report via the SCBE was utilized, which is typically used to assess a child's strengths and weaknesses, not to examine group level differences. Mexican and Euro-American teachers may have different expectations for child behavior which might result in a different responding style, making it difficult to interpret the meaning of both significant and non-significant results and how they translate into actual behavioral differences across culture. For example, children in Mexico could be significantly more prosocial with peers than Euro-American children; however, if teachers in Mexico have higher expectations for prosocial behavior, their ratings might be

lower than Euro-Americans on specific items. Other authors suggest that instruments, such as the SCBE, be tested for construct validity across cultures prior to being used to assess for group differences, as child behaviors are rated relative to their cohort and often carry different meanings in other cultures (Weisz et al., 2006). For a better measure of child behavior and cross-cultural comparison, behavioral observation techniques should be employed with observers trained on the same behavioral criteria, providing a consistent base for contrasts.

Children's self-representations. ***Collective and relational self-descriptors.*** Inconsistent with hypotheses, no significant differences emerged in the proportion of statements regarding relational (e.g., "I play with my sister," "I am a good friend"), and collective (e.g., "I am a first grader") aspects of the self. Both Mexican and Euro-American children's self-descriptions comprised a similar proportion of relational self-descriptions and also were similar in providing relatively few collective self-descriptions. These results differ from prior studies with children from other collectivistic cultures including Puerto Rico, and China which found that children tended to describe themselves in terms of relationships and social categories more often than Euro-American children did (Hart et al., 1986; Wang, 2004; 2006).

One possible explanation for this finding, and a limitation of this study, is that the coding system employed was not sufficiently sensitive. That is, potential differences in the *quality* of relational statements were not reflected in the coding. Upon a qualitative review of the relational self-descriptions, there may be subtleties not captured by the current coding system. Examples of statements made by Mexican children which were coded as relational include, "I help my mother," "I water my mom's plants," "My mom puts on music and we

clean the house," "I am the one who takes care of the little ones," and "I love my mommy." Examples of statements made by Euro-American children coded as relational include, "I like meeting new people," "My grandma does anything I want her to do with me, so when I ask her to read books to me, she says yes," and "My father and I run and I can run almost as far." While Euro-American children similarly made statements such as "I love my mommy," they also included statements such as "I have a mommy." The variation in these relational statements suggests differences between the child as embedded within relationship versus the child as an entity with agency, who may effectively assert their preferences, get needs met and compare the self with other to gain self-knowledge. The adoption of a refined coding system would need to be implemented in order to test for actual differences. It may also be that, indeed, Mexican children and Euro-American children do not vary in terms of the proportion of their relational self-descriptions.

Children's evaluative statements. Interestingly, and contrary to what was expected, there were no significant differences in the proportion of evaluative self-descriptions, positive (e.g., "I am beautiful and precious") or negative (e.g., "I am rotten"), between Mexican and Euro-American children. In fact, children from both countries produced self-descriptions that were predominantly neutral, with few statements made which were clearly positive or negative regarding the self. These results are in contrast to findings from studies with Chinese children whose self-descriptions have been found to be significantly more neutral and less positive than Euro-American children's (Wang, 2004; 2006). These findings among Chinese children are in line with Chinese values of self-effacement and humility (Wang, 2004), and may not be inherent in Mexican culture or representative of other collectivistic cultures. A recent study comparing the self-descriptions of Mexican, Spanish

and Danish college students found that Mexican students made significantly more positive statements about themselves than did the other two groups (Santamaria et al., 2010).

The lack of difference in evaluative statements is also in contrast to findings that young Euro-American children tend to describe themselves in overly positive and even grandiose manners (Harter, 1999). Although children in this study did not make overtly grandiose statements (e.g., "I am wonderful at everything"), they did tend to only comment on skills they did possess (e.g., "I can run and jump"), rather than giving a thorough account of strengths and weaknesses. In this way, perhaps both Euro-American and Mexican children gave overly optimistic views of themselves. According to Harter (1999), children do not begin to evaluate and describe their weaknesses as well as their positive abilities/attributes until 8 to 11-years-old.

Methodology for eliciting self-representations. Both Mexican and Euro-American children responded to the first interview question, "And what else should I write to tell about you?" with almost twice the number of statements as the second interview question, filling in the blank "(Child's Name) is _____." Implications regarding this finding cannot be made as there was no experimental manipulation by question (e.g., changing the order), and it may well be that children were fatigued by the second portion of the interview. It would be interesting to design a study allowed for comparison of the two questions (i.e., Do children respond more readily to one prompt than another?) by varying presentation order. Additionally, the current method did not allow for a prioritization of attributes related to the self. It would have been interesting to ask children, "What would tell me the most about you?" or "What is the most important thing about you?" However, young children may not have been able to rank self-relevant information in this manner.

Children being children, there were several (six children in Mexico, and four in the United States) who engaged in warm-up conversation with the experimenter, but would not or could not respond to the prompts for describing themselves and responded with prolonged silence. Others, with a wide grin, listed a string of objects "I'm a truck," "I'm a chair," or animals "I'm a puma," "I'm a bull." As these statements could not be coded in a meaningful way, they were excluded from analyses. The number of excluded responses was consistent with other research with this age group (e.g., Wang, 2004).

Overall, Mexican children made significantly fewer statements in their self-descriptions than did Euro-American children. In fact, Mexican children produced a third fewer self-descriptions than did Euro-American children. It is interesting to consider this finding, yet difficult to know why it is that Mexican children produced fewer statements. Though open-ended techniques, such as the one employed in this study, are thought to be superior to questionnaires for assessing cross-cultural differences, and have been employed with adults (e.g., Cousins, 1989) and children (e.g., Hart et al., 1986; Wang, 2004), perhaps the question being asked still pulls for an independent, individuated self. The task of describing oneself may be more relevant for children in the United States and may seem quite literally foreign to a child in a culture with a collectivistic orientation. Perhaps for young Mexican children, the family is a more appropriate "unit" of evaluation rather than the "individual" for exploring self-concepts. For example, it would have been interesting to examine whether there were significant differences between Mexican and Euro-Americans when asked to describe their family; perhaps Mexican children would have provided more statements relative to Euro-Americans or responded more readily to this question.

Maternal self-construal. Maternal self-construal was assessed in this study, with seemingly contradicting results. Regarding mother's perception of her own degree of independent and interdependent self-construal, Mexican mothers rated themselves significantly higher on independence than did Euro-American mothers. However, the ratio between maternal report of independent and interdependent self-construal did not differ significantly between Mexican and Euro-American mothers. Thus, there were no differences between the two groups in the ranking of independence relative to interdependence. In addition to recent criticism of many measures, including the Self-Construal Scale (SCS), as lacking proper external validity and cross-cultural measurement equivalence (Sharma, 2010), others have suggested that a six factor model, representing various components of independent and interdependent self-construal better fits the SCS than the current two factors utilized (Hardin, Leong, & Bhagwat, 2004).

Interpreting Results: Conceptual and Methodological Issues

Measurement. Supported hypotheses as well as null and unexpected findings should be interpreted with the following issues in mind. There were a number of methodological shortcomings in this study, and null results may have been the result of the failure of methods to capture the complexity and diversity of culture, parenting behaviors and the developing self. Due to a lack of available measures, the current study relied on questionnaires that have not been tested or used regularly in Mexican populations, all of which were translated and back-translated for this study. For examining children's social behaviors, I relied on teacher report via the SCBE which is typically used to assess a child's strengths and weaknesses, not to examine group differences. The developmental goals questionnaire used had been developed for use with German and Brazilian mothers (Friedlemeier et al., 2008). Recent

literature has criticized current measures of the dimensions of collectivism-individualism (e.g., Cultural Orientation Scale, Brierbrauer et al., 1994), and independence-interdependence, including the Self-Construal Scale (Singelis, 1994) as not having proper external validity and cross-cultural measurement equivalence (Sharma, 2010). Some authors more generally are beginning to criticize the use of questionnaires in the field of psychology as relying on "unexplored and abbreviated introspection," and note problems with reducing complex, qualitative phenomenon to quantitative bits (i.e., numbers and ratings scales) for analysis (Rosenblum & Valsiner, 2011).

Certainly there were differences in the experience of data collection in both countries which were not captured in measures of cultural difference. For example, in the United States, research assistants commented that during recruitment at the preschools, it was not uncommon for parents to ask their young child first if they would want to participate and if the child said no, to honor this and decline the study. This anecdote reflects the value of autonomy prevalent in the United States which I failed to detect with measures intended to do so. In Mexico, one of the conditions outlined by the school was that every child in the school, regardless of their individual participation, receive a gift or compensation as part of the school community for having researchers present and from the schools perspective, participating even if indirectly. Thus, at the completion of the study, a party, including piñatas, a puppet show performance, and food bags for every child in the school was provided by the researcher as a token of thanks. In addition, each child who participated did receive a small gift. Certainly, at preschools in the United States, none of the directors suggested anything but individual gifts for individual participation.

Collectivism-individualism: Category versus dimension. Another issue is that of categorizing countries as "collectivistic" or "individualistic," and making assumptions for example, that all collectivistic countries will be highly similar. Collectivism-individualism was originally presented as a dimension on which cultures would vary by degree (see Triandis, 1989; 1995), though countries are often categorized as one or the other for sake of comparisons. Concepts such as relatedness and autonomy, self-perceived connectedness and distinctiveness (Wang, 2004), self-other boundary (Sampson, 1988), and independent or interdependent orientation in self-concept (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) are theorized to exist on a continuum rather than being dichotomous. Thus, it follows that though "collectivistic" cultures may exhibit broad differences from cultures classified as "individualistic," variation will also exist, for example, between two collectivistic cultures. The lack of psychometrically sound measures available underscore the difficulties inherent in articulating and reducing cultural differences to questionnaire format, as well as in broadly measuring dimensions which may be diversely represented in each country (e.g., continuum of collectivism and individualism).

Cross-cultural psychology: Importing methods. In the current cross-cultural study, methods and concepts developed within the United States were imported to Mexico in an effort to gain knowledge of how young children in another culture learn to see themselves and to see if this differs in significant ways due to parenting and culture and along the broad lines of collectivism and individualism. Within this comparison approach, much is already lost as the use of methods from one indigenous psychology (Western Psychology) over-look psychological concepts and questions which may be derived from within another culture's indigenous psychology (e.g., Mexico). Valsiner (2009) would refer to the approach in the

current study as "treating the other society as a data source" (p. 15, 2009), and suggests the need to move beyond cross-cultural psychology toward a "cultural psychology" which builds general psychology from multiple, indigenous psychologies. Others have also emphasized the need for other indigenous psychologies as well as the need to examine across cultural groups for knowledge of human behavior overlooked by western culture (Berry et al., 2003). The study of psychology from another culture may look like an entirely different creature than western psychology and perhaps "the self" would not be the focus of another culture's inquiry and is a preoccupation of western culture.

Limitations

Perhaps the most consequential limitation of the current study is the embeddedness of its author in western culture. I have received my education and studied under "Western Academic Scientific Psychology" indigenous to the United States (Berry et al., 2003; Markus & Kitayama, 2003), and central to the development of this one, indigenous psychology is the notion of a self that is distinct, unique and tied to the individual (Berry et al., 2003). Thus, try as I might to approach the concept of self from other viewpoints, I likely continue to ask questions and interpret findings in ways that reflect western ways of thinking about child development and the self.

As discussed, there are several limitations regarding methodology in this study. One is that the questions being used to elicit self-concept, though an open-ended technique, may inherently be pulling for an independent orientation and thus be biased against children in cultures which hold a more interdependent orientation. In addition, child interviews were not back-translated to check for equivalence in meaning; however, the coding system employed is basic enough that it is unlikely that categorization would have been affected by meaning

that was lost in translation. Another methodological limitation, as discussed earlier, is the reliance on questionnaire measures for both mother and teachers, measures which have not been developed for use with Mexican populations and were translated and back-translated for this study, potentially resulting in errors. Additionally, the use of observational methods, rather than reliance on teacher report, to measure and compare child behavior would have strengthened this study.

Another limitation in this study is the sole focus on the role of parents, and more specifically mothers, as the unit of cultural transmission. Certainly peers, teachers, community members, extended families, and other caregivers all serve to transmit culture and to influence children throughout development**.** I had attempted to ascertain basic demographic information regarding who lived in the home (including extended family members); however, this item was left blank by the majority of respondents in Mexico for unknown reasons. There may have been significant differences between Mexican and Euro-American children's opportunity to interact with extended family, as well as differences in the significance of the contribution of cultural transmission via other family members. It would be interesting to gather cultural values and developmental goals from multiple informants, including from extended family members the child lives with or with whom they have significant exposure.

Language may be another potential cultural transmitter of self-referent information that was overlooked in this study. For example, differences in pronoun use may subsequently influence how the self is spoken and thought about and thus, emerging self-concepts (e.g., Smiley, 2006) and pronoun use certainly varies by Spanish and English

language (Maite & Loreley, 2010). Future studies of bi-lingual children may elucidate the contribution of language to sense of self.

Other limitations include the small sample size (N = 56), and, with this, the reliance on populations solely in Merida, Yucatan, Mexico and Albuquerque, New Mexico, United States. There may be differences unique to each area which preclude the current findings from generalization. For example, the South Western United States has been implicated as unique culturally because of the long standing population of Hispanic-Americans as well as continual immigration from Mexico (Padilla, 2006). It is possible that within New Mexico, the influence of Hispanic cultures have influenced Euro-American values, which may also explain, for example, the failure to find cultural group differences in the endorsement of the importance of autonomy in the current study. Further studies would need to be conducted to see what variations might exist in children's self-descriptions, as well as parenting goals across Mexico and the United States. Certainly, continued research is necessary across a variety of countries considered collectivistic and individualistic in order to capture the diversity in self-representations.

Conclusions and Future Directions

Despite these limitations, the current study adds to the literature on young children's self-representations across cultures and is the first to present self-descriptions from a population of Mexican children. Overall, Mexican mothers endorsed a higher degree of collectivism in their country, and assigned more importance to cooperation as a goal for their children than did Euro-American mothers. Mexican children's self-representations were balanced between private, relational and descriptions of others' whereas Euro-American children's self-representations were predominated by private attributes, followed distantly by

relational self-descriptions. Mexican children referred to descriptions of significant others (e.g., family members) more often than did Euro-American children, who referred more often to private attributes. Findings from this study suggest that Mexican children hold self-concepts which are interdependently orientated, in contrast to Euro-American children who hold an independent orientation.

Maternal assignment of importance to cooperation was the only developmental goal to emerge with significant associations to children's self-descriptions, whereby endorsement of cooperation was related to including more descriptions of others and to a less independent orientation in self-concept. No differences emerged regarding the importance assigned to autonomy between groups. This study was unfortunately unable to lend insight into the measurement of social behavior as an alternate index of the self, viewing the self in terms of how one behaves and interacts. Future studies might employ observational methods to investigate peer interactions and the relationship between social behaviors and children's concept of who they are. Observations of children's social interactions might take place both at school (across different days and various setting including classroom, recess etc.) and at home with siblings and parents. It would be interesting to know if children with an interdependent orientation, whose mothers emphasize cooperation, evidence social behaviors consistent with these values such as cooperative and prosocial behavior and if such behavior in turn fuels a sense of self that is connected with others.

Future studies might also examine diverse ethnic groups within countries in order to elucidate the process of acculturation and how this process might affect both parenting goals and children's development of self-concepts. For example, it is unknown whether Mexican-American children's self-descriptions become more independent in orientation with

increasing generational status or if they would retain an interdependent focus from their culture of origin. It would be interesting to study parenting values and acculturation within Mexican-American families, as well as the content in Mexican-American children's self-descriptions, and to examine relationships between these variables. Perhaps Mexican-American children's self-descriptions differ from Mexican and Euro-American children in ways that are moderated by acculturation or parenting values, or are even influenced by the process of navigating a dominant culture which might hold conflicting values from their culture of origin.

What are the nuances between cultures and presumably parenting practices, which proved hard to quantify and were not detected by measures employed in this study, that are influencing the form of children's self-representations? Future studies might include a more thorough examination of parenting behaviors and values from within the cultures being examined as well as general theory of "self" held in that culture. For example, study of the development of children's sense of self in Mexico, from psychological perspectives and methods developed within Mexican culture, would no doubt lend valuable information on the currently overlooked processes in children's self-development.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Total Sample and by Group

	Mexican	Euro-American	Total
	n (%)	*n (%)*	*n (%)*
Total	28 (50%)	28 (50%)	56
Male	15 (27%)	17 (30%)	32
Female	13 (23%)	11 (20%)	24
	M (SD)	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*
Child's age in months***	68.23 (6.42)	60.32 (6.81)	64.27 (7.68)
Child Self-Descriptons			
Total number of self-statements***	8.64 (6.06)	27.18 (24.86)	17.90 (20.02)
Private statements (proportion)***	.41 (.47)	.84 (.36)	.63 (.47)
Relational statements (proportion)	.31 (.29)	.22 (.19)	.26 (.25)
Collective statements (proportion)	.09 (.29)	.02 (.05)	.05 (.22)
Other statements (proportion)**	.37 (.50)	.07 (.09)	.22 (.39)
Positive statements (proprotion)	.05 (.15)	.01 (.02)	.03 (.10)
Negative statemetns (proportion)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)
Neutral Statements (proportion)	0.94 (.14)	.99 (.02)	.97 (.10)
Agentic Self-Score***	-3.36 (5.85)	11.25 (15.6)	3.9 (13.8)
Teacher Reports of Child Behavior			
Cooperative*	40.71 (6.18)	36.48 (7.18)	38.64 (6.96)
Autonomous	37.86 (6.52)	36.44 (6.25)	37.16 (6.37)
Prosocial*	33.82 (6.46)	30.56 (7.85)	32.22 (7.3)
Integrated	40.71 (6.15)	38.74 (8.98)	39.75 (7.67)
Maternal Reports			
Collectivism (maternal)*	4.49 (.59)	4.13 (.53)	4.31 (.59)
Self-Construal IND (maternal)***	4.08 (.51)	3.52 (.51)	3.79 (.58)
Self-Construal INT (maternal)	3.68 (.40)	3.39 (.62)	3.50 (.54)
Independent Oriented Developmental Goals	8.93 (2.07)	8.18 (2.99)	8.55 (2.57)
Group Oriented Developmental Goals	6.07 (2.07)	6.82 (2.99)	6.45 (2.57)
Autonomy	.56 (1.5)	1.1 (1.49)	.84 (1.51)
Cooperation**	2.67 (1.75)	1.42 (1.50)	2.04 (1.73)

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Range of total number of self-statements generated was 1 to 101. Proportions are .00 to 1.0.
Range of Agentic Self-Score was -18 to 61.

Teacher report of child behaviors was rated on a five-point scale, 1 being never to 5 being always (maximum scale score is 50).

Collectivism was rated on a seven-point scale, 1 being not at all to 7 being always.

Self-Construal IND was rated on a five-point scale, 1 strongly disagree to 5 strongly agree.

Self-Construal INT was rated on a five-point scale, 1 strongly disagree to 5 strongly agree.

Independent oriented developmental goals is a sum, highest score possible is 15.

Group oriented developmental goals is a sum, highest score possible is 15.

Autonomy and Cooperation are each ranked on an order of 0 to 5, 5 being "most important."

Table 2. Correlations between Child Self-Description Variables, Teacher Ratings of Children's Social Behavior, Maternal Self-Report Measures and Parenting Developmental Goals with Age Partialed Out (Bolded correlations = planned comparisons).

	Child Relational	Child Collective	Child Other	Child Agentic Self	Child Coop.	Child Autonomy	Child Prosocial	Child Integrated	Maternal COSE	Maternal SCS (IND)	Maternal SCS (INT)	Indiv. Goals	Group Goals	Coop.	Auton.
Private	-.49***	-.23	-.53***	.52***	**.02**	**.18**	**.13**	**.10**	-.14	-.17	-.26	**.28**	**-.28**	**-.29***	**.17**
Relational		-.14	-.29*	-.33*	**.08**	**.03**	**.06**	**.05**	.25	.06	.19	**-.05**	**.05**	**.19**	**-.01**
Collective			-.10	-.11	**.06**	**.24**	**.06**	**.01**	.12	.18	.19	**-.07**	**.07**	**-.20**	**-.09**
Others				-.28	**-.14**	**-.27**	**-.01**	**-.15**	-.19	.26	.03	**-.26**	**.26**	**.35****	**-.19**
Agentic Self					**-.02**	**.09**	**-.12**	**.02**	-.12	-.09	-.35*	**.20**	**-.20**	**-.38****	**.23**
Child Coop.						.57***	.73***	.60***	.19	.10	.10	.00	.00	-.10	.10
Child Auto.							.60***	.71***	.17	.17	.12	.21	-.21	-.26	-.06
Child Pro.								.65***	.11	.21	.27	-.01	.01	.03	-.03
Child Integ.									.28	-.02	.27	.08	-.08	-.03	.05
COSE										.08	.30*	-.08	.08	.14	.04
SCS (IND)											.08	.23	-.23	-.05	-.24
SCS (INT)												-.35*	.35*	.36**	-.32*
Indiv. Goals													-1.0***	-.40***	. 54***
Group Goals														.40***	-.54***
Cooperation															-.35**

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Private = proportion of child's private self-statements; Relational = proportion of relational self-statements; Collective = proportion of collective self-statements; Others = proportion of statements describing others; Agentic Self = Child's agentic self-score; Child Coop. = Teacher ratings of child's cooperative behavior with authority; Child Autonomy = Teacher ratings of child's autonomous behaviors; Child Prosocial = Teacher ratings of child's prosocial behaviors with peers; Child Integrated = Teacher ratings of child's assertive social skills; COSE = Maternal rating of her country's degree of collectivism; SCS (IND) = Maternal rating of her own Independent Self-Construal; SCS(INT)= Maternal rating of her own Interdependent Self-Construal; Indiv. Goals = Maternal endorsed individual oriented developmental goals for her child; Group Goals= Maternal endorsed group oriented developmental goals for her; Coop. = Cooperation endorsed as developmental goal for child; Auton. = Autonomy endorsed as a developmental goal for child.

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Appendices

Appendix A Cultural Orientation Scale (COS) - English and Spanish Versions 77

Appendix B Self-Construal Scale (SCS) - English and Spanish Versions 81

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Appendix A

Cultural Orientation Scale (COS) - English and Spanish Versions

COS (English)

Thank you for participating in this survey! This survey asks questions to find out more about customs and habits. We would like to know your opinion about how often people in your country do these things.

Please read each of the following items carefully and estimate how often these behaviors happen. If you feel the behavior does not happen *at all*, circle **1**. If it happens *very rarely*, circle **2**. If it happens rarely, circle **3**. If it happens *some of the time*, circle **4**. If it happens *often*, circle **5**. If it happens *very often*, circle **6** and if it *always* happens, circle **7**.

Please answer as naturally as possible. There are no right or wrong answers! Thank you!

1. How often do teenagers in your country listen to their parents' advice on dating?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all	very rarely	rarely	sometimes	often	very often	always

2. How often do people in your country share their ideas and newly acquired knowledge with their parents?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all	very rarely	rarely	sometimes	often	very often	always

3. How often do people in your country listen to the advice of their parents or close relatives when choosing a career?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all	very rarely	rarely	sometimes	often	very often	always

4. How often do people in your country talk to their neighbors about politics?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all	very rarely	rarely	sometimes	often	very often	always

5. How often do people in your country take the advice of their friends on how to spend their money?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all	very rarely	rarely	sometimes	often	very often	always

6. If someone in your country is together with friends or work colleagues, how often does he/she do exactly what he/she wants to do, regardless of what the others think?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all	very rarely	rarely	sometimes	often	very often	always

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COS (English)

7. How often do children in your country live at home with their parents until they get married?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all	very rarely	rarely	sometimes	often	very often	always

8. Do people in your country often find it annoying when visitors arrive unannounced?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all	very rarely	rarely	sometimes	often	very often	always

9. How often do people in your country take care of a sick relative rather than go to work?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all	very rarely	rarely	sometimes	often	very often	always

10. How often do people in your country consult their family before making an important decision?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all	very rarely	rarely	sometimes	often	very often	always

11. How often do people in your country discuss job or study related problems with their parents?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all	very rarely	rarely	sometimes	often	very often	always

12. Do people in your country often feel lonely when not with their brothers, sisters or close relatives?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all	very rarely	rarely	sometimes	often	very often	always

13. How often would someone in your country feel insulted if his or her brother had been insulted?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all	very rarely	rarely	sometimes	often	very often	always

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COSE (En Espanol)

Gracias por participar en esta encuesta! esta encuesta hace preguntas para poder entender mas acerca de las costumbres y hábitos. Nos gustaría saber su opinión acerca de que tan seguido las personas en su país hace lo siguiente.

Por favor lea cada uno de los siguientes puntos cuidadosamente y decida que tan seguido estos comportamientos suceden. Si usted siente que ese comportamiento "no sucede para nada" marque **1**. Si sucede "muy raramente", marque **2**. Si sucede "raramente", marque **3**. Si sucede "algunas veces", marque **4**. Si sucede "seguido", marque **5**. Si sucede "muy seguido", marque **6** y si sucede "siempre", marque **7**.

A continuación conteste lo mas natural posible. Aquí no existe respuestas correctas o equivocadas! Gracias!

1. Que tan seguido los adolescentes de su país escuchan los consejos de sus padres acerca de tener citas sentimentales?

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
No sucede para nada	muy raramente	raramente	a veces	seguido	muy seguido	siempre

2. Que tan seguido las personas de su país comparte sus ideas y nuevos conocimientos adquiridos con sus padres?

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
No sucede para nada	muy raramente	raramente	a veces	seguido	muy seguido	siempre

3. Que tan seguido las personas de su país escuchan consejos de sus padres o parientes cercanos cuando se trata de elegir una carrera universitaria?

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
No sucede para nada	muy raramente	raramente	a veces	seguido	muy seguido	siempre

4. Que tan seguido las personas de su país hablan con sus vecinos acerca de política?

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
No sucede para nada	muy raramente	raramente	a veces	seguido	muy seguido	siempre

5. Que tan seguido las personas de su país escuchan consejos de sus amigos en como gastar su dinero?

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
No sucede para nada	muy raramente	raramente	a veces	seguido	muy seguido	siempre

6. Si una persona de su país esta junto a sus amigos o compañeros de trabajo, que tan seguido el/ella hace exactamente lo que el/ella quiere hacer, sin importarle lo que los otros piensen?

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
No sucede para nada	muy raramente	raramente	a veces	seguido	muy seguido	siempre

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COSE (En Espanol)

7. Que tan seguido en su país los hijos viven en la casa de sus padres hasta que ellos se casen?

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
No sucede para nada	muy raramente	raramente	a veces	seguido	muy seguido	siempre

8. Las personas de su país frequentemente encuentran fastidioso cuando llegan visitas inesperadas a su casa?

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
No sucede para nada	muy raramente	raramente	a veces	seguido	muy seguido	siempre

9. Que tan seguido las personas de su país cuidan familiares enfermos envés de ir al trabajo?

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
No sucede para nada	muy raramente	raramente	a veces	seguido	muy seguido	siempre

10. Que tan seguido las personas de su país consultan con su familia antes de tomar decisiones importantes?

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
No sucede para nada	muy raramente	raramente	a veces	seguido	muy seguido	siempre

11. Que tan seguido las personas de su país hablan acerca de problemas de trabajo o de la escuela con sus padres?

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
No sucede para nada	muy raramente	raramente	a veces	seguido	muy seguido	siempre

12. Las personas de su país normalmente se sienten solas cuando no están con sus hermanos, hermanas o parientes cercanos?

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
No sucede para nada	muy raramente	raramente	a veces	seguido	muy seguido	siempre

13. Que tan seguido podría alguien de su país sentirse insultada si su hermano o hermana ha sido insultado?

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
No sucede para nada	muy raramente	raramente	a veces	seguido	muy seguido	siempre

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Appendix B

Self-Construal Scale (SCS) - English and Spanish Versions

Singelis, T.M. (1994)

Self-Construal Scale

Rate on a scale of 1 to 5 how strongly you agree or disagree with the statements below.
1=Strongly Disagree, 2=Disagree, 3=Undecided, 4= Agree, 5 =Strongly Agree

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I have respect for the authority figures with whom I interact.	1	2	3	4	5
2. It is important for me to maintain harmony within my group.	1	2	3	4	5
3. My happiness depends on the happiness of those around me.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I would offer my seat in a bus to my professor.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I respect people who are modest about themselves.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I will sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of the group I am in.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I often have the feeling that my relationships with others are more important than my own accomplishments.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I should take into consideration my parents' advise when making education/career plans.	1	2	3	4	5
9. It is important to me to respect decisions made by the group.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I will stay in a group if they need me, even when I'm not happy with the group.	1	2	3	4	5
11. If my brother or sister fails, I feel responsible.	1	2	3	4	5
12. Even when I strongly disagree with group members, I avoid an argument.	1	2	3	4	5

Singelis, T.M. (1994)

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
13. I'd rather say "No," directly than risk being misunderstood.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Speaking up during a class is not a problem for me.	1	2	3	4	5
15. Having a lively imagination is important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
16. I am comfortable with being singled out for praise or rewards.	1	2	3	4	5
17. I am the same person at home that I am at school.	1	2	3	4	5
18. Being able to take care of myself is a primary concern for me.	1	2	3	4	5
19. I act the same way no matter who I am with.	1	2	3	4	5
20. I feel comfortable using someone's first name soon after I meet them, even when they are much older than I am.	1	2	3	4	5
21. I prefer to be direct and forthright when dealing with people I've just met.	1	2	3	4	5
22. I enjoy being unique and different from others in many respects.	1	2	3	4	5
23. My personal identity independent of others, is very important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
24. I value being in good health above everything.	1	2	3	4	5

Singelis, T.M. (1994) - En Espanol

Escala de Auto-Percepcion

Valorese usando los numeros del 1 al 7. 1= Totalmente en desacuerdo, 4=Indeciso/a, 7= Totalmente de acuerdo.

	Totalmente en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso/a	Estar de acuerdo	Totalmente de acuerdo
1. Tengo respeto por las figuras de autoridad con quien interactuo.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Es importante para mi a mantener la harmonia dentro de mi grupo.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Mi felicidad depende de la felicidad de los que me rodean.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Ofreceria mi asiento del autobus a mi professor/a.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Respeto a la gente que es modestas acerca si mismos.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Sacrificaria mi propio interes por el beneficio del grupo al que pertenesco.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Frequentemente tengo el sentimiento que mis relaciones con otros son mas importantes que mis propios logros.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Debo tomar en consideracion el consejo de mis padres cuando hago desiciones sobre la escuela o mi carrera.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Es importante para mi a respetar las decisions hechas por el grupo.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Me quedaria en un grupo si me, necesitaran aun cuando no sea feliz en este.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Si mi hermano/a fracas an, me siento responsable	1	2	3	4	5
12.Aun cuando estoy en total desacuerdo con los miembros del grupo, evito los conflictos.	1	2	3	4	5

Singelis, T.M. (1994) - En Espanol

	Totalmente en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso/a	Estar de acuerdo	Totalmente de acuerdo
13. Prefiero decir "No" directamente, que arriesgando a ser malentendido.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Participar durante una clase no es problema por mi.	1	2	3	4	5
15. Tener imaginacion es importante por mi.	1	2	3	4	5
16. Me siento confortable cuando soy señalado/a por elogios o recompensas.	1	2	3	4	5
17. Soy la misma persona en casa y en la escuela.	1	2	3	4	5
18. Poder cuidar de mi mismo es unapreocupacion primaria para mi.	1	2	3	4	5
19. Actuo de la misma forma sin importer con quien estoy.	1	2	3	4	5
20. Me siento comfortable llamando a alguien por su nombre, aun cuando nos acabaramos de conocer,hasta cuando esa persona sea mayor que yo.	1	2	3	4	5
21. Prefiero ser dirceto y franco cuando trato con gente que acabo de conocer.	1	2	3	4	5
22. Disfruto siendo unico y diferente de los demas en muchos aspectos.	1	2	3	4	5
23. Mi identidad personal independiente de otros es importante para mi.	1	2	3	4	5
24. Valoro estar con buena salud encima de todo.	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix C

Developmental Goals Questionnaire - English and Spanish Versions

Developmental Goals (Adapted from Friedlmeier et al., 2008)

Thank you for participating in this survey! This survey is to learn more about what values parents feel are most important for their children to have. Please read the list below and choose the top **5** that you feel are most important for your child to learn.

Please select only 1 that is most important to you and write "**1**" in the blank next to it. Rate the next most important to you "**2**," and so on, in order of how important they are to you. Please use each of the numbers **1** through **5** only once. (This means that some will be left blank).

It may be hard to decide as you might feel many (or not many) of these are important, however please do your best to choose.

Here is a 'silly' example to show you what it might it look like. My top **5** favorite colors are:

__3__ Red

_____ Blue

__1__ Purple

__5__ Yellow

__2__ Orange

_____ White

_____ Green

__4__ Brown

Please read the list below and choose the top **5** that you feel are most important for your child:

_____ Cooperation

_____ Self-realization

_____ Responsibility for others

_____ Sensitivity for others' needs

_____ Independence

_____ Autonomy

_____ Tolerance

_____ Ability to interact

Developmental Goals (Adapted from Friedlmeier et al., 2008)

In the space below, if you would like, please share what behaviors and values you think it is most important for your child to have and learn. Please describe what kind of adult you would like your child to become.

Developmental Goals (Adapted from Friedlmeier et al., 2008) – En Espanol

Gracias por participar en esta encuesta! Esta encuesta es para aprender mas acerca de cuales son los valores que los padres de familia sienten que son los mas importantes que un hijo debe tener. Por favor lea la lista que esta en la parte inferior y escoja **5** valores que usted crea importantes para su hijo/a a aprender.

Por favor elija solamente 1 valor que es el más importante para usted y escriba "**1**" en la parte en blanco junto a la palabra. Después clasifique el siguiente mas importante para usted "**2**" y asi sucesivamente, en el orden que tan importante son para usted. Por favor use los números del **1** al **5** solamente uno a la vez. (Esto significa que algunas delasopciones quedaran en blanco)

Podrá ser difícil decidir ya que podra sentir que muchas (o no muchas) de las opciones son importantes, pero por favor haga lo mejor que pueda para hacer la mejor elección. Aquí es un simple ejemplo que desmuestra como parecera. Mi clasificación de mis **5** colores favoritos.

__3__ Rojo

_____ Azul

__1__ Morado

__5__ Amarillo

__2__ Naranja o anaranjado

_____ Blanco

_____ Verde

__4__ Marrón

A continuación por favor lea la siguiente lista y haga su clasificación de los **5** valores que usted cree sean los mas importantes para su hijo.

_____ Cooperación

_____ Realización propia

_____ Responsabilidad hacia otros

_____ Sensibilidad a las necesidades de los otros.

_____ Independencia

_____ Autonomía

_____ Tolerancia

_____ Habilidad para interactuar

(*OPCIONAL*)

En el espacio siguiente, si usted desea, por favor comparta que comportamientos y valores usted cree mas importantes para que su hijo tenga y aprenda. Por favor, describa que clase de adulto le gustaria a usted que su hijo se convirtiera en un futuro.