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Parenting Style, Child Emotion Regulation and Behavioral Problems: The Moderating Role of Cultural Values in Australia and Indonesia*

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ABSTRACT



Research has shown that the congruence of parenting styles with cultural values, rather than parenting styles alone, impacts child adjustment. This study examined if parents' cultural values moderate the relationships between parenting styles and child outcomes across both an individualist culture (Australia) and a collectivist culture (Indonesia). Three hundred and eighty-seven parents of 2–10-year-old children from both countries reported their parenting styles, the importance of the collectivistic values (security, conformity, and tradition), and their child's emotion regulation and behavioral problems. In both countries, authoritative parenting was associated with higher child emotion regulation and lower levels of behavioral problems, and authoritarian parenting was associated with lower child emotion regulation and higher levels of behavioral problems. Although cultural values did not moderate the relationship between authoritarian parenting and child adjustment, in both countries greater importance placed on tradition attenuated the positive effect of authoritative parenting on child outcomes.

KEYWORDS

Child behavioral problems; child emotion regulation; cultural values; parenting; parenting styles

Introduction

The influence of parenting on child behavior and emotional adjustment has been widely studied and is well documented in Western individualist cultures; however, it remains understudied in Eastern collectivist cultures, and even less research has examined the potential role of cultural differences. In the Western contexts, authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive styles have become a conventional template for parenting style research

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(Baumrind, 1991). On the basis of their levels of demandingness and responsiveness, authoritative parents are both demanding and responsive, imposing standards for conduct while also facilitating autonomy; authoritarian parents are more demanding than responsive, setting standards that restrict autonomy and emphasize obedience; and permissive parents are more responsive than demanding, allowing children to direct their own activities without interfering (Baumrind, 1991).

Extensive research conducted predominantly in Western, individualistic cultures has found that authoritative parenting predicts better socio-emotional outcomes and school performance, and fewer problem behaviors among children and adolescents (Fletcher, Walls, Cook, Madison, & Bridges, 2008; Newman et al., 2015; Rinaldi & Howe, 2012; Williams et al., 2009). In contrast, authoritarian parenting has been associated with emotional maladjustment (Baumrind, Larzelere, & Owens, 2010; King, Vidourek, & Merianos, 2016), more inattention, aggression and delinquency (Buschgens et al., 2010), and a higher likelihood of school dropout (Blondal & Adalbjarnardottir, 2009). Finally, permissive parenting has been associated with more problem behaviors, such as school misconduct, and drug and alcohol use (Fletcher, Walls, Cook, Madison, & Bridges, 2008; Patock-Peckham, Cheong, Balhorn, & Nagoshi, 2001). This study aimed to examine the relationships between parenting styles and child emotion regulation and behavioral problems across a Western culture (Australian) and an Eastern (Indonesian) culture, and to examine the potential moderating effects of parents' cultural values.

3 Parenting styles and child behavior in non-Western cultures

As outlined above, the majority of parenting style research has been conducted in individualist societies. A growing body of literature has shown that the findings in non-Western, collectivist societies, are contradictory to those in Western cultures, suggesting that the effects of parenting styles on child adjustment may be culture-dependent (Prevoe & Tamis-LeMonda, 2017). Authoritarian parenting, for example, is not universally associated with poor child outcomes in Middle-Eastern cultures. Specifically, authoritarian parenting was associated with high family connectedness but not with poorer mental health among Egyptian adolescents (Dwairy & Menshar, 2006), possibly because this parenting style is congruent with the patriarchal, authoritarian and collectivist nature of Arab cultures (Dwairy, Achoui, Abouserie, & Farah, 2006). Similarly, research from China has shown that academic performance (Chao, 2001) and depression levels (Li, Costanzo, & Putallaz, 2010) of Chinese students are not different based on exposure to either authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles, whereas

their **European-American counterparts** experienced universally worse outcomes under the authoritarian parenting. It has been also shown that demandingness is associated with parental concern and involvement in Chinese culture but this is not so in Western contexts (Chao, 1994).

However, there are also studies from collectivistic cultures that have shown similar findings in terms of the impact of parenting style on outcomes as those consistently found in individualist cultures. For example, authoritative parenting was less likely than authoritarian and permissive parenting to result in internalizing and externalizing behavior problems among Pakistani (Akhter, Hanif, Tariq, & Atta, 2011) and Iranian children (Alizadeh, Talib, Abdullah, & Mansor, 2011). Authoritative parenting has also resulted in less aggression, more peer acceptance and better school achievement (Chen, Dong, & Zhou, 1997) and fewer internalizing and externalizing problems for Chinese children (Lee et al., 2014).

Parenting styles and emotion regulation in non-Western cultures

As with behavioral outcomes, the state of cross-cultural research on the effects of parenting style on emotion regulation is inconsistent. Emotion regulation refers to the internal and external processes used to monitor, evaluate and modify emotional reactions to accomplish one's goals (Thompson, 1994). Authoritative parenting is considered favorable for child emotional adjustment in Western societies (Bornstein, 2002). Research has also shown that among Anglophone children, high parental responsiveness has been reported as optimal for emotion regulation (Brenning, Soenens, Van Petegem, & Vansteenkiste, 2015; McDowell, Kim, O'Neil, & Parke, 2002), whereas high parental control, consistent with the authoritarian style, was detrimental to young adult emotion regulation (Manzeske & Stright, 2009). However, there is also evidence suggesting that authoritarian parenting is not detrimental to emotion regulation in collectivist cultures (Jabeen, Anis-Ul-Haque, & Riaz, 2013). Given the mixed findings from collectivist cultures both across and within cultures, further research is needed.

Perhaps one reason for the inconsistencies is that few studies have evaluated the effects of the cultural values and parenting styles on a child's outcomes. Most authors have presented indirect evidence, testing only the relationships between parenting styles and collectivist values (Chao, 1994; Rudy & Grusec, 2001; Xu, 2005), or only compared the associations between parenting styles and child outcomes in different cultures (Dwairy & Menshar, 2006; Kim & Rohner, 2002; Leung, Lau, & Lam, 1998). To date, the research examining cultural values and parenting styles have not been directly examined in conjunction with child adjustment, which limits

the conclusions that can be drawn from such research. Arguments that values moderate the relationship between parenting and child outcomes would be persuasive if all three constructs, that is cultural values, parenting styles and child outcomes, were examined simultaneously. This study addresses this gap by examining whether cultural values moderate the associations between parenting styles and child emotional and behavioral outcomes in Australia and Indonesia.

Cultural values and parenting styles

Cultural values determine the socialization goals with which parents rear their children (Triandis et al., 1993). Cultures might differ in their level of collectivism and individualism, where individualism appears dominant in Western countries, such as the United States and Australia, and collectivism appears dominant in Eastern countries, such as Indonesia and other Asian countries. In individualistic cultures, individuals perceive themselves as separate from their social contexts and emphasize autonomy, self-reliance, and independence from others, resulting in the prioritization of personal goals over relational goals (Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990; Triandis et al., 1993). By contrast, collectivistic cultures prioritize relations over personal interests and tend to value family integrity, duty, obedience, conformity, and security more than individualist cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis et al., 1990). In particular, high traditional values motivate submission to the expectations of others. Tradition motivates submission to the expectations of others and devalues the individualist nature (Schwartz, 2007).

These values impact parenting approaches. Parenting in individualist cultures tends to focus on encouraging child autonomy, independence, assertiveness, and self-actualization, whereas parenting in collectivist cultures tends to emphasize duty, obedience, conformity, and interdependence (Triandis et al., 1990). For example, in individualist cultures, infants are encouraged to sleep in their own bed and room as it promotes independence. By contrast, in collectivistic cultures such as Indonesia, young children usually sleep with their mothers, to encourage physical intimacy and interdependence (Megawangi, Zeitlin, & Colletta, 1995).

As different cultures have different parenting style profiles, and the same parenting styles may influence child development differently depending on the socio-cultural context, authoritative parenting may be more relevant to individualist cultures. This is because the individuality and autonomy fostered by authoritative parenting is highly valued in individualist cultures. In contrast, authoritarian parenting may be suitable in collectivist cultures where socialization goals are to promote interdependence, obedience, and

inhibition of personal interests in favor of group cohesion (Rudy & Grusec, 2001). However, considering the research showing the disadvantages of authoritarian parenting and advantages of authoritative parenting in some collectivist cultures as described above (e.g., Akhter et al., 2011; Lee et al., 2014), it is necessary to avoid homogenizing all collectivist cultures as benefiting from the same parenting style. A recent study with Indonesian parents showed that ineffective parenting practices as indicated by coercive and inconsistent parenting were positively related to child emotional and behavioral problems, whereas effective parenting practices as indicated by positive encouragement and parent-child relationship were unrelated to child emotional and behavioral problems (Sumargi, Filus, Morawska, & Sofronoff, 2018). This suggests that in Indonesia, authoritarian parenting might lead to poorer child adjustment, but authoritative parenting might not necessarily lead to better child adjustment. Unfortunately, the study did not measure parents' cultural values or involve participants from individualist cultures to compare the effect of parenting styles on child adjustment, and therefore, warranted a further investigation.

Country profiles

Australia is located in the Asia-Pacific region with a population of 24 million in 2015 (United Nations Development Programme, 2016). The majority of people living in Australia speak English (77%) and identify their ancestries as English (34%) and Australian (33%; Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 2014). Australia is considered as a developed country, ranked second out of 188 countries in the Human Development Index (United Nations Development Programme, 2016). With respect to individualism-collectivism dimension, Australia is an individualist country that holds strong independence and self-reliance values (Triandis, 1995).

As Australia's neighbor, Indonesia is a collectivist country of interest. Indonesia has the fourth-largest population in the world (i.e., 257.6 million; United Nations Development Programme, 2016). It consists of more than 1,300 ethnic groups with Javanese (40%) and Sundanese (16%) as the largest ethnic groups (Na'im & Syaputra, 2011). Indonesia ranked 113th in the Human Development Index (United Nations Development Programme, 2016), meaning that it is still considered as a developing country.

In contrast to Australia and other Western countries that have many publications on parenting, there is only limited literature on Indonesian parenting. Haar and Krahe (1999) found that Indonesian adolescents responded more submissively to conflict with parents than conflict with peers, showing the relevance of obedience and respect for hierarchy within

Indonesian families. Trommsdorff (1995) reported that high parental demands for conformity and obedience were accompanied by high responsiveness among Indonesian parents. One recent study has addressed parenting styles specifically, finding that Indonesian adolescents reported receiving high levels of authoritative parenting, which were associated with positive mental health and life satisfaction outcomes (Abubakar, Van de Vijver, Suryani, Handayani, & Pandi, 2015). Finally, Sumargi, Sofronoff, and Morawska (2015b) found low levels of dysfunctional parenting and child emotional and behavioral problems amongst Indonesians residing in both Indonesia and Australia.

The present study

This study is the first to directly compare Australian and Indonesian parenting styles. We were specifically interested in comparing the associations between parenting styles and child emotional and behavioral problems in the two countries, as well as in examining the moderating effects of parents' cultural values on the relationship between parenting styles and child emotional and behavioral outcomes. The cultural orientation of individualism and collectivism has been widely used to conceptualize or explain cultural differences in socialization goals or parent-child relationships (Hofstede, 2001). In the majority of cross-cultural studies, the values of individualism and collectivism are usually used in cross-cultural research as the country-level indicators calculated using national data (e.g., House, Hanges, Javidan, Doufman, & Gupta, 2004). This approach, however, homogenizes within-cultural variation in collectivism and individualism (Liem & Nie, 2008; Triandis, 1995; Triandis et al., 1993). To avoid homogenizing, in this study, we focused on measuring collectivism and individualism values at a personal level using Schwarz personal values framework (Schwartz et al., 2001). Studies have shown that Schwarz values can serve as the indicators of individualism and collectivism at personal or individual levels (Oishi, Schimmack, Diener, & Suh, 1998). More precisely, the universal values of security, conformity, and the tradition known as conservation values (Schwartz et al., 2001) were used as an indicator of collectivist values. A study by Liem and Nie (2008) showed that security, conformity, and tradition were highly valued among Indonesian adolescents.

The literature cited above showed that authoritative parenting has positive effects on child adjustment in individualist cultures and either positive or non-significant effects in collectivist cultures, whereas authoritarian parenting has negative effects in individualist cultures and either positive, non-significant or negative effects in collectivist cultures. In the spirit of parsimony, we hypothesized that: (1) higher levels of authoritative

parenting would be associated with higher levels of emotion regulation and lower levels of behavioral problems in both Australia and Indonesia; (2) higher levels of authoritarian parenting would be associated with lower levels of child emotion regulation and more child behavioral problems in both countries; (3) the relationships between authoritarian parenting and child outcomes would be moderated by country with attenuated effects for Indonesian parents; and (4) the relationships between authoritarian parenting and child outcomes would be moderated by parents' cultural values, where the associations would be attenuated if security, conformity, and tradition values were considered important by parents.

Method

Participants

Ethical approval was obtained from the University of Queensland (Australia). Participants were 193 Australian parents and 194 Indonesian parents of children aged 2–10 years. Australian participants were recruited through primary schools and child care centers in Brisbane and through online forums and social media. Indonesian participants were recruited through schools and child care centers in Jakarta and Surabaya, the two largest cities in Indonesia. Participation was voluntary. In Australia, participants were offered entry into a prize draw for a \$100 gift card.

The demographic characteristics are presented in Table 1. The majority of participants in both Australia (92%) and Indonesia (90%) were mothers. Australian participants were aged between 20 and 53 years ($M = 36.49$ years, $SD = 7.56$), and Indonesian participants were aged between 20 and 67 years ($M = 35.95$ years, $SD = 7.05$). Child gender was similar in both Australia (50% males) and Indonesia (57% males). The mean ages of Australian and Indonesian children were 5.39 years ($SD = 2.53$) and 6.36 years ($SD = 2.21$), respectively. An independent samples t -test revealed that parent age did not significantly differ between Australia and Indonesia, $t(371) = 0.71$, $p = .481$; however, Australian children were younger than Indonesian children, $t(377) = -4.02$, $p < .001$.

The majority (81%) of Australians identified as Caucasian ($n = 157$), whereas in Indonesia the majority were Javanese ($n = 91$, 47%), Betawi ($n = 31$, 16%), or Chinese ($n = 30$, 16%). Australian participants were significantly more educated than Indonesian participants, $t(385) = 7.48$, $p < .001$ and they had significantly less financial difficulties than Indonesian parents as indicated by their ability to meet essential expenses, $\chi^2(2) = 12.05$, $p = .002$, and availability of leftover money after essential expenses, $\chi^2(2) = 57.35$, $p < .001$.

Table 1. Participant characteristics as a percentage of Australian and Indonesian samples.

Characteristic	Australia (n = 193)	Indonesia (n = 194)
Marital status		
Single	8.3	–
Married	73.6	96.4
De facto	13.0	–
Divorced/separated	5.2	2.1
Widowed	–	1.5
Household composition		
Initial family (both biological or adoptive parents present)	82.4	71.1
Step family (two parents, one being a step parent)	2.6	1.0
Sole parent family (one parent only)	8.3	5.2
Extended family (in addition to parents, grandparents or other relatives present)	3.6	22.2
Other	3.1	–
Highest education level attained		
Primary school or less	–	3.1
Junior high school (Year 7)	–	6.2
Senior high school (Year 12)	18.7	30.4
Diploma	14.5	17.0
Undergraduate degree	30.1	37.6
Postgraduate degree	36.8	5.7
Employment status		
Full-time (regular work, more than or equal to 35 hours/week)	38.3	47.9
Part-time (regular work, less than 35 hours/week)	32.1	10.3
Casual (occasional work)	6.2	7.2
Not working, but looking for a job	3.1	2.1
Not working (stay at home parent, retired, and student)	20.2	32.5
Unable to meet essential household expenses during the past 12 months (e.g., food, mortgage or rent payment, utility bills, child education or important medical care)		
After essential expenses, how much money is left over?	17.1	30.9
Enough that we can comfortably purchase most of the things we really want	36.3	5.2
Enough that we can purchase only some of the things we really want	43.0	66.5
Not enough to purchase much of anything we really want	20.7	28.4

Note. Numbers do not add to 100% because of some missing data.

Procedure

Australian participants were directed to an online questionnaire created using Qualtrics software. Participants began the online questionnaire after reading the information sheet and providing consent.

Indonesian participants were similarly informed about the study and asked for their consent; however, the majority completed paper questionnaires. Those who completed the questionnaire online followed the same procedure as described for Australian participants, albeit a translated version. Indonesian research assistants entered paper questionnaire data online using the Qualtrics system.

Measures

All measures used in the study were originally developed in English. The Indonesian version of the questionnaire was prepared using the translation-back-translation method by Brislin (1970).

Demographics. Demographic information was collected using the Family Background Questionnaire (Sanders & Morawska, 2010). This included data on family characteristics such as age and gender, family structure, nationality and ethnic background, education, employment, and financial status.

Parenting style. Parenting style was assessed with the short version of the Parenting Styles and Dimensions Questionnaire (PSDQ; Robinson, Mandleco, Olsen, & Hart, 2001). The questionnaire consists of 32 items evaluating three parenting styles: authoritative (15 items), authoritarian (12 items) and permissive (5 items). Sample items reflecting authoritative, authoritarian and permissive parenting are “I give my child reasons for why rules should be obeyed”, “I yell or shout when my child misbehaves”, and “I state punishment to my child but do not actually do them”. The frequency with which participants engaged in these behaviors is recorded on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = never, 5 = always). Robinson et al. (2001) reported that the reliability coefficients for authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive scales were 0.86, 0.82, and 0.64, respectively. In this study, we used only the authoritative and authoritarian scales. The reliability coefficients were good for the authoritative (Australia $\alpha = 0.88$, Indonesia $\alpha = 0.88$) and authoritarian scales (Australia $\alpha = 0.79$, Indonesia $\alpha = 0.78$).

Values. Values were assessed using the short version of the Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ; Schwartz, 2007). The questionnaire consists of 21 items reflecting 10 basic human values, postulated to be virtually universal in content and structure across contemporary, literate cultures (Davidov, Schmidt, & Schwartz, 2008; Schwartz, 1994; Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004; Schwartz et al., 2001). Of these, we used the conservation values of security, conformity, and tradition. Each item provides a verbal portrait of an individual who prioritizes one value, with two sentences describing what is important to them, and their goals, wishes or aspirations. Participants rate how much they like that individual on a 6-point scale ranging from 1 (very much like me) to 6 (not at all like me). Sample items include (1) “It is important to him/her to live in secure surroundings. He/she avoids anything that might endanger his/her safety” for security value; (2) “He/she believes that people should do what they’re told. He/she thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching” for conformity value; and (3) “Tradition is important to him/her. He/she tries to follow the customs handed down by his/her religion or his/her family” for tradition value. In this study, reliabilities were $\alpha = 0.36$ for security, $\alpha = 0.76$ for conformity, and $\alpha = 0.31$ for tradition for Australian sample, and $\alpha = 0.48$ for security, $\alpha = 0.51$ for conformity, and $\alpha = 0.31$ for tradition for Indonesian sample. These are consistent with previously reported reliabilities for security ($\alpha = 0.61$), conformity ($\alpha = 0.58$), and

tradition ($\alpha = 0.36$, Schwartz, 2007). The measure has proven cross-cultural validity (Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004; Schwartz et al., 2001) and test-retest reliability.

Emotion regulation. Emotion regulation was assessed using the Emotion Regulation Checklist (ERC), a 24-item questionnaire assessing stability, intensity, valence, flexibility, and situational appropriateness of children's affect (Shields & Cicchetti, 1997). The ERC consists of an emotion regulation subscale (8 items) and a liability/negativity subscale (15 items). Sample items include "Can say when she/he feels sad, angry or mad, fearful or afraid," and "Is prone to angry outbursts/tantrums easily". Parents rated the frequency of their child's behaviors on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 4 (*almost always*), where 13 items were reverse scored. The mean of all items was calculated, with higher values indicating higher levels of (better) emotion regulation. Consistent with previous reliability estimates ($\alpha = 0.85$, Shields & Cicchetti, 1997), the overall ERC showed good reliability in the Australian sample ($\alpha = 0.85$), and adequate reliability in the Indonesian sample ($\alpha = 0.69$).

Behavioral problems. Child behavioral problems over the past 4 weeks were measured using the 27-item Child Adjustment and Parent Efficacy Scale (CAPES; Morawska, Sanders, Haslam, Filus, & Fletcher, 2014). The CAPES is a measure of child behavioral and emotional adjustment and parental efficacy for children at the age range from 2 to 12 years old. In this study, only the behavioral problem subscale (24 items) was used. The behavioral problems subscale included items such as "My child acts defiant when asked to do something". Items were rated on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (*not true of my child at all*) to 3 (*true of my child very much, or most of the time*). Eight items were reverse scored. Higher scores indicate a higher level of behavioral problems. The CAPES has shown validity and internal consistency, with $\alpha = 0.90$ for the behavioral scale (Morawska et al., 2014). Reliability of the behavioral scale in this study was good, with $\alpha = 0.88$ and 0.84 in Australia and Indonesia.

Data analysis

To compare the differences in cultural values and parenting styles between Australian and Indonesian parents, a series of independent samples *t*-tests were performed. Next, hierarchical multiple regressions were performed separately for child emotion regulation and child behavioral problems. Country and cultural values were used as moderators in separate regression analyses with parenting styles as independent variables and demographic factors significantly correlated to child emotion regulation and child behavioral

problems (i.e., parent education, financial difficulty, and leftover money) as control variables. To further test the significance and direction of interaction effects between parenting styles and values on child outcomes, an online tool developed by Preacher, Curran, and Bauer (2006) was used.

Results

Preliminary analyses

The proportion of total missing data was less than 0.5%. As the amount of missing data was small, an estimation maximization (EM) was performed to account for missing values (Little & Rubin, 2014). The demographic variables were included in the EM procedure as predictors to improve the accuracy of imputation. Examination of normality assumptions indicated significant skew and kurtosis. Given that, all main analyses were performed on the original and transformed variables. The transformations did not impact the pattern of results, thus findings from the original data are reported.

Country comparisons

Means, standard deviations, and *t*-statistics for Australian and Indonesian parenting styles, values, emotion regulation, and behavioral problems are displayed in Table 2. Results showed that Australian parents were significantly more authoritative than Indonesian parents, and Indonesian parents were significantly more authoritarian than Australian parents. In addition, security, and tradition were significantly more important to Indonesians than Australians; however, the importance of conformity did not differ between the countries. Furthermore, children in Indonesia had lower levels of emotional regulation than Australian children but there were no differences in levels of child behavior.

Evaluation of moderation models

Country as moderator

Hierarchical multiple regressions were performed separately for child emotion regulation and child behavioral problems (see Table 3). Control variables were entered at Block one. Authoritative and authoritarian scores were mean-centered using country means and entered as predictors in Block 2 along with country (0 = Australia, 1 = Indonesia). The interaction terms were entered in Block 3 to test moderating effects.

In the child emotion regulation model, the results revealed that a higher level of authoritative parenting was associated with a better child emotion

Table 2. Means and standard deviations of key variables by country.

Variable	Australia (n = 193)		Indonesia (n = 194)		t	df	d
	M	SD	M	SD			
Authoritative	4.10	0.49	3.93	0.64	2.93*	360	0.30
Authoritarian	1.72	0.42	2.09	0.52	-7.67**	371	0.78
Security	5.48	2.11	4.72	1.90	3.69**	380	0.38
Conformity	6.31	2.36	5.93	2.20	1.67	385	0.17
Tradition	5.70	2.03	4.72	1.68	5.16**	371	0.53
Emotion regulation	3.10	0.35	2.94	0.27	5.17**	360	0.51
Behavioral problems	20.24	9.36	20.04	8.33	0.22	385	0.02

Note. M = mean, SD = standard deviation, d = Cohen's d (effect size). * $p < .01$ and ** $p < .001$.

Table 3. Regression coefficients for emotion regulation and behavioral problems with country as a moderator.

Emotion regulation Predictor	Emotion regulation		Behavioral problems	
	β	p	β	p
Block 1				
Education	0.24	<.001***	-0.12	.028*
Financial difficulty	0.16	.002**	-0.06	.319
Leftover money	0.01	.915	-0.04	.526
R ²	0.10		0.02	
F	14.14	<.001***	2.37	.071
Block 2				
Authoritative	0.15	.002**	-0.17	.001**
Authoritarian	-0.21	<.001***	0.18	.001**
Country	-0.24	<.001***	-0.01	.802
R ² change	0.11		0.07	
F change	17.30	<.001***	9.89	<.001***
Block 3				
Authoritative \times country	0.02	.795	-0.01	.929
Authoritarian \times country	-0.07	.364	0.02	.797
R ² change	0.00		0.00	
F change	0.54	.581	0.05	.955

Note: β = standardized regression coefficient, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$

regulation ($\beta = 0.15$, $p < .01$) and a higher level of authoritarian parenting was associated with poorer child emotion regulation ($\beta = -0.21$, $p < .001$). There was a negative association between country and child emotion regulation ($\beta = -0.24$, $p < .001$), indicating better emotion regulation among Australian children. However, there were no significant interaction effects, indicating that the country did not moderate the relationships between parenting styles and child emotion regulation.

In the child behavioral problems model, the results showed that a higher level of authoritative parenting was associated with a lower level of child behavioral problems ($\beta = -0.17$, $p < .01$) and a higher level of authoritarian parenting was associated with a higher level of child behavioral problems ($\beta = 0.18$, $p < .01$). Country was not a significant predictor of child behavioral problems. Furthermore, there were no significant interaction effects of parenting styles and country.

Values as moderators

As with the country moderator models, a hierarchical multiple regression was conducted for each child outcome measure. The same procedure as above was used, except with security, conformity, and tradition as moderators (see Table 4).

The results revealed that only authoritative and authoritarian parenting were significantly associated with child emotion regulation. A higher level of authoritative parenting was associated with a higher level of child emotion regulation ($\beta = 0.13$, $p < .01$) and a higher level of authoritarian parenting was associated with poorer emotion regulation ($\beta = -0.21$, $p < .001$). The interaction effects were not significant, with the exception of authoritative parenting and tradition values ($\beta = -0.13$, $p < .05$).

In the child behavioral problems model, the results showed that a higher level of authoritative parenting was associated with a lower level of behavioral problems ($\beta = -0.13$, $p < .05$) and a higher level of authoritarian parenting was associated with a higher level of behavioral problems ($\beta = 0.23$, $p < .001$). No significant interaction effects were detected, indicating that cultural values (security, conformity, and tradition) did not moderate the relationships between parenting styles (authoritarian and authoritative parenting) and child behavioral problems.

Table 4. Regression coefficients for emotion regulation and behavioral problems with cultural values as moderators.

Emotion regulation Predictor	Emotion regulation		Behavioral problems	
	β	p	β	p
Block 1				
Education	0.24	<.001***	-0.15	.010*
Financial difficulty	0.18	.001**	-0.06	.278
Leftover money	0.01	.982	-0.03	.586
R^2	0.11		0.03	
F	15.99	<.001***	3.53	.015*
Block 2				
Authoritative	0.13	.009**	-0.13	.013*
Authoritarian	-0.21	<.001***	0.23	<.001***
Security	-0.04	.494	0.03	.634
Conformity	-0.01	.969	-0.09	.126
Tradition	-0.02	.701	0.08	.172
R^2 change	0.08		0.09	
F change	6.98	<.001***	8.01	<.001***
Block 3				
Authoritative \times security	-0.04	.504	0.08	.213
Authoritative \times Conformity	0.01	.978	-0.01	.929
Authoritative \times Tradition	-0.13	.032*	-0.11	.083
Authoritarian \times security	-0.04	.429	0.02	.712
Authoritarian \times Conformity	-0.01	.923	-0.01	.976
Authoritarian \times Tradition	-0.05	.384	0.10	.085
R^2 change	0.03		0.02	
F change	2.98	.045*	1.48	.813

Note: β = standardized regression coefficient, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$

Interpretation of authoritative \times tradition interaction

The simple slopes for the interaction between authoritative parenting and tradition on child emotion regulation were calculated using an online tool developed by Preacher et al. (2006). Figure 1 depicts the relationship between authoritative parenting and child emotion regulation at low, medium, and high importance of tradition. Due to the inverse nature of the PVQ scale, low tradition was defined as one standard deviation above the mean, high tradition as one standard deviation below the mean, and medium tradition was set as the tradition mean. Although continuous predictors were mean-centered for the analyses, the slopes are displayed on the raw, non-centered authoritative parenting scale for ease of interpretation.

The simple slopes were both significant and positive at low tradition, $b=0.14$, $p=.001$, and medium tradition, $b=0.07$, $p=.023$; however, authoritative parenting did not significantly predict emotion regulation at high tradition, $b=0.003$, $p=.954$. This suggests that overall, higher levels of authoritative parenting are positively associated with better child emotion regulation in both countries, but this relationship is attenuated when tradition is a highly important value for a parent. In other words, the positive relationship between authoritative parenting and child emotion regulation is weaker when parents highly value the tradition.

Discussion

This study investigated the associations between parenting styles and child emotional and behavioral problems in Australia and Indonesia, and examined if country or cultural values moderated the relationship between

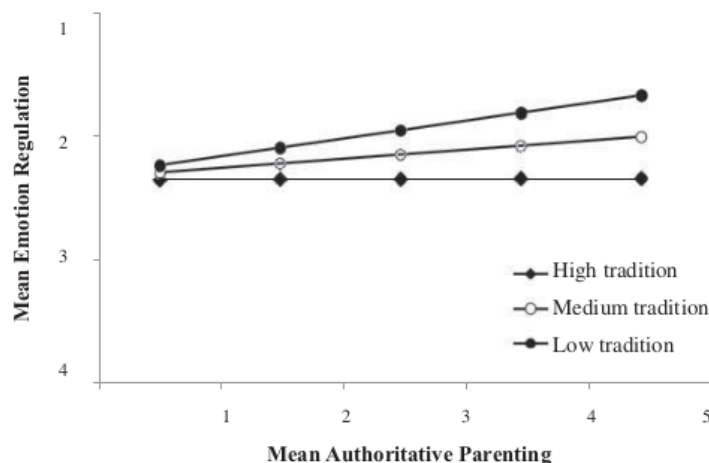


Figure 1. Relationship between mean authoritative parenting scores and mean child emotion regulation as a function of low, medium, and high importance of tradition.

11 parenting styles and child outcomes. The comparison of the two country profiles showed that Australian parents were more authoritative and Indonesian parents were more authoritarian, and security and tradition values were more important to Indonesian than Australian parents. On the basis of the results of hierarchical multiple regressions, the first and second hypotheses were supported. As expected, higher levels of authoritative parenting were associated with better emotion regulation and lower behavioral problems in both countries. Likewise, higher levels of 28 authoritarian parenting were associated with poorer emotion regulation and higher behavioral problems in both countries. However, there was no support for the third and fourth hypotheses as neither country nor cultural values moderated the 8 relationships between authoritarian parenting and child emotion regulation and behavioral problems.

An unexpected finding of this study was tradition moderating the relationship between authoritative parenting and child outcomes. This finding suggests that greater importance of tradition 27 attenuates the positive relationship between authoritative parenting and child emotion regulation. This could be interpreted as a potential negative effect of the relationship between the parenting style and the cultural values on child outcomes. Authoritative parenting may not have as strong an impact on emotion regulation when tradition is highly valued by a parent, because tradition motivates submission to the expectations of others (Schwartz, 2007), which contradicts the self-assertion and 26 personal interests that are fostered by authoritative parenting. However, it is unclear why no significant interaction effects were detected for other cultural values in this study, namely security and conformity. A safe conclusion is that in this sample, authoritative parenting was beneficial for child emotion regulation at best, and at worst, it did not harm.

31 The fact that we did not find cultural differences in the relationship between authoritarian parenting and child adjustment fits with other inconsistencies in the literature. Many have explained such an absence of cultural differences as the result of increased globalization and modernization (Barnhart, Raval, Jansari, & Raval, 2013; Uji, Sakamoto, Adachi, & Kitamura, 2014; Watabe & Hibbard, 2014; Xu, 2005). That is, greater exposure to Western influences, especially through widely available media, such as television and the internet, is paralleled by a shift toward authoritative parenting. Indeed, this study observed that authoritative parenting was more prevalent than authoritarian parenting in Indonesia (although statistical significance was not assessed; Table 2). The globalization rationale may also explain why conformity did not differ between Australia and Indonesia, when security and tradition did. Conformity may be less important in a world where industry and competitive job markets increasingly

require assertiveness and distinction from others to acquire occupational success and economic resources (Uji et al., 2014). Security and tradition values, however, are not necessarily incompatible with such attributes.

This study finds support for the argument that authoritative parenting is beneficial for child adjustment across cultures (Mayseless, Scharf, & Sholt, 2003). Even with differences in values and parenting style norms between Australia and Indonesia, in both countries authoritative parenting promotes emotion regulation and behavioral adjustment, whereas authoritarian parenting may be detrimental to emotion regulation and behavioral adjustment. Such an outcome is promising for Western-based parenting interventions, which may not need substantial modifications to be culturally appropriate in Indonesia (e.g., Sumargi, Sofronoff, & Morawska, 2015a), or for Indonesians residing in Australia (e.g., Sumargi, Sofronoff, & Morawska, 2014).

A point of interest is that tradition attenuated the effect of authoritative parenting on child emotion regulation, but not on behavioral problems, indicating differential effects of tradition on outcomes. Notably, there were differences in the levels of child emotion regulation, but not in the levels of behavioral problems between Indonesian and Australian children. This may be related to differences in the use of emotion regulation strategies between people from collectivist and individualist cultures. Emotion suppression is more emphasized in collectivist than individualist cultures, whereas emotion expressivity encouraged in individualist culture (Ramzan & Amjad, 2017). Children in individualist cultures are expected to be independent and emotionally expressive, whereas those in collectivist cultures are expected to consider other people, maintain social harmony and, therefore, suppress their negative emotions. As a part of parents' emotional training to their children, parents from collectivist cultures might notice emotional dysregulation or negativity shown by their children more often than parents from individualist cultures. However, parenting styles do not seem to affect behavioral problems in the same way as emotion regulation because collectivistic norms emphasize child obedience and appropriate conduct (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis et al., 1990). Although researchers have theorized that lack of emotion regulation is associated with child behavioral problems (Baker, 2018); in the Eastern context, the relationship may not always exist (Ramzan & Amjad, 2017). Perhaps this can explain why child behavioral problems did not differ between Australia and Indonesia, yet there was significantly poorer emotion regulation among Indonesian children. Whether this conjecture holds true, this finding highlights that the inclusion of an emotion regulation measure was valuable in this study. Future research might explore whether the effects of authoritarian parenting in collectivist cultures are stronger for emotion regulation

(and other internal adjustment measures, such as psychological adjustment) than behavioral problems. Examination of this question could potentially settle some inconsistencies in the cross-cultural parenting styles literature; it may be that effects of parenting styles in collectivist cultures depend on the outcomes measured.

Limitations

This study was not without caveats. First, its cross-sectional design prevents inferences about the direction or causality of effects, such as whether parenting style influences child adjustment, child adjustment influences parenting style, or both influence each other bi-directionally. While we acknowledge this limitation, a substantial amount of research suggests that changes in parenting do produce favorable outcomes for child adjustment longitudinally (Collins, Maccoby, Steinberg, Hetherington, & Bornstein, 2000; Sumargi et al., 2014; 2015a); however, we cannot determine if the role of values moderates this relationship over time.

Second, as the use of parent self-report subjects to social desirability bias, future studies could include other sources, such as school teachers, to evaluate child outcomes and consider child's perception on parenting (Barnhart et al., 2013). Third, this study did not test measurement invariance, an assessment of whether the measurement instruments accessed the same constructs across different countries (Davidov et al., 2008). If the conditions of measurement invariance are not met, then failure to find cultural effects between countries may not reflect a real absence of cultural effects, and cultural nuances that affect responses are missed (Davidov et al., 2008). Fourth, the majority of the participants in this study were mothers with a similar percentage of the sample being mothers in both countries. Although this is common in parenting research in both Western (e.g., Haslam, Patrick, & Kirby, 2015; Haslam, Tee, & Baker, 2017; Sanders, Haslam, Stallman, Calam, & Southwell, 2011) and Eastern countries (Sumargi et al., 2015a), it limits the generality of findings which may not be representative of fathers. Further studies should investigate the similarities and differences of the findings with samples of fathers. Finally, the moderating effect of tradition on the relationship between authoritative parenting and emotion regulation was significant, albeit very small. This effect needs to be replicated before its mechanism can be examined. Qualitative research, such as focus groups and interviews with people of the focal culture, may better explore cultural nuances that might affect the relationships.

Despite these limitations, this study extends the cross-cultural literature on the effects of parenting styles on child adjustment by considering

cultural values and including emotion regulation as an outcome measure, which is not common in the literature, but proved relevant in this study. We recommend that future research continue to investigate parenting in Indonesia and other Southeast Asian countries, to build a comprehensive profile of one of the most densely populated regions in the world and to further uncover the impact of cultural values on parenting and child outcomes. On the practical side, this study provides insight for family and parenting intervention developers about the cultural use of authoritative parenting in promoting child emotion regulation and reducing child behavioral problems in the context of non-Western cultures.

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Ethical approval

Approval for this study was obtained from the University of Queensland (Australia). All the participants gave their consent before participating in the study.

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Disclosure statement

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