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Duane Rudy and Joan E. Grusec

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Measures of authoritarianism, collectivism, warmth, anger, attributions for children's misbehavior, and parental feelings of control over failure were administered to Egyptian Canadian and Anglo-Canadian men and women living in Canada. The Egyptian Canadians were higher on authoritarianism, collectivism, anger, and the men were higher on perceived control over failure. The best predictor of authoritarian parenting for the Egyptian Canadian group was collectivism. For the Anglo-Canadian group, the best predictors were collectivism and lack of warmth. Differences in the meaning of authoritarianism in collectivist and individualist groups and their meaning for the transmission of values are discussed: Higher levels of authoritarianism are not necessarily accompanied by overall lower levels of warmth; more negative (dispositional) attributions about children; or more automatic, maladaptive, and inflexible processing of information. Thus, the conditions that promote transmission of values—warmth and benign ways of thinking—are just as likely to be present in groups using authoritarian parenting.

CORRELATES OF AUTHORITARIAN PARENTING
IN INDIVIDUALIST AND COLLECTIVIST CULTURES
AND IMPLICATIONS FOR UNDERSTANDING
THE TRANSMISSION OF VALUES

DUANE RUDY
JOAN E. GRUSEC
University of Toronto

Psychologists have traditionally believed that the transmission of values or standards of acceptable behavior is most effectively accomplished when children see those values and standards as self-generated or autonomously chosen, rather than imposed by agents of socialization. Values must be adhered to in the absence of external surveillance, of hope of reward, or fear of punishment. Otherwise, those values have not been effectively transmitted. Parenting approaches that promote feelings of independence from the source of transmission, therefore, have been seen as most facilitative of the transmission process. With respect to parenting styles, for example, it has been argued that authoritarian parenting, characterized by the imposition of an absolute set of standards, the valuing of obedience and respect for authority, and the discouragement of give-and-take, is detrimental to socialization because it fails to encourage the child's feelings of autonomy (e.g., Baumrind, 1971). Authoritative parenting, characterized by firm control, high demands for maturity, and a willingness to reason and negotiate, is seen to create a more effective familial environment in which to transmit values because it facilitates the child's internalization or feelings of self-generation.

The demonstrated link between authoritative parenting and high levels of internalization of values, and authoritarian parenting and low levels of internalization (e.g., Deković & Janssens, 1992; Grolnick & Ryan, 1989) appears to be strongest in a middle-class, Anglo-European context. In other cultural contexts, authoritarian parenting is more likely to be the

norm and less likely to be associated with negative child outcomes. For example, African American mothers in high-risk environments may employ authoritarian techniques because it is more important for children to obey parental injunctions without question, given that the consequences of disobedience may be quite serious (Kelley, Power, & Wimbush, 1992). Perhaps not coincidentally, the use of corporal punishment has been found to be associated with externalizing behavior in Anglo-American families but not in African American families (Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates, & Petit, 1996). As another example, Chinese mothers score higher on measures of authoritarianism than do American mothers (Chao, 1994; Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987) and are described as more restrictive (Chiu, 1987). However, there is little evidence that this (or any other) cultural group's greater reliance on authoritarian parenting interferes with the effective internalization of values.

The question, then, is why authoritarian parenting does not work in Western European contexts but appears to be less detrimental in other cultures. One possibility is that authoritative parenting is most effective in transmitting values in individualist (e.g., North American, Western European) societies because, in these contexts, it is important for individuals to assert themselves and actively pursue their own wishes and needs (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). If self-assertion is the basis for social interaction, it becomes important for individuals to conceive of themselves as behaving freely in responsible ways because of some inner dispositional quality. It may thus be important to minimize the salience of external demands to create feelings of autonomy. In collectivist cultures, however, self-assertion is negatively valued, and individuals are required to align themselves with a larger in-group; it is necessary to inhibit the expression of self-interest and attend to the needs and wishes of others. In turn, it is expected that others in the in-group will work to fulfill one's own needs (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Also, respect for authority is an important feature of socialization (Hofstede, 1983; Schwartz, 1994). Under these conditions, the goal of parenting is not autonomy but rather the promotion of interdependence, cooperation, compliance without discussion, and inhibition of personal wishes. Parents may therefore engage in apparently authoritarian behavior but in the interests of the child's socialization. However, this does not need to interfere with the effective transmission of values. Recently, Grusec, Goodnow, and Kuczynksi (2000) have argued that a feature of successful socialization may be an internal dialogue, be it with one's own conscience or with a particular audience (e.g., one's own parents). The difference between the promotion of autonomy and interdependence, then, might simply be a difference in the kind of audience to which one becomes attuned. Rather than to the self it could be to other members of the group, with no reason to expect that self-regulation and internalization would be less strong with one rather than the other.

Why does authoritarian parenting have negative outcomes for the transmission of values in middle-class Anglo-European contexts? One reason, of course, is that it detracts from autonomy, which is highly valued. We suggest, as well, that in the Anglo-European context, it is not a deliberate approach that is made in the best interests of the child. Indeed, it is associated with a number of features that may be harmful to the child and ultimately responsible for maladaptive child outcomes, including a failure to internalize values.

First, authoritarian parenting is associated with parental rejection and lack of warmth (Baumrind, 1967), and warmth is one important factor motivating children to follow parental wishes (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). Second, authoritarian parents tend to make dispositional attributions for children's misdeeds (Dix, Ruble, & Zambarano, 1989); that is, they hold them responsible and accountable for their actions rather than seeing their actions as an outcome of external or situational circumstances. As a result, they are angrier, they are less

likely to use teaching interventions such as reasoning that might make appropriate behavior clearer to the child, and they are more likely to derogate and humiliate the child—a verbal manifestation of perceived dispositional characteristics of that child (Dix & Grusec, 1985). A third negative associate of authoritarian parenting in individualist cultures is parental feelings of low control (Bugental, Brown, & Reiss, 1996). Mothers who are abusive or coercive (authoritarian) with their children feel threatened by difficult children and believe they have little control over problem interactions with them relative to the control the child has. These mothers unconsciously display negative affect, show cognitive deficits when primed to think about difficult interactions, and display confusing behavior that causes children to become less responsive and compliant (Bugental & Shennum, 1984). All these correlates of Anglo-European authoritarian parenting, then, may be at least partially the direct cause of negative child outcomes, rather than the authoritarian parenting itself.

In sum, then, in individualist contexts where authoritarian parenting is proscribed, it may be more likely to occur when a rejecting parent automatically interprets a child's problematic behavior as willful noncompliance and reacts with coerciveness to establish parental authority. In contrast, authoritarian parenting in collectivist cultures may be a more conscious strategy pursued for the child's benefit and hence more open to conscious reflection and more flexible in nature. It is also less likely to be associated with negative parental affect and negative interpretations of children's behavior. These differences can be expected to have a number of important consequences for the child's internalization of parental values. First, if authoritarian parenting is conscious rather than automatic, parents may better adjust their behavior to the child's state and needs because they will not have difficulties with processing information. Therefore, they should be more likely to communicate their values effectively to their children and hence promote their internalization of these values. Second, if they are warmer and less angry, they should have a better relationship with their children who would be motivated to attend to their directives, to follow their injunctions, and to adapt their standards. Finally, Dix (1993) has argued that children will exhibit behavior consonant with parental expectations. If, in collectivist contexts, authoritarian parenting is associated with more positive parental attributions, children may be likely to fulfill their parents' relatively positive expectations. Indeed, in keeping with this argument, we note that although Chinese parents score higher on measures of authoritarianism the child is seen as inherently good (Ho & Kang, 1984).

The present study was an attempt to test some of these ideas by comparing the patterns of associations between parental authoritarianism and parental affective and cognitive variables thought to be relevant for internalization. We examined these associations in an Egyptian Canadian and an Anglo-Canadian sample. The Egyptian Canadian sample was chosen because Arabic cultural groups have been found to score relatively high on measures of collectivism (Buda & Elsayed-Elkhouly, 1998; Hofstede, 1983; Oyserman, 1993). Our aim was twofold: First, we wished to compare Egyptian Canadians with Anglo Canadians at the group level and see if the expected higher levels of authoritarianism in the Egyptian Canadian group would indeed not be accompanied by lower levels of warmth, more negative attributions, and feelings of low relative control. Second, we sought to compare whether the patterns of association between parental authoritarianism and other parental variables within the two groups would differ, with authoritarianism related to low levels of warmth, greater anger, low levels of perceived control, and more dispositional attributions in the Anglo-Canadian group, but related only to levels of collectivism in the Egyptian Canadian groups.

METHOD

SAMPLES

Thirty-three Egyptian Canadians (19 female and 14 male; 26 parents and 7 nonparents) and 31 Anglo-Canadians (24 female and 7 male; 21 parents and 10 nonparents), ranging from 18 to 62 years of age, participated in the study. Nine Egyptian Canadians and 13 Anglo-Canadians had some university experience or less and 24 Egyptian Canadians and 18 Anglo-Canadians had an undergraduate degree or more. These differences were not significant, $\chi^2 = 1.5$, $p > .20$. The samples also did not differ significantly in age (mean age for Egyptian Canadians: 39.3 years, $SD = 11.07$; for European-Canadians: 38.21 years, $SD = 11.36$).

Twenty-four of the Egyptian Canadians had immigrated to Canada themselves; all were parents. Nine Egyptian Canadians were born in Canada and had parents who had immigrated to Canada; 2 of these were parents. Participants in the Anglo-Canadian group were all of Western European background; 6 had immigrated to Canada themselves (all were parents), 13 had parents who had immigrated to Canada (7 of these were parents), 5 had grandparents who had immigrated to Canada (4 of these were parents), and 4 had great-grandparents who had immigrated to Canada (all were parents). Three people in the Anglo-Canadian group did not report recency of immigration.

MEASURES

Participants filled out two measures of collectivist thought. The first scale, labeled *Collect*, measured collectivism with respect to the nuclear and extended family. Selected items were taken from the Parent (e.g., "Teenagers should listen to their parents' advice on dating") and Kin (e.g., "I would help, within my means, if a relative told me that he or she is in financial difficulty") subscales of Hui's (1988) Individualism-Collectivism Scale and from the Bardis Familism Scale (e.g., "A person should always support his or her uncles or aunts if they are in need") (Rao & Rao, 1979).

The second scale asked questions reflecting collectivist concerns in raising children. We developed this scale as an attempt to assess participants' sense of the importance of collectivism and deference to authority to succeeding in life. At the top of the questionnaire, the phrase "To succeed in life, it is important to:" was written, followed by three items reflecting collectivism (e.g., "Pay attention to the feelings of others") and two items reflecting deference to authority (e.g., "Respect the opinions of one's superiors"). This scale was labeled *Success*.

Participants completed a measure of parental authoritarianism that was composed of Likert-type scale items taken from two measures. The first measure was created by Kochanska, Kuczynski, and Radke-Yarrow (1989) and consists of three subscales taken from the Block Child-Rearing Practices Report (CRPR) (Block, 1981). These subscales are labeled Authoritarian Control, Supervision of the Child, and Control by Anxiety Induction. The measure was derived conceptually; however, it is related to observed coercive child-rearing behavior (Dekoviç, Janssens, & Gerris, 1991; Kochanska et al., 1989). Five additional items were taken from a scale developed by Slater and Power (1987). The questions from this scale are a subset of items related to restrictiveness, found by Rickel and Biasatti

(1982), who performed a principal components analysis on the CRPR and identified two main factors: nurturance (discussed below) and restrictiveness (a sample item: "I believe that children should be seen and not heard"). The questionnaire from which this subscale was taken is significantly related to children's behavioral and social problems as assessed by the Child Behavior Checklist (Slater & Power, 1987).

A measure of warmth and nurturance was also administered. Items from two scales comprised this measure. The first scale was the CRPR subscale "Open Expression of Affect" (OPENEX). One item from this measure was omitted because it is not related to parental warmth ("When I am angry with my child, I let him or her know it"). The remaining items all assess parental warmth (e.g., "I express affection by hugging, kissing, and holding my child"). The second scale was Slater and Power's (1987) Nurturance scale, taken from the Parenting Dimensions Inventory (PDI). Items for this subscale are a subset of the items from the CRPR items that loaded highly on the Nurturance factor found by Rickel and Biasatti (1982). This scale had one item in common with the OPENEX scale; however, whereas the latter scale is limited to emotion, the former contains items that assess parental responsivity and interest in the child (e.g., "I respect my child's opinions and encourage him or her to express them"). All items on the authoritarian and warmth and nurturance scales contained a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 7 (*strongly disagree*).

Parental feelings of control in difficult interactions with children were assessed with the Parental Attribution Test (PAT) (Bugental, Blue, & Cruzcosa, 1989). The PAT asks respondents to imagine that they have taken care of a neighbor's child and that the two of them did not get along well; it then asks respondents to rate how important a number of possible reasons might be for the experience. Participants respond to 12 items in total; 3 items represent four different factors. The factors are causes controllable by the child (e.g., "the extent to which the child was stubborn and resisted your efforts"), causes not controllable by the child (e.g., "whether the child was tired or not feeling too well"), causes controllable by the adult (e.g., "whether you used the wrong approach for this child"), and causes not controllable by the adult (e.g., "the extent to which you were not feeling well on that day"). All items are rated on a 7-point scale (1 = *not important at all*, 7 = *very important*). These items yield scores for Child Control Over Failure (CCF), determined by taking the average rating of items controllable by the child and subtracting the average ratings of items not controllable by the child, and Adult Control Over Failure (ACF), determined by taking the average ratings of items controllable by the adult and subtracting the average ratings of items not controllable by the adult. A score measuring the relative perceived balance of control between parent and child, Perceived Control Over Failure (PCF), is obtained by subtracting CCF from ACF. The PAT is related to differential reactions to difficult and relatively responsive children in both mothers and nonparental women (Bugental et al., 1989).

Negative attributions and anger in the discipline situation were measured with vignettes. Participants read four descriptions of hypothetical interactions they might have had with a 7-year-old child who was misbehaving in some way. They were asked to imagine that the child was theirs. The four interactions were the following: The parent notices the child taking money from the kitchen table, the child watches television without first cleaning up as promised, the child does not obey the parent's request to put a bicycle away, and the child hits a playmate. For each vignette, participants were asked if the child knew he or she was acting badly or improperly, if the child thought his or her behavior would upset the parent, if they thought their child's behavior was due to the child's personality or the situation, if they thought it would be reasonable to expect their child to know better, and how much blame their child deserved. Participants were also asked to indicate how angry they would be. All

ratings were on a 7-point scale, with 1 being the most benign and 7 the most negative. Ratings were averaged across scenarios.

The ratings for attributional questions were averaged across vignettes. With the exception of the item assessing situational and personality factors, they were highly intercorrelated (except for the situational/personality item, correlations ranged from .37 to .75 in the Egyptian Canadian group and from .66 to .75 in the Anglo-Canadian group; all correlations $p <$ .05). All attributional items except the situational/personality item therefore were combined into one measure (analyses using a measure containing all attributional items yielded virtually identical results).

PROCEDURE

Participants provided information concerning their age, sex, education, and cultural background. They then completed the four vignettes (presented in random order); the Success scale; the Collect scale; the PAT; and a questionnaire that contained the items assessing authoritarianism, warmth, and nurturance. Participants were asked to fill out the questionnaires keeping a 7-year-old child in mind (the sex of the child was randomly assigned) and to imagine that it was their child.

RESULTS

BETWEEN-GROUP DIFFERENCES

Prior to testing sample differences, a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted on all the variables to test whether parents differed from nonparents. The MANOVA revealed no overall effect of parental status. Because parental status was not important in participants' responses, all other analyses were conducted without considering the parental status of the participants.

A 2 (group membership) $\times$ 2 (sex of participant) $\times$ 2 (sex of child) MANOVA was then conducted on the measures on which the cultural groups were hypothesized to differ—the authoritarian scale and the two measures of collectivism. A similar MANOVA was conducted on the measures that the groups were hypothesized not to differ on—warmth, PCF, negative attributions, and anger. The results of both MANOVAs for the sample effect were significant, Wilks's $\lambda = 0.69$, $F(3, 54) = 8.24$, $p < .001$ for the authoritarian and collectivism measures; Wilks's $\lambda = 0.66$, $F(4, 53) = 6.72$, $p < .001$ for the remaining measures. There were no significant effects involving sex of child or sex of parent in either MANOVA. Table 1 reports the means and standard deviations for the parenting measures for both cultural groups.

The univariate tests for the first MANOVA showed that, as expected, there was a significant effect of sample on authoritarianism. Egyptian Canadians scored higher than Anglo-Canadians, $F(1, 56) = 21.66$, $p < .001$. Egyptian Canadians also scored higher on both of the collectivist measures, $F(1, 56) = 10.72$, $p < .005$; $F(1, 56) = 7.79$, $p < .01$ for the Collect and Success scales, respectively.

As expected, the univariate tests for the second MANOVA revealed no significant difference between the two groups in warmth and nurturance. There was a significant sample effect for PCF: Egyptian Canadians reported higher feelings of control over difficult

TABLE 1
Means and Standard Deviations for Parenting
Measures as a Function of Cultural Group

| | Cultural Group | | | |
| | Egyptian Canadian | | Anglo-Canadian | |
	M	SD	M	SD
Authoritarianism***	4.5	(0.79)	3.4	(0.73)
Collectivism***	5.2	(0.54)	4.6	(0.49)
Collectivism/success in life***	5.8	(0.77)	5.2	(0.74)
Warmth/nurturance	6.4	(0.50)	6.3	(0.63)
Perceived control over failure***	0.66	(1.04)	–0.12	(0.77)
Negative attributions	4.1	(0.96)	4.3	(0.94)
Anger**	4.1	(1.05)	3.4	(0.95)

**p < .05. ***p < .01.

parent-child interactions than Anglo-Canadians, $F(1, 56) = 16.92$, $p < .001$. This was qualified by a Sample × Sex of Parent interaction; post hoc t tests revealed that Egyptian Canadian men scored higher than Anglo-Canadian men (Ms = 1.01, –0.62; SDs = 1.25, 0.72 for Egyptian Canadian and Anglo-Canadian groups, respectively), $t(19) = 3.17$, $p < .005$. Mean PCF scores for Egyptian Canadian women were higher than for Anglo-Canadian women, but the means were not significantly different (Ms = 0.40, 0.02; SDs = 0.78, 0.73 for Egyptian Canadian and Anglo-Canadian groups, respectively), $t(41) = 1.62$, $p < .12$. As expected, there was also no difference between the two groups in negative attributions. There was, however, an unexpected significant effect for anger: Egyptian Canadians reported greater feelings of anger in response to the vignettes than did Anglo-Canadians, $F(1, 56) = 4.43$, $p < .05$.

WITHIN-GROUP ASSOCIATIONS

Pearson correlation coefficients were calculated within cultural groups for the measure of authoritarianism with the following scales: Collect, Success, Warmth and Nurturance, PCF, Negative Attributions, and Anger. Table 2 presents the correlation coefficients for the Egyptian Canadian and Anglo-Canadian groups. In line with our predictions, there was a trend for the measure of collectivism regarding family and kin—Collect—to be associated with parental authoritarianism in the Egyptian Canadian sample; this association was not significant in the Anglo-Canadian sample. The Success scale was related to authoritarianism in both samples, although this relationship was much stronger in the Egyptian Canadian sample. As predicted, warmth was significantly (negatively) associated with authoritarianism in the Anglo-Canadian but not the Egyptian Canadian group. Also consonant with our predictions, there was a trend for PCF to be negatively associated with parental authoritarianism in the Anglo-Canadian group; no such trend was evident in the Egyptian Canadian group. Contrary to our expectations, there were no significant correlations between authoritarianism and negative attributions within either cultural group. Also unexpected, parental anger was positively associated with authoritarianism in the Egyptian Canadian but not the Anglo-Canadian group.

z scores were calculated to determine if the correlation coefficients differed as a function of cultural group. The only significantly different correlations were those between authori-

TABLE 2
Correlations of Parental Authoritarianism With Measures of Parental Affect and Cognition, and Standardized Betas in the Stepwise Regression Analyses of Parental Authoritarianism on Parental Affective and Cognitive Predictors

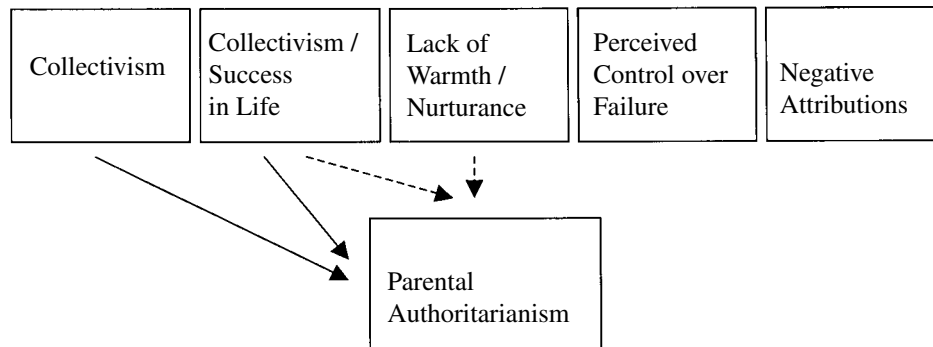| | Cultural Group | | | | |
| | Egyptian Canadian | | Anglo-Canadian | | |
Authoritarianism and	*Pearson* r	β	*Pearson* r	β	*Z Value*
Collectivism	.32*	.30*	.27	.39*	0.21
Collectivism/success in life	.65**	.64***	.38**		1.43
Warmth/nurturance	.19		−.50***	−.58**	2.82***
Perceived control over failure	−.01		−.31*		1.25
Negative attributions	.02		.04		0.08
Anger	.42**		.19		0.97

*p < .10. **p < 05. ***p < .01.

tarianism and warmth. In this case, there was a negative relationship between authoritarianism and warmth in the Anglo sample and a nonsignificant positive relationship between these variables in the Egyptian Canadian sample.

REGRESSION ANALYSES WITHIN GROUPS

Stepwise regression analyses were performed within each sample to determine what combination of predictors could best predict parental authoritarianism. Parental affective and cognitive variables (warmth, feelings of control in difficult interactions, negative attributions, and anger in the discipline situation) as well as the measures of collectivism were tested; all other variables (such as level of education, parental status) were not considered. Table 2 reports the best models for the Egyptian Canadian and Anglo-Canadian groups; Figure 1 presents these models pictorially. For each group, two predictors best predicted parental authoritarianism. For the Egyptian Canadian group, the best model contained the two collectivism scales; the other predictors did not account for variance, given the two collectivism scales. The betas for both of these predictors were positive, indicating a positive relationship between both measures of collectivism and parental authoritarianism. For the Anglo-Canadian group, the best model contained the measure of warmth and nurturance and the Collect scale; the other predictors did not account for variance at an alpha level of less than .15, given the two predictors already entered. As expected, the beta for the measure of warmth and nurturance was negative, indicating a negative relationship between parental warmth and parental authoritarianism. As with the Egyptian Canadian group, the beta for the Collect scale was positive.

DISCUSSION

The results of this study indicate that higher levels of parental authoritarianism in non-Anglo cultural groups may not necessarily be accompanied by more negative ways of thinking and feeling about children. Thus, the Egyptian Canadian group scored higher than the Anglo-Canadian group on authoritarianism but did not differ in levels of warmth or

Figure 1: **Best Models for Parental Authoritarianism Within Cultural Groups (Egyptian Canadian solid lines, Anglo-Canadian dashed lines) as Determined by Stepwise Regression**

maladaptive thinking about children in the discipline situation. In fact, Egyptian Canadian men scored higher than men in the Anglo-Canadian group in perceived control over difficult parent-child interactions. These findings mean that the higher levels of authoritarianism that often characterize parents from collectivist cultural groups (e.g., Chao, 1994; Harwood, Schoelmerich, Schulze, & Gonzalez, 1999) are not necessarily accompanied by overall lower levels of warmth; more negative (dispositional) attributions about children; or more automatic, maladaptive, and inflexible processing of information. Thus, the conditions that promote transmission of values—warmth and benign ways of thinking—are just as likely to be present in these groups. The possibility that parental authoritarianism in collectivist groups is more conscious and considered means that this parenting may not be as deleterious for the transmission of values as might otherwise be assumed.

Further support for our argument is provided by the pattern of correlations between authoritarianism and other parenting variables. Warmth was negatively associated with authoritarianism in the Anglo-Canadian but not the Egyptian Canadian group, and there was a trend for PCF scores to be negatively associated in the Anglo-Canadian group, whereas there was no such association for the Egyptian Canadians. Higher levels of authoritarianism within the Egyptian Canadian group were best predicted by collectivist concerns with respect to success in life and the family. The best predictors for the Anglo-Canadian group were lower levels of warmth and higher levels of collectivism within the family. Thus, there was some evidence that authoritarianism is more likely to be linked with negative affect and maladaptive thinking in the individualist but not the collectivist group.

Some parenting variables did not relate to authoritarianism as predicted. Authoritarianism was not associated with dispositional attributions in either group and was associated with parental anger only in the Egyptian Canadian sample. With respect to anger, it should be noted that higher levels of anger with a misbehaving child (as assessed by the vignettes) do not necessarily indicate an overall emotional context that is generally angry. It does mean that when children misbehave and show disrespect for authority, parents in collectivist cultures who are strict with children will be upset with them. If the overall affective context is relatively positive, parental anger may serve to make salient the parent's displeasure with the child's misbehavior. If the anger is conveyed in a relatively controlled, thoughtful manner, the child may more readily perceive and heed the parental message, and values may be more

effectively transmitted (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). In fact, the anger of Egyptian Canadians was not undifferentiated. When misdeeds in the vignettes were grouped into less serious (forgetting to put away a bicycle and watching television without cleaning up) and more serious scenarios (hitting a playmate and stealing money), the association of parental authoritarianism with anger in the Egyptian Canadian sample was significant for the more serious ($r = .46$, $p < .01$) but not the less serious ($r = .21$, ns) scenarios. (The corresponding correlations were both nonsignificant in the Anglo-Canadian sample.) Similarly, the main effect of cultural group on levels of anger was significant for the relatively serious, $F(1, 56) = 9.67$, $p < .05$, but not the less serious scenarios, $F(1, 56) = 0.32$, ns. This pattern of findings supports the idea that the higher levels of anger in the Egyptian Canadian group are relatively differentiated and specific to serious misbehaviors.

It should be noted that collectivist concerns regarding success in life also characterized parental authoritarianism in the Anglo-Canadian group, although less strongly. This suggests that collectivist concerns may distinguish parental authoritarianism to some degree in Western European groups as well. To the extent that it reflects these concerns and not more negative ways of thinking and feeling about children, it is possible that the effects of parental authoritarianism in West European cultural groups may be less harmful for the transmission of values. This suggestion merits closer research attention and points to the importance of distinguishing between different forms of authoritarianism in a Western cultural context rather than making broad generalizations about conditions that facilitate children's acquisition of standards of behavior. Such attention may help to sharpen understanding of parenting styles and increase the ability of researchers to understand the most effective ways values are transmitted from one generation to another.

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Duane Rudy is currently an assistant professor of psychology at the University of Toronto. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Toronto in 1999.

Joan E. Grusec is a professor of psychology at the University of Toronto, Canada. She has served on the editorial boards of professional journals and is currently the associate editor of Developmental Psychology. *She is coauthor of three previous books, including* Development: History, Theory, and Research *(New York: Springer-Verlag, 1988).*