

Authoritarian Parenting in Individualist and Collectivist Groups: Associations With Maternal Emotion and Cognition and Children's Self-Esteem

Duane Rudy and Joan E. Grusec
University of Toronto

Mothers and children between the ages of 7 and 12, from individualist (Western European) and collectivist (Egyptian, Iranian, Indian, and Pakistani) backgrounds, completed assessments of children's self-esteem, maternal authoritarianism, and mothers' thoughts and feelings about their children. Collectivist mothers endorsed authoritarian parenting more than did individualist mothers but did not feel or think more negatively about their children, and collectivist children were not lower in self-esteem. Within both groups, maternal negative affect and cognition were associated with lower self-esteem in children. However, maternal authoritarianism was associated with maternal negative emotion and cognition only in the individualist group. The results suggest that maternal negative thoughts and feelings, associated with authoritarianism in individualist but not collectivist groups, may be more detrimental to children's self-esteem than is authoritarianism in and of itself.

Keywords: parent–child relations, parental control, cross-cultural differences, child rearing attitudes, children's self-esteem

Authoritarian parenting has been associated with a variety of negative outcomes for middle-class children of European background (see Steinberg & Silk, 2002, for a recent review). The data are less compelling, however, when families from other cultural contexts are considered (e.g., Chao & Tseng, 2002). In this study, we investigate the correlates of authoritarian parenting in individualist and collectivist cultural groups to elucidate its meaning in these groups. We also assess the impact of authoritarianism and those potential correlates on children's self-esteem.

Control in Different Cultural Contexts

Numerous studies have found that cultures that emphasize interdependence (e.g., Turkish, Indian, Latin American, Asian, and Puerto Rican) commonly use higher levels of control over children, emphasize obedience, and are more restraining during social play and feeding than are those that emphasize independence (Chao, 1994; Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987; Harwood, Miller, & Irrizary, 1995; Kağıçbaşı, 1970; Sinha, 1981). Grusec, Rudy, and Martini (1997) addressed reasons for this difference by extending the work of Markus and Kitayama (1991). They argued that in collectivist groups, individuals must learn to inhibit the expression of their own wants and needs and to attend to the needs of others in the in-group, an outcome achieved through the use of more authoritarian parenting practices. Deference to authority is also valued by more collectivist cultures (Hofstede, 1983). Authoritarian parenting, which requires obedience from children without expression of their own point of view, may promote the development of these qualities. Thus, in collectivist groups, authoritarian parenting may be appropriate for the outcomes valued by that particular cultural group.

In individualist settings, autonomy, self-reliance, and self-interest are often the focus in socialization, albeit in a context of positive relationships with others. In individualist contexts, authoritative parenting, with its emphasis on negotiation and responsiveness to children's input, may be appropriate. In these settings, authoritarian parenting would have a different motivation than the instilling of values of respect for the group: Indeed, as we argue below, it may be

Duane Rudy and Joan Grusec, Department of Psychology, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Duane Rudy is now at the Department of Human Development and Family Studies, University of Missouri—Columbia.

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Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Duane Rudy, Department of Human Development and Family Studies, 314 Gentry Hall, University of Missouri—Columbia, Columbia, MO 65201. E-mail: rudyd@missouri.edu

a reflection of negative attitudes and feelings toward the child.

Aside from promoting collectivist values, parents from collectivist groups may use authoritarian parenting because they see it as normative and necessary for the promotion of optimal development in children. Whether or not a particular mother from a collectivist background endorses collectivist values, then, she may use authoritarian parenting because she sees it as endorsed by other parents in her group. In such a case, one would expect authoritarian parenting not to reflect parental negativity. On the other hand, whether or not a mother from an individualist background endorses collectivist values, her pursuit of authoritarian parenting goes against her culture's norms. Thus when she is authoritarian this might reflect negativity because it goes against what is thought to be appropriate.

Children also interpret the meaning of authoritarian parenting on the basis of what is normative. Kağıçbaşı (1996) has argued that in more interdependent cultures, children see strong parental control as normal and not necessarily as reflecting parental rejection, whereas in individualist cultures it is perceived as not normal and therefore reflecting hostility or rejection on the part of parents. Indeed, Trommsdorf (1985) stated that Japanese adolescents feel rejected when their parents provide little control and encourage autonomy.

The Emotional and Cognitive Correlates of Authoritarian Parenting in Individualist and Collectivist Groups

Research that has examined the emotional correlates of authoritarian parenting supports the contention that authoritarianism may have different meanings in different cultural contexts. In samples of primarily European American origin, authoritarianism is associated with parental rejection, anger, and lack of warmth (Coplan, Hastings, Lagacé-Séguin, & Moulton, 2002; Dix & Reinhold, 1991). European American parents who are authoritarian also tend to believe that children choose to misbehave rather than seeing misbehavior as the result of extenuating circumstances (Dix, Ruble, & Zambarano, 1989). When such attributions are inaccurate, they may lead to ineffective parenting. Furthermore, parents who make negative attributions may feel hostile toward children and be more likely to derogate them, a practice leading to lower self-esteem in children (Dix & Grusec, 1985). Thus the negative parental emotions and thoughts associated with authoritarianism may be more important in children's outcomes than is authoritarian parenting itself. Supporting this proposition, Isley, O'Neil, and Parke (1996) found expressions of parental emotion to be much stronger predictors of children's social acceptance by peers than were patterns of parental control and directiveness.

In collectivist, or interdependent cultures, the cognitive and emotional correlates of authoritarian parenting often differ from what is found in more individualist samples. For example, Trommsdorf (1985) found that Japanese undergraduates reported their mothers to be more controlling than

did German undergraduates, but they reported higher levels of maternal acceptance. Japanese adolescents also reported accepting their mothers' influence more than did the German adolescents. Furthermore, there was a negative association between control and acceptance in the German sample but no correlation in the Japanese sample. Similarly, Korean adolescents' reports of parental control were associated with higher perceptions of parental warmth for both mothers and fathers (Rohner & Pettengill, 1985). Furthermore, Kağıçbaşı (1970) found that Turkish parents were more controlling than were parents from the United States, but there were no differences between the groups in terms of parental affection. Along with the emotional correlates of authoritarian parenting, Rudy and Grusec (2001) have examined cognitive correlates in individualist and collectivist samples. They found that, in Egyptian- and European-Canadian samples, low warmth and low feelings of control in difficult child rearing situations were associated with authoritarianism for the European- but not for the Egyptian-Canadians.

In addition to within-group associations, Rudy and Grusec (2001) found Egyptian-Canadians to score higher than European-Canadians on collectivism and authoritarianism. However, there were few differences in parenting emotion and cognition (negative attributions, feelings of control), consistent with the argument that high levels of authoritarianism in collectivist groups would not be accompanied by high levels of negative affect and thinking.

Authoritarian Parenting and Children's Outcomes in Collectivist Groups

If, in nonindividualist groups, authoritarian parenting is not associated with negative parental emotion and cognition, it stands to reason that it may be less likely to be associated with deleterious outcomes in children.¹ Evidence supporting this hypothesis comes from poor, single-parent African American families where Brody and Flor (1998) observed "no-nonsense" parenting, consisting of highly controlling interventions that were accompanied by maternal warmth. This style of parenting was associated with greater cognitive and social competence and fewer internalizing problems in children, an outcome mediated by children's self-regulation skills. Similarly, Lindahl and Malik (1999) found that authoritarianism was positively related to externalizing behavior problems for European Americans but was unrelated for Latinos, and Leung, Lau, and Lam (1998) reported that authoritarian parenting had positive effects on adolescents' school performance among the Chinese in Hong Kong.

In considering authoritarianism and children's outcomes, the main effects of culture are also important to consider. If

¹ Deater-Deckard and Dodge (1997) made a similar point with respect to corporal punishment. They argued that in different cultural groups, corporal punishment may not always be associated with negative parental affect and that it may be perceived by parents and children as reflecting relatively benign parental goals. In such cases, corporal punishment may be less strongly associated with child outcomes such as externalizing disorders.

parents from collectivist and individualist groups do not differ on measures that reflect parental emotions and opinions about their children, children may have similar outcomes despite group differences in parental authoritarianism (assuming equivalent group levels of socioeconomic status; see below). Supporting this hypothesis, research has found that compared with European groups, parents from non-European groups often demonstrate elevated levels of parental control but do not always have children who demonstrate elevated levels of problematic outcomes. These outcomes include children's attachment status, school achievement, self-worth, and conduct disorder (Carlson & Harwood, 2003; Dornbusch et al., 1987; Knight, Viridin, & Roosa, 1994).

The Present Study

In the present study, we examine the relationship between authoritarianism and parenting cognitions and emotion in Canadian mothers from collectivist and individualist backgrounds. The collectivist families came from the Middle East—specifically, Egypt, Iran, and Iraq—and South Asia—specifically, India and Pakistan. Individuals in each of these countries have scored higher on measures of collectivism than have individuals from European countries (Hofstede, 1983; Oyserman, Coon, & Kimmelmeier, 2002; Rudy & Grusec, 2001). Research and narrative descriptions also confirm that for boys and girls, the parenting in these groups tends to be more controlling than for children from individualist backgrounds such as Canadians, Americans, and Scots. This is true for Egypt (Ansari, 1987; El Safty, 1979; Rudy & Grusec, 2001), Iran (Kermani & Brenner, 2001; Rudolph-Touba, 1979), India (Schludermann & Schludermann, 1983; Siddique, 1983; Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil, 1981), and Pakistan (Siddique, 1983; Stewart et al., 1999). We have found no information on authoritarian parenting in Iraq; however, the parenting of Arab and Middle Eastern families is more generally described as hierarchical and strict (Abudabbeh, 1996; Sharifzadeh, 1992). It should be noted that we are not suggesting that mothers from these various groups are identical: Each group has its own particular history and indigenous practices. However, there is evidence that the groups are similar in that they emphasize collectivist values and more strongly endorse authoritarian parenting. We expected Canadian mothers from collectivist backgrounds to more strongly endorse authoritarianism despite living in a more individualist country. This is because when people from more collectivist backgrounds immigrate to countries that emphasize individualism, they often endorse much higher levels of parental control as compared with members of the cultural mainstream (e.g., Chao, 1994; Chiu, 1987; Dornbusch et al., 1987; Knight et al., 1994; Kwak & Berry, 2001; Rudy & Grusec, 2001).

In the present study, we also examine how authoritarian parenting and parental emotions and cognitions are related to children's self-esteem. For both groups, we expected self-esteem to be more strongly related to measures of parental emotion and cognition than to authoritarianism *per se*. Although children's self-esteem has been found to be

related to authoritarianism in individualist cultures (e.g., Buri, 1989; Furnham & Cheng, 2000; Peterson, Southworth, & Peters, 1983), Harter (1998) reviewed a large body of research suggesting that children's self-esteem is influenced mainly by their perceptions of what significant others think of them. Thus reported correlations between self-esteem and authoritarianism may reflect the negative perceptions of children that are associated with authoritarianism, not authoritarianism itself. Low self-esteem also has been linked with reports of parental rejection in Indian samples and Iranian adults' reports of dissatisfaction with their relationships with their parents (Hojat, Borenstein, & Shapurian, 1990; Ojha & Pramanick, 1995). Thus in both individualist and collectivist groups, we would expect high self-esteem to be related to less negative and more positive maternal thoughts and emotions regarding the child. To the extent that authoritarianism is associated with parental negativity in individualist but not in collectivist groups, we would expect self-esteem to be related to parental authoritarianism only within the individualist group.

Some researchers have argued that in more collectivist groups the meaning of self-esteem is different than in individualist groups. Wang and Ollendick (2001) have contended that in collectivist cultures the evaluation of important in-groups may be just as or more important to one's sense of well-being as the evaluation of the self because one's sense of self is permeated by relationships with important others. Supporting this notion, people from individualist cultures describe themselves in self-evaluative ways more than do people from collectivist cultures (Watkins & Dhawan, 1989). However, numerous studies with Iranian and Indian samples show self-esteem to be linked to other measures of well-being, suggesting that in these groups the construct of self-esteem has validity (e.g., Kamath & Kanekar, 1993; Shapurian, Hojat, & Nayerahmadi, 1987; Tashakkori, Thompson, Wade, & Valente, 1990; Werkuyten & Nekuee, 1999). Furthermore, as discussed above, low self-esteem is related to problematic parent-child relationships in both Indian and Iranian samples (Hojat et al., 1990; Ojha & Pramanick, 1995).

Hypotheses

In the current study we tested six hypotheses, the first three concerning between-groups differences and the remaining concerning within-group associations. First, we predicted that mothers from collectivist backgrounds would endorse authoritarianism more strongly because authoritarianism is used to promote collectivist aims. Second, we predicted that collectivist mothers would not report more negative cognition and emotion regarding their children. We expected that they would feel and think just as positively about their children as individualist mothers. Third, minimal differences were expected between the collectivist and individualist groups for children's self-esteem. This is because we expected parental thought and emotion to be more important than authoritarianism in predicting self-esteem; to the extent that the groups do not differ in maternal affect and cognition, they should also not differ in terms of children's self-esteem. In testing the main effects of

culture, we controlled for levels of socioeconomic status (SES), given that cultural differences are often confounded with differences in SES. Thus if SES is not assessed, it is difficult to determine whether apparent cultural differences are an artifact of SES (Garcia Coll, Meyer, & Brillon, 1995).

Fourth, we predicted that within-groups authoritarianism would be associated with negative maternal cognition and emotion only within the individualist group. We expected nonsignificant associations between these variables in the collectivist group. Whereas authoritarian parenting might reflect socialization concerns in the collectivist group, we did not believe that a concern with socialization inevitably is associated with more positive ways of thinking and feeling about children. Fifth, we predicted that authoritarianism would be more strongly associated with lower levels of self-esteem in the individualist but not in the collectivist group (because of the differential association of authoritarianism with maternal thought and emotion), after controlling for SES. Sixth, it was hypothesized that, in both groups, maternal emotions and cognitions would be associated with children's self-esteem, after controlling for SES. As discussed above, there is some evidence to suggest that parental negativity is associated with self-esteem in both individualist and collectivist groups.

Method

Participants

Participants were mothers and their children aged 7 to 12 years living in a large and ethnically diverse Canadian city. Those in the collectivist group were recruited through community agencies, advertisements in cultural newspapers, and word of mouth. Those in the individualist group were recruited through a university database. There were 33 mother-child pairs in the collectivist group (21 boys and 12 girls) and 32 pairs in the individualist group (15 boys and 17 girls). When more than one child in the family was within the targeted age range we chose a child that would make the ratio of boys and girls within a specific group more equal. When eligible siblings were of the same gender, the target child was chosen randomly. All mothers and children in the collectivist group understood English sufficiently well to respond to the measures we administered.

Participants in the individualist group included at least one partner of Western European background; the other partner was of Western or Eastern European background. All but 2 mothers were born in Canada or had spent at least 15 years in Canada. With the exception of 2 couples, parents in the collectivist group were South Asian (12 dyads were Indian or Pakistani) and Middle Eastern (14 Iranian couples, 2 Egyptian couples, 1 Iraqi couple, and 2 couples where the mother was Egyptian and the father came from another Middle Eastern country—in one case, Iraq, in the other, Palestine). Of the remaining 2 collectivist couples, 1 was comprised of a Pakistani father and a Guyanese mother; the other of an Egyptian father and a Sudanese mother. Exclusion of these two cases from the analyses yielded similar results; thus these cases were retained. Nineteen families had immigrated within the last 5 years, 3 within 6 to 10 years, 5 within 11 to 15 years, and 6 more than 15 years prior to participating in the study. All families were comprised of a biological mother and father, with the exception of 1 step-family and 2 never-married single female parents in the individualist group and 2 divorced families in the collectivist group. Exclusion of these cases from the analyses yielded similar results, and the cases were retained in the analyses.

In the collectivist group, 10 mothers had a postgraduate or professional degree, 14 had a college degree, and 9 had some university education or less. In the individualist group, the corresponding numbers were 6, 14, and 12, respectively. Chi-square analyses revealed no significant differences between groups for maternal education. However, families differed on Hollingshead's (1975) index of SES, $F(1, 63) = 6.88, p < .05$ ($M = 47.52, SD = 11.68$ and $M = 54.42, SD = 9.39$ for collectivists and individualists, respectively). The difference was due to the fact that many highly educated parents in the collectivist sample were recent immigrants who were either studying to pass exams for jobs equivalent to those they had in their culture of origin (such as medical doctor) or employed in menial work while they sought to establish themselves.

Mothers in the groups did not differ in age (collectivist: $M = 40.37$ years, $SD = 4.58$; individualist: $M = 41.47$ years, $SD = 4.79$). However, children in the collectivist group were significantly older than the children in the individualist group, $t(62) = 3.78; p < .05$ (collectivist: $M = 10.50$ years, $SD = 1.39$; individualist: $M = 9.39$ years, $SD = 0.91$). The age for 1 child in the collectivist group was not reported.

Procedure

The measures reported in this study are a subset of a larger set of measures obtained from mothers and children. Mothers and children participated either in university research space or in their own homes. In both cases they worked in separate rooms. A few mothers chose to fill out forms and mail them to the university. One mother in the collectivist group did not fill out complete vignettes and the measure of positive and negative general views of the child (described below). The self-esteem measure was administered verbally to the child, with the interviewer recording the child's responses.

Maternal Measures

Measurement strategy. We were concerned that a lack of association in the collectivist group between authoritarianism and the measures of emotion and cognition might reflect the tendency of collectivists to endorse less extreme positions regarding emotion than would individualists (e.g., Stephan, Stephan, & de Vargas, 1996). We were also concerned that the measures of maternal emotion and cognition might hold different meanings for the groups and thus be incomparable. Two strategies were used to address these concerns. First, where possible, scales assessing emotion were converted to 10-point scales, as there is evidence that 10-point scales are effective in obtaining similar response tendencies from groups that differ in their tendencies to be extreme on 5-point scales (Hui & Triandis, 1989). Many items assessing emotion were interspersed with other items (e.g., authoritarianism); in this case, all items were assessed with 10-point scales. Second, multiple measures were used to assess a given construct on the basis of the van de Vijver and Leung's (1997) argument that if diverse methods of assessing a construct are convergent within two cultural groups, it is likely that the same basic construct is being measured.

Warmth. Two assessments of warmth were administered. The first was the Open Expression of Affect subscale from the Child-Rearing Practices Report (CRPR, Block, 1981). One item from this measure was removed for conceptual reasons because it measures the expression of anger. All other items reflect warmth (e.g., *My child and I have warm, intimate times together*). Mothers rated the items on 10-point scales that ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to

10 (*strongly agree*). Alphas were .77 and .58 for the collectivist and individualist groups, respectively. We also administered Robinson, Mandelco, Olsen, and Hart's (1995) Warmth and Involvement Scale. Items in this scale reflect parental warmth (*My child and I have warm, intimate times together*), involvement (*I am aware of the names of my child's friends*), responsiveness (*I am responsive to my child's feelings and needs*), and praise (*I believe in praising a child when he or she is good and think it gets better results than punishing him/her when he or she is bad*). Cronbach's alphas for this measure were .82 and .79 for the collectivist and individualist groups, respectively.

General negative affect. Mothers completed two measures of general negative affect regarding the child. The first was a 3-item Negative Affect Toward the Child subscale from the CRPR (e.g., *I often feel angry with my child*), rated on a 10-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 10 (*strongly agree*). Alphas for this measure were somewhat low: .48 and .55 for the collectivist and individualist groups, respectively. The second measure contained four items from Itkin (1952) presented in Shaw and Wright (1967). These items reflect the emotional climate in the parent-child relationship: the frequency of parental anger with child, the frequency of the child getting on the parent's nerves, how well the parent gets along with the child (reverse scored), and how much satisfaction the parent gets from the child (reverse scored). Ratings could range from 1 to 5, with higher scores reflecting greater negativity. Alphas for this measure were .74 for the collectivist group and .77 for the individualist group.

Positive and negative general views of the child. Mothers also rated their children, on a 10-point scale, on 12 traits describing the child (Itkin, 1952). Three traits were negative (e.g., *careless*) and 9 were positive (e.g., *considerate*), yielding a score for negative general views and a score for positive general views. Itkin reported that items from this scale and from the emotional climate scale described above have acceptable reliability and validity. For the negative trait items, the alphas were .73 for the collectivists and .64 for the individualists. For the positive trait items, the alphas were .89 for the collectivists and .81 for the individualists.

Negative emotions and cognition specific to the discipline situation. Mothers read four vignettes describing hypothetical interactions they might have had with the target child. For example, in one vignette the child turns a TV back up after turning it down in response to a parental request. For each vignette, mothers rated, on 10-point scales, how angry they would be. They also indicated the extent to which their child knew he or she was acting badly or improperly, their child thought his or her behavior would upset the parent, whether their child should have known better, and how much blame their child deserved. The attribution questions were averaged across vignettes, and intercorrelations among the averages were examined within each group. The correlations were highly significant within both groups ($r_s = .54-.91$, all $p_s < .05$) and so were combined to form one measure, with a higher score indicating more negative attributions. Alphas for this measure were .92 and .85 for the collectivist and individualist groups, respectively. Ratings of anger were also averaged across the four stories; alphas were .64 and .65 for the collectivist and individualist groups, respectively.

Mothers also chose, from a list of four adjectives, one adjective that best described the child in each vignette they had read. For each vignette, two adjectives were benign (e.g., *easily distracted*) and two were negative (e.g., *irresponsible*). Mothers received a score of 1 each time they chose a negative adjective. Thus scores for this variable ranged from 0 to 4. Alphas for this measure were .61 and .53 for the collectivist and individualist groups, respectively. Dix, Ruble, Grusec, and Nixon (1986) and Dix et al. (1989)

used similar vignettes and found that maternal attributions were related to mothers' endorsement of discipline techniques. Mothers who inferred that a child is knowledgeable and responsible for a misbehavior were more likely to state that they would be stern in the manner with which they would administer discipline.

Authoritarianism. Kochanska, Kuczynski, and Radke-Yarrow's (1989) measure of authoritarianism was used in this study. The scale was selected because of its frequent use and its demonstrated validity (Dekovic, Gerris, & Janssens, 1991; Kochanska et al., 1989). This measure has also been used in research that has compared self-reports of European American and Chinese American parents (e.g., Chao, 1994) and in research that has examined the association between authoritarianism and child outcomes in Chinese children (Chen, Dong, & Zhou, 1997). Kochanska et al.'s measure is comprised of three subscales taken from the CRPR. These subscales are labeled in the CRPR as Authoritarian Control (e.g., *I have strict, well-established rules for my child*), Supervision of the Child (e.g., *I make sure that I know where my child is and what he or she is doing*), and Control by Anxiety Induction (e.g., *I control my child by warning him/her about the bad things that can happen to him/her*). Participants rated the items on 10-point scales. Alphas for this measure, for collectivists and individualists respectively, were .63 and .70.

Collectivism. Items from three subscales were used to assess collectivism. Two subscales were the Bardis Nuclear and the Extended Familism subscales (Bardis, 1959; Rao & Rao, 1979), which measure, respectively, the importance of family members coordinating their actions with the nuclear family (e.g., *A person should always consider the needs of his or her family as a whole more important than his or her own*) and the extended family (e.g., *A person should always share his or her home with his or her uncles, aunts, or first cousins if they are in need*). The third subscale was Triandis's (1995) measure of vertical collectivism, collectivism that emphasizes deference to authority (e.g., *I would sacrifice an activity that I enjoy very much if my family did not approve of it*). This type of collectivism is typical of the groups we investigated (Hofstede, 1983). We included the Bardis Familism measures because Triandis et al. (1986) found items related to family integrity to be particularly discriminating of collectivist and individualistic cultures. Mothers rated the items on a 10-point scale that ranged from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*.

The three subscales were significantly intercorrelated within the collectivist sample ($r_s = .44-.70$, all $p_s < .05$) and were intercorrelated within the individualist sample at better than the $p < .08$ level ($r_s = .31-.52$). Thus the three subscales were combined. Alphas for this combined measure were .88 for collectivists and .76 for individualists.

Children's self-esteem. The 6-item Global Self-Worth scale from Harter's (1985) Self-Perception Profile for Children was used to assess self-esteem. For each item, children read two descriptions of people, one of which was more positive than the other (e.g., *Some kids are happy with themselves as a person, but other kids are often not happy with themselves*). Children then chose which child was more like them and indicated if this was *really true for me* or *sort of true for me*. The Global Self-Worth scale is associated in the expected direction with a variety of variables related to socioemotional development (Harter, 1985, 1998). Alphas, for collectivists and individualists respectively, were .76 and .67.

Results

Convergence of Measures of Emotion and Cognition

The multiple measures of each type of emotion and cognition were significantly correlated within both groups.

The following correlations were obtained for the collectivist and individualist groups, respectively: .80 and .62 for the two measures of warmth; .50 and .79 for the measures of general negative affect; and $-.52$ and $-.50$ for positive and negative descriptors of the child (all $ps < .05$). Correlations for the discipline situation measures (negative adjectives, negative attributions, and anger) were significant in both groups (collectivist group: $r = .40-.63$; individualist group: $r = .44-.76$; all, $ps < .05$). Thus there is evidence that the measures of emotion and cognition converged and that the same basic construct was measured in both groups (van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). However, the correlations were not always exceptionally high. Thus the measures diverge as well as converge; for example, the measure of negative attributions in the discipline situation and the use of negative adjectives to describe the child most likely assess similar but not identical constructs.

Differences Between the Collectivist and Individualist Groups

Table 1 reports the means and standard deviations for all measures. A 2 (cultural group) \times 2 (gender of child) multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted on the variables on which we expected the groups to differ, authoritarianism and collectivism. The MANOVA revealed a significant group effect (Wilks's $\lambda = .50$), $F(2, 60) = 29.42$, $p < .0001$. Univariate tests revealed that the collectivist group scored higher on authoritarianism, $F(1, 61) = 33.30$, $p < .0001$, and on collectivism, $F(1, 61) = 44.06$, $p < .0001$. There were no other significant effects. Multi-

variate analyses of covariance (MANCOVAs) were also tested with the following variables used individually as covariates: SES, length of time in Canada, and child age. The results of these MANCOVAs were the same as those of the MANOVA, and the covariates terms were not significant. Thus the first hypothesis—that the collectivist group would score higher on authoritarianism—was supported.

A second MANOVA tested differences for maternal cognitive and affective measures on which the groups were not expected to differ (the two measures of warmth and involvement, the two measures of overall negative parental affect, positive and negative general views of the child, anger in the discipline situation, the use of negative adjectives to describe the child in the discipline situation, and negative attributions about the child in the discipline situation). The MANOVA revealed no significant effects of cultural group or gender of child, nor was the interaction between cultural group and gender of child significant. The results of MANCOVAs that used SES, length of time in Canada, and child age as covariates were the same as the MANOVA, and the terms for the covariates were not significant.

Because a lack of power might have obscured group differences for maternal emotions and cognitions, we examined effect sizes. By conventional levels (Cohen, 1977) effect sizes were quite large for authoritarianism and collectivism. With one exception, effect sizes for all other variables fell between the conventional levels of small and medium, and the differences were not consistently in the direction of lesser or greater adaptiveness for one group. For negative attributions, the effect sizes fell into the medium to

Table 1
Means and Standard Deviations for Parenting Measures and Children's Self-Esteem by Cultural Group

Measure	Collectivist		Individualist		F
	M	SD	M	SD	
$\lambda = .50^{***}$					
Collectivism ^a	7.39	1.20	5.62	0.83	44.06***
Authoritarianism ^a	6.38	1.01	4.87	1.07	33.30***
$\lambda = .82$					
Parenting measure					
CRPR Warmth ^a	9.08	0.93	9.07	0.82	—
Warmth, Involvement, & Responsivity ^a	9.11	0.75	9.38	0.66	—
CRPR Negative Affect ^a	3.26	1.66	2.95	1.55	—
Itkin Negative Affect ^b	2.18	0.55	2.05	0.49	—
General view of child: Positive ^a	8.03	1.53	7.55	1.28	—
General view of child: Negative ^a	4.24	2.12	4.35	1.73	—
Anger-discipline situation ^a	4.26	1.73	4.64	1.70	—
Negative descriptors-discipline situation ^c	1.64	1.32	1.91	1.27	—
Negative attributions-discipline situation ^a	5.76	1.91	6.78	1.26	—
Child Measure					
Children's self-esteem ^d	3.31	0.67	3.51	0.47	1.41

Note. Dashes indicate that *F* values are not reported where omnibus test was nonsignificant. CRPR = Child-Rearing Practices Report.

^a Scale ranges from 1 to 10. ^b Scale ranges from 1 to 5. ^c Scale ranges from 0 to 4. ^d Scale ranges from 1 to 4.

*** $p < .0001$.

large range, with the individualist group scoring in the direction of less adaptiveness. Thus the second hypothesis—that mothers in the collectivist group would not report more negative ways of thinking and feeling about children—was supported.

A third analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on children's self-esteem. This ANOVA revealed no significant effects. An analysis of covariance (ANCOVA), controlling for SES, also revealed no group differences; however, the covariate of SES was strongly related to self-esteem, $F(1, 60) = 17.00, p < .0001$. The group means, adjusted for SES, were identical ($M = 3.42$ for both groups). ANCOVAs controlling for length of time in Canada and age of child revealed no significant effects. When the means were not adjusted for SES, the effect size for self-esteem was in the small to medium range. Thus the third hypothesis—that children from the collectivist group would not have lower self-esteem despite the fact that their mothers would more strongly endorse maternal authoritarianism—was supported.

Associations Within the Collectivist and Individualist Groups

Correlations between authoritarianism, collectivism, and maternal cognitive and affective variables. To reduce the number of correlations examined, measures of emotion and cognition were aggregated when they assessed similar constructs. Thus the two measures of warmth were combined, as were the two measures of negative emotion, the measures of positive and negative views of the child (with negative items reverse scored), and negative adjectives and negative attributions in the discipline situation. Items from the scales were pooled and averaged. When scales for particular items did not correspond, scores on individual items were converted to z scores. Thus alphas for the combined scales could be calculated. For the collectivist and individualist group, respectively, they were .85 and .76 for warmth, .78 and .85 for general negative emotion, .88 and .82 for general views of the child, and .93 and .90 for negative cognitions regarding the child in the discipline situation. Although some individual scales had low alphas, alphas were therefore quite high when items from similar scales were pooled.

Correlations between authoritarianism and all other variables are reported in Table 2. The correlations reported control for SES. An omnibus test revealed that overall, authoritarianism was associated with the measures of emotion and cognition in the individualist group, $\chi^2(5, \text{pooled } N = 32) = 18.36, p < .005$ (see Cohen & Cohen, 1983). In this group, authoritarianism was significantly associated with negative cognitions in the discipline situation. There also were trends for authoritarianism to be negatively associated with maternal warmth and positive general descriptions of the child. Authoritarianism was not significantly associated with general negative affect or anger in the discipline situation. In the collectivist group, the omnibus test revealed that overall, authoritarianism was not associated with the measures of emotion and cognition, $\chi^2(5, \text{pooled } N = 32.4) = 2.58, ns$, nor were there any significant

Table 2
Within-Cultural Group Correlations of Maternal Authoritarianism and Other Variables, Controlling for SES

Variable	Authoritarianism	
	Collectivist	Individualist
Collectivism	.47**	.10
Warmth	.07	-.31*
Negative affect	.22	.30
General view of child: Positive	-.07	-.32*
Negative cognition-discipline situation	.15	.50**
Anger-discipline situation	.07	.15
Children's self-esteem	.01	.24

Note. SES = socioeconomic status.

* $p < .10$. ** $p < .05$.

individual correlations or trends. Authoritarianism correlated significantly (positively) with the measure of collectivism, however. Thus the pattern of associations supported the fourth hypothesis: Within the individualist group, authoritarianism was associated with indicators of maternal affect and cognition, whereas in the collectivist group it was not significantly associated with any of the measures of maternal affect and cognition.

Associations between maternal authoritarianism and children's self-esteem. Table 2 reports correlations between maternal authoritarianism and children's self-esteem controlling for SES (SES was associated with self-esteem in both the collectivist and individualists groups, with $r_s = .54$ and $.38, ps < .05$, respectively). The other potential control variables were not significantly associated with self-esteem. In both groups authoritarianism was not associated with self-esteem. In the individualist group, there was a substantial association between authoritarianism in the direction opposite to expectations ($r = .24, p = .20$), although it was far from significant. Given past research (Harter, 1998) and the low p value, this particular r value is likely anomalous. Thus there was little support for the fifth hypothesis—that maternal authoritarianism would be associated with lower levels of self-esteem in the individualist but not in the collectivist group.

Maternal affect and cognition as predictors of children's self-esteem. To test the sixth hypothesis—that in both groups, maternal cognition and emotion would be related to children's self-esteem—we calculated correlations between the measures of maternal emotion and cognition and self-esteem. Table 3 reports the correlations, which control for SES. Omnibus tests revealed that overall in both groups, maternal emotion and cognition was associated with self-esteem (collectivist: $\chi^2[5, \text{pooled } N = 32.4] = 13.88$; individualist: $\chi^2[5, \text{pooled } N = 32] = 11.60$; both $ps < .05$). In the collectivist group, negative attributions and anger in the discipline situation were significantly negatively associated with self-esteem; there was also a trend for warmth to be positively associated with self-esteem. For individualists, warmth was positively associated with self-esteem. There was also a trend in the individualist group for anger in the discipline situation to be negatively associated with self-

Table 3
Within-Cultural Group Relationships Between Measures of Maternal Emotion and Cognition and Child Outcomes, Controlling for SES

Maternal Variable	Self-Esteem	
	Collectivist	Individualist
Warmth	.31*	.38**
Negative affect	-.06	.18
General view of child: Positive	.23	.16
Negative cognitions-discipline situation	-.38**	.25
Anger-discipline situation	-.37**	-.32*

Note. SES = socioeconomic status.

* $p < .10$. ** $p < .05$.

esteem. Thus there was support for the sixth hypothesis: Maternal emotions and cognitions were associated with children's self-esteem in both groups.

Summary

In summary, the collectivist group scored higher than did the individualist group on maternal authoritarianism (supporting the first hypothesis). However, the higher levels of authoritarianism in the collectivist group were not accompanied by higher levels of negative maternal emotion and cognition or lower levels of positive emotion and cognition (supporting the second hypothesis), nor were they accompanied by lower levels of children's self-esteem (supporting the third hypothesis).

The within-group associations support the idea that maternal authoritarianism might carry a different meaning for people from individualist and collectivist backgrounds. Within the individualist group, authoritarianism was associated with negative emotion and cognition, whereas within the collectivist group it was not (supporting the fourth hypothesis). Contrary to our prediction, authoritarianism was not associated with self-esteem in either group (the fifth hypothesis predicted an association between authoritarianism and lower levels of self-esteem in the individualist group only). However, there was some support for the idea that mothers' emotions and thoughts about their children predict self-esteem (supporting the sixth hypothesis).

Discussion

The Meaning of Maternal Authoritarianism

The present study suggests that the elevated levels of authoritarian parenting found in more collectivist groups do not necessarily hold the same meaning as similarly high levels of authoritarianism in individualist groups. This finding has theoretical and practical significance, especially in metropolitan centers where families from immigrant cultural groups reside in large numbers. In these settings, health care and social workers are often faced with the issue of interpreting elevated levels of strict parenting (Vincent, 1996). The collectivist group in this study endorsed much

higher levels of authoritarianism than did the individualist group. In this study, the collectivist group endorsed much higher levels of authoritarianism than did the individualist group. However, on average, the higher levels of authoritarianism were not accompanied by less adaptive scores on the measures related to maternal emotion and cognition, nor were they accompanied by lower levels of self-esteem. Thus higher levels of authoritarianism found in cultural groups that emphasize collectivism do not necessarily indicate a low level of parental concern and love for children, nor are they as deleterious as similarly high levels of authoritarian parenting in parents from European cultural groups. The between-groups effects found in this study are consistent with research that has found elevated levels of parental control in non-European groups as compared with that in European groups but not elevated levels of problematic child outcomes (Carlson & Harwood, 2003; Dornbusch et al., 1987; Knight et al., 1994).

The within-group associations also support the idea that maternal authoritarianism carries a different meaning for people from individualist and collectivist backgrounds. Although not every association was significant, the omnibus test revealed that, overall, authoritarianism was associated with less adaptive maternal thoughts and emotions within the individualist group. Within the collectivist group there was no overall association. Although authoritarianism was not associated with self-esteem in either group, maternal cognitions and affect regarding children did predict self-esteem (here too, not all associations were significant). In the individualist group, self-esteem was associated with parental warmth and showed a trend to be negatively associated with maternal anger in the discipline situation. In the collectivist group, self-esteem was negatively associated with anger and negative cognitions in the discipline situation. There was also a trend for warmth to be positively associated with self-esteem.

The lack of association between authoritarianism and self-esteem in the individualist group is surprising, given that authoritarianism was associated with more negative and less positive emotion and cognition in the individualist group and that past research has found such a link. As mentioned above, lower levels of self-esteem and higher levels of self-criticism have been found to be related to parenting described as authoritarian, highly controlling, and punitive (Buri, 1989; Furnham & Cheng, 2000; Peterson et al., 1983). The present study found no such relationship. One explanation for the lack of a relationship is that levels of positive affect were high in this group and may have neutralized the impact of authoritarianism. Despite that, in this sample the measures related to maternal emotion and cognition did predict children's self-esteem, and cognitions and affect were linked to mothers' endorsement of authoritarian beliefs.

It might be argued that the lack of relation between authoritarianism and parenting affect and cognitions for collectivist mothers is due to the fact that the measures of cognition and affect were not meaningful to them despite their proficiency with English. This does not appear to be the case, however, given that within the collectivist group multiple measures of the same constructs were significantly

correlated in the expected direction and that there were significant negative associations between the measures of negative cognitions in the discipline situation and children's self-esteem. This conclusion is further supported by the fact that alpha coefficients were not consistently lower in the collectivist group.

Self-Esteem in Collectivist Groups

The discovery of a relation between self-esteem and maternal emotion and cognition in the collectivist group supports the idea that self-esteem is a relevant construct in collectivist groups. It has been argued that self-esteem is less relevant to people from collectivist cultures. As discussed above, Wang and Ollendick (2001) argued that in more collectivist groups, the evaluation of one's in-group may be as important to one's well-being as are evaluations of the self. However, Wang and Ollendick also argued that the concept of global self-esteem in collectivist cultures should not be dismissed. They stated that certain aspects of parenting that are not culturally unique, such as parental warmth, may be important in helping children develop a sense of global self-worth. As discussed above, there is evidence that in collectivist cultures such as India and Iran, higher scores on measures of self-esteem are related to other aspects of well-being such as lower levels of depression and less problematic relationships with parents (e.g., Hojat et al., 1990; Kamath & Kanekar, 1993).

SES and Children's Self-Esteem

Consistent with past research, SES was associated with self-esteem in both groups. The results are consonant with researchers who argue that SES is directly related to self-esteem because children compare themselves with their peers, and when they suffer by comparison they have lower self-esteem (Demo & Savin-Williams, 1983; Rhodes, Roffman, Reddy, & Fredriksen, 2004). We note as well that many families in the collectivist group (where the correlation between self-esteem and SES was higher) were classified as low SES because they were students or engaged in menial jobs despite being well educated. The discrepancy between education and employment may have affected levels of parental self-esteem, which in turn may have influenced children's self-esteem.

Limitations and Future Directions

This study has its limitations. The collectivist group was somewhat heterogeneous in its makeup. It would be valuable to replicate the study within more homogenous groups. Also, it would be important to include fathers and other family members in future work, given their importance in collectivist groups (e.g., Chen et al., 1997). Observational methodology would be a positive addition to the maternal self-report of the present work, as well as child reports of maternal behavior. Also, in both groups levels of children's self-esteem were quite high. Perhaps if the sample included a broader range of parental education levels, more robust links between parental emo-

tion and children's self-esteem may have been discovered. Finally, the sample size was small and it may be that with a larger sample size, a relation in the collectivist group between authoritarian parenting and parental negativity would have been discovered. If such a relation exists, however, it seems likely that it is not nearly as robust in collectivist groups as it is in individualist groups.

In the future, it would be useful to assess parents' identification with the individualist host culture versus with the collectivist cultures of origin in order to determine whether this variable moderates the associations between authoritarianism and patterns of emotion and cognition regarding children. It also would be useful to assess children's interpretations of authoritarian parenting to determine whether it is perceived as more benign in collectivist groups. Rudy, Grusec, and Wolfe (1999) found power-assertive parenting to be evaluated more positively by Korean than by Canadian adolescents. Whether children in the present study made such interpretations, and whether perceptions of parenting moderate the relationship between authoritarianism and children's outcomes, remains open to question. Perceptions of how normative authoritarian parenting is would also be of interest. Children of immigrants might, for example, see it as less normative in the context of their new individualist host culture. This may be the case especially if they do not live in communities where there are large numbers of families from the same cultural background. Where children do live in areas with high concentrations of their own cultural group, comparisons among members of that group may be more usual (e.g., Khalid, 1988).

There may be cases, however, in which authoritarian parenting, though not normative, is seen as an indication of parental concern. For example, Lamborn, Dornbusch, and Steinberg (1996) found that African American children who lived in White communities and who faced discrimination had more adaptive outcomes when their parents unilaterally made decisions. In this case, parents may have used strict parenting to protect children, and the "meaning" of authoritarian parenting may have been benign despite its nonnormative nature. Thus, it is possible that parental emotions and cognitions may be more important in influencing children's interpretation of authoritarianism than whether it is perceived as normative. This is an interesting question for future research to address, and it underlines the importance of considering contextual variables in understanding the impact of parenting on children.

Despite all of these arguments, it should be noted that if parents from collectivist groups use authoritarian parenting to teach children to inhibit the expression of their own wants and needs, children's outcomes may not always be optimal in an individualist context. It is possible that the propensity to inhibit self-expression may not necessarily help children better negotiate the demands of a host culture that values assertiveness. Because assertiveness and independence are important aspects of achievement and social relationships in individualist cultures, it may be important to encourage parents from more collectivist groups who have immigrated to individualist countries to make adjustments to their authoritarian parenting. It is therefore necessary to determine

the ways in which families who value interdependence can promote interdependence and respect for authority within the family and at the same time promote children's assertiveness and autonomy outside of the family. In this way, parents may promote their children's success while maintaining values important to their own cultural identity.

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