



2002

Cultural Scripts of Parental Intervention in Conflict

Kristina L. McDonald '02
Illinois Wesleyan University

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.iwu.edu/psych_honproj



Part of the [Psychology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

McDonald '02, Kristina L., "Cultural Scripts of Parental Intervention in Conflict" (2002).
Honors Projects. 69.
https://digitalcommons.iwu.edu/psych_honproj/69

This Article is protected by copyright and/or related rights. It has been brought to you by Digital Commons @ IWU with permission from the rights-holder(s). You are free to use this material in any way that is permitted by the copyright and related rights legislation that applies to your use. For other uses you need to obtain permission from the rights-holder(s) directly, unless additional rights are indicated by a Creative Commons license in the record and/ or on the work itself. This material has been accepted for inclusion by faculty at Illinois Wesleyan University. For more information, please contact digitalcommons@iwu.edu.

©Copyright is owned by the author of this document.

Running head: CULTURAL SCRIPTS OF PARENTAL INTERVENTION

Cultural Scripts of Parental Intervention in Conflict

Kristina McDonald

Illinois Wesleyan University

Acknowledgments

There are many people to thank that have helped me with numerous drafts of my thesis. I would like to acknowledge the AsiaNetwork for their financial assistance in the form of the Freeman Grant Faculty Student Research Fellowship. Without their support, this research and my understanding of Indonesian culture would be incomplete. I would also like to thank Dr. Doran French for his patience and support of my first experience as a primary researcher. I would like to thank my thesis committee, Dr. John Ernst, Dr. Anne Watson, and Dr. Chuck Springwood, for their time and comments. I also appreciate the help of Sri Pidada and Mawar Sheila. They were essential in the research and development of ideas as well as spectacular hosts in Indonesia. I would also like to thank Alyx Bae, Jill Centko, and Pamela Appavu, for their help in data collection and coding. Without their support, the process would have been incredibly more stressful. I am also very thankful for the faculty of psychology at Illinois Wesleyan University. My undergraduate experience has been challenging and I have had many of rewarding experiences. I could not have done this without the support of the psychology faculty.

Abstract

Parents frequently intervene in the conflicts that children experience with other peers. The work of Ross, Hastings and their colleagues has alerted researchers to the possibility that parents engage in such intervention in part to teach children lessons. Ross and her colleagues have focused on the role of such intervention for teaching children rules about possession and property rights. Whereas property rights might be particularly salient in cultures such as the European-American subgroups in the U.S. that emphasize individualism and market forces, this might be less salient in other cultures. Many of the cultural groups in Indonesia emphasize collectivism, social harmony, and communal sharing, and we hypothesized that parental intervention might focus on instilling these values as well. In this study, U.S. (N=71) and Indonesian (N=64) students responded to vignettes about object conflicts between a child (assumed to be their own) and a peer. Participants were asked whether or not they would intervene in the conflict and to explain their rationale. The responses were coded with high reliability. Analyses revealed that U.S. participants were more likely than Indonesian participants to justify their action through the use of property rules (69.5% vs. 51.6%). Indonesian participants more frequently than US participants justified their actions by either referring to the need to stop the immediate conflict and reinstate harmony (24.2% vs. 8.9%), or by stating the importance of teaching children about harmonious relationships and getting along with others (37.2% vs. 24.9%). These results suggest that the messages that parents portray when they intervene in child conflict are a reflection of the values considered important in that culture. We hypothesize that conflict intervention by parents may be a mechanism for the transmission of cultural values.

Cultural Scripts of Parental Intervention in Conflict

Conflict is an important part of a child's social development (Shantz, 1993). Children learn important social lessons from their conflicts and are shaped through these experiences. In conflict, children are challenged and are forced to compare the merits of their position to those of others. The demands of conflict prod children to represent the situation internally in order to respond properly. Shantz (1993) found that children readily remember such details of conflicts such as what the fight was about and with whom they fought. In 76% of conflicts, children learned lessons about issues such as proper behavior or friendship skills. These lessons shape their social development by teaching them about themselves in social and group contexts.

Parents often actively involve themselves in children's conflicts for several reasons. Ross, Tesla, Kenyon, and Lollis (1990) argued that one of the most dominant reasons that parents intervened in their children's conflicts was to teach them lessons about how to behave or to teach them rules. For example, the frequent intervention of Canadian parents in children's conflicts over objects was often motivated by efforts to teach their children rules about sharing, possession, and ownership.

Parental intervention into children's conflict has been almost exclusively studied in Western populations. Schneider (1998) however, argued that it is essential for researchers to study different cultural populations to assess the generalizability of their theories. Research that focuses on North American culture is misrepresentative of the larger world population. The value orientation of the United States centers on independence, self-reliance and assertiveness that may not be priorities in other cultures. American parents prepare their children to grow up in an individualistic society, in which

they will be expected to make decisions based upon their individual goals and needs. In other cultures, such as Japan, parents prepare their children to live in a collectivistic society, in which the expectations of parents and the needs of the group are considered when making decisions (Kagitcibasi, 1997). Therefore, when investigating socialization it is essential to understand that ideals of behavior are culturally specific and research that encompasses only one culture is biased towards that culture's ideals (Schneider, 1998).

In order to understand socialization we must study cultures outside the United States that have economic, social, and value systems different from our own. It is necessary that social development be studied cross-culturally and with a variety of methods in order to truly understand the universals and differences of development and the human experience. The present study assessed cross-cultural differences in beliefs about parental intervention in conflicts over objects. Our focus is on Indonesia, a collectivistic society, and the United States, because people within these cultures have been shown to differ on dimensions such as individualism and collectivism and their perspectives on conflict (Hofstede, 1991; Magnis-Suseno, 1997; Rothbaum, Pott, Azuma, Miyake, & Weisz, 2000).

Central to our study is the idea that there may be scripts for parental intervention into children's conflict. A script is a concept about how events typically unfold and may contain heuristics about how to act in situations that are common events in daily life. We propose that parental intervention of conflict may be guided by scripts that may differ cross-culturally.

Parental scripts

In order to understand how these scripts may differ cross-culturally, I propose a model based on the functionalist model of emotion. The functionalist model of emotion developed by Kitayama and Markus (1994) describes cultural effects on emotional experience. The model describes emotion within a culture as being adaptive in that the proper display and experience of emotion by an individual will integrate an individual into the larger group and will promote social stability. Kitayama and Markus (1994) suggest that emotional experience is a set of scripts shared by a culture that develop and are internalized by individuals as they are socialized in their culture. These scripts are specific and linked to the culture in which they are produced. A more detailed description of the functionalist model of emotion is presented by Kitayama and Markus (1994).

For the purposes of understanding how cultural differences may affect parental intervention in children's conflict, I propose in Figure 1, a model similar to that of Kitayama and Markus (1994). The model consists of six components. Cultural ideas and values, economic principles, and sociopolitical factors influence the atmosphere within which parenting and relationships exist. This atmosphere influences parenting norms and caretaking practices within the culture. Parents within the United States foster independence in their children through common parenting practices that endorse the child as an individual. Parents reinforce the needs of the individual by accepting conflict and the use of "Mine!" in referring to a child's toys. These parenting norms and practices are reinforced through specific interpersonal events throughout all facets of life (eg. school, work, home).

Conflict is a common feature of interaction in many American subcultures. The existence of conflict in society reaffirms that it is normal and expected for children to exhibit conflict. The reinforcement of parenting beliefs influences individual ways of thinking about parenting in specific situations, such as object conflicts. Parents thus expect children to fight over toys, and believe that for children to succeed in a conflict ridden society they should teach them how to handle these conflicts. This directly influences parental action. Parents will intervene in their children's conflicts according to how they believe children should act in conflict or to endorse personal qualities or values in their children. Situational factors such as where conflicts happen, mood, and other variables will also affect parental action and perhaps distract parents from their original goals. Eventually, parental intervention in children's conflicts will influence the ideology of the culture and reinforce or perhaps change these influences. This will then affect parenting norms, recurrent conflict and views about child object disputes. These steps will be discussed in further detail below.

Core cultural ideology

The core cultural beliefs and ideology of a culture are the philosophical institutions which influence the ideas of morality, goodness, and the self. The dimensions of individualism and collectivism are often used to describe one aspect of cultural ideology.

Cultures rated high in individualism are idiocentric, or emphasize personal differences and independence (Triandis, 1995). Each individual is seen as autonomous and separate from one another. Each person possesses their own goals and desires and

these are held above those of a larger group. Studies have shown that the U.S. is highly individualistic (Hofstede, 1991; Triandis, 1995).

Cultures high in collectivism are allocentric and stress group goals and harmony. More emphasis is placed on group interests and the commitment to a collective ideology and value system (Kagitcibasi, 1997). In past research, many of the cultural groups found within Indonesia have been found to be high in collectivism (Hofstede, 1991).

A construct similar to individualism and collectivism is the dimension of independence and interdependence (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). This dimension describes how one views themselves in relation to a larger group. The independent individual is bounded by and behaves in reference to personal beliefs and emotions. Socially, individuals classified as independent are responsive to others but do so in order to affirm internal attributes of the self. In contrast, the interdependent individual views themselves as connected to a larger group and their motivation is to fit into that group, and create and maintain social obligations. French and colleagues (2002) has shown that Indonesia children have scored higher on interdependence while U.S. children are more independent.

Fiske (1992) suggests that the dimensions of individualism and collectivism are reflective of different models of social exchange. He theorizes that people in all cultures use four relational models in social thinking and exchange of objects or possessions. They are communal sharing, authority ranking, equality matching, and market pricing.

Communal sharing relationships are characterized by people that consider themselves equivalent and uniform. They classify themselves as sharing common ties and share goods such that everyone takes what they need and only what they need. For

example, a family in which all members may take the food they need from the refrigerator would be operating under a model of communal sharing.

Authority ranking relationships are based on hierarchies and these rankings dictate privileges and priority. In such relationships, for example, in a tribe the chief or oldest person would have the authority to take the food they wanted first before others could eat.

Equality matching relationships are based on the maintenance of a balance of exchange. In these relationships, people are concerned with the matching of favors. For example, in England friends take turns buying rounds of drinks and it is expected that everyone will eventually buy, thus returning the favor and everyone spending equal amounts.

Market pricing relationships are based on proportions; items exchanged do not need to be equivalent in amount or item but equivalent in value. For example, in a market pricing economy money is exchanged for goods or services of equivalent value (Fiske, 1992).

These four models of social exchange are complimentary to each other and together provide schemas of social relationships (Fiske, 1992). Although, communal sharing and authority ranking relationships may be dominant in one culture, market pricing relationships and equality matching may be used in some interactions and in specific situations. These models operate whenever people transfer materials from one to another, decide issues of social justice, or establish standards and expectations of social behavior. They influence morality and ideology within society, as they are models for exchange of things and favor.

Fiske (1992) relates social exchange to individualism and collectivism. He proposes that individualistic cultures emphasize personal belongings and rules associated with exchange of materials thus, equality matching and market pricing relationships are more common. Within a collectivistic culture, there is an emphasis upon group ownership and sharing and consequently, communal sharing and authority ranking relationships are more salient.

Caretaking Practices

The value systems discussed above, i.e., individualism and collectivism, independence and interdependence, and the models of social exchange, affect caretaking practices and parenting norms within cultures. To illustrate the links between these values and parenting norms, we will examine two cultures that differ on these dimensions. Indonesian parenting practices are heavily influenced by collectivistic ideology (Magnis-Suseno, 1997). The U.S., in comparison, has been hypothesized to be highly individualistic, and as it was mentioned earlier, U.S. parental scripts about childcare are affected by these values which endorse autonomy and the pursuit of individual needs (Rothbaum et al., 2000).

Indonesia has the fourth largest population and is the largest Muslim country. Indonesia has 13,000 islands, many different ethnic groups, and 250 languages (Magnis-Suseno, 1997). The sample used in this study comes from Java, the most densely populated Indonesian island and the region that dominates the rest of Indonesia politically, economically, and culturally. Much of the anthropological literature about Indonesia focuses on this population (Magnis-Suseno, 1997).

Collectivistic ideals are exhibited in the social principles of Javanese life. The most important principle of Javanese social life is the avoidance of open confrontation (Magnis-Suseno, 1997). This avoidance of conflict and maintenance of social harmony is termed “rukun”. It is marked by cooperation, calmness, and actions that repress signs of tension and outwardly convey harmonious social relationships. “Rukun” is maintained through this outward harmony and also through the sharing of goals and possessions with the group. The perfect Javanese is free from self-interest, selfishness, and the desire of possession.

Children learn this proper conduct in two phases (Magnis-Suseno, 1997). The first phase lasts until children are five years old. In this phase children are encircled by tension-free relationships within the family unit. Children learn conduct rules through repetition and admonition. It is thought that children are unable to reason at a young age, so children are not considered responsible for their actions. Obedience is maintained through threats of evil forces outside the family sphere, making the child fearful and aware of his/her public actions. The second phase of Javanese socialization occurs after age five. Children are no longer directly socialized but instead learn through hints of disapproval by the outside world. In this way, the child learns all proper behavior through adults. By adulthood, Javanese feel that they are attached to the group. They avoid disputes and any disruption of the outward social harmony (Magnis-Suseno, 1997).

In contrast, interpersonal conflicts are prevalent throughout relationships in the United States (Rothbaum et al., 2000) and this prevalence shapes children’s social development as conflict is encouraged and expected as a demonstration of individualism. As an infant, the child uses the parent as an anchor from which to explore. Parents

endorse exploration and direct their child's attention toward the environment. As children become toddlers they are encouraged to express their will and learn how to negotiate with others. They show more assertiveness and anger, which is seen as a developmental achievement because it signals individuation. Conflict is viewed as functional and healthy and signals an ability to defend one's needs. U.S. parents use commands, coercion, and other forms of authority to get their children to comply with their wishes. Limit setting is also viewed as fostering the child's autonomy. This struggle between parent and child continues into adolescence and is viewed as normal and expected. Adolescence in the U.S. is viewed as a struggle for children to identify themselves as separate from their parents. This "generative tension" (Rothbaum et al., 2000) that characterizes American relationships, deems conflict as a necessary component to the development of healthy relationships. This cultural script manifests itself in how conflict is handled by parents and how values are transmitted to children.

In Indonesia and the U.S., cultural ideology is tied to what is expected behavior of parents and children. While the collectivistic ideals of Indonesia enforce parental norms which reinforce social harmony, the individualistic values of the U.S. enforce the expectations of interpersonal conflict. These parenting norms are presumed to affect the recurrent behaviors of parents and children in these settings.

Recurrent Conflict Episodes

According to our model, caretaking norms influence the recurrent behavior of children and parents. In individualistic cultures, conflict is likely to occur frequently because it is expected. If parents teach social harmony as a basic value, then conflict will

occur less frequently because it is unacceptable. The frequency of children's conflicts is thus likely to be influenced by parenting norms and values.

Ross et al. (1990) investigated mother's intervention in children's property disputes by observing mothers and their children. They hypothesized that during object conflicts children learn rules about property and ownership. Ross and her colleagues claimed that conflicts between siblings over objects were opportunities for parents to teach "principles of justice" (p. 994) to their children. They contended that these justice rules may focus around possession and ownership. They found that object disputes were commonly exhibited by Canadian children, with over 70% of toddler's conflicts falling into this category. They also found that mothers were inconsistent in their method of intervention and the property rules they chose to enforce when they intervened. Ross et al. (1990) argued that these inconsistencies in property conflict intervention did not provide coherent information for children to learn principles of entitlement. It may, however, be the case that the magnitude of property interventions can only be assessed by comparing the rates of Canadian mothers with those from other cultures.

There is evidence that the high frequency of object disputes that Ross et al. (1990) observed is not universal. Navon and Ramsey (1989) observed and analyzed behaviors associated with the exchange of materials in U.S. and Chinese pre-school classrooms. American children displayed 31% more conflicts over objects than the Chinese children. The Chinese students did not act as aggressively as the U.S. children when toys were taken by peers, and Chinese children were observed to redistribute toys when it appeared that their peers had none.

Navon and Ramsey (1989) suggest that these differences may be connected to different ideologies. The Chinese would not display conflict or fight over objects like their U.S. counterparts, because they emphasize group goals and well-being. Furby (1978) argues that the possessive behavior witnessed in studies of Western populations may be due to the social context of an individualistic culture; people's relationship with property may be determined by cultural ideology.

Ways of Thinking about Parental Intervention in Conflict

As ideology and norms affect recurrent daily life situations, recurrent episodes of conflict are also likely to influence thoughts about parenting and conflict intervention. Whiting, Chasdi, Antonovsky, and Ayres (1966) compared parent-child interactions in three populations: Zuni, Mormons, and Texans. When interviewed, Zuni mothers said that the ideal way to handle children's conflicts was to explain to children what proper behavior should be through reasoning and example. If this did not work, Zuni parents would resort to scare tactics by telling stories of evil creatures that would punish them for bad behavior.

Their reported method of handling conflicts however, differed from the method they actually used. Observations revealed that Mormon parents were more likely to intervene earlier than Texan and Zuni parents in their children's conflicts. During observations of the Zuni culture, many squabbles among children were ignored by parents and worked out independently by the children. As children got older, the Zuni mothers reported far fewer problems with conflict than the Texan and Mormon mothers, who expressed more concern about handling children's conflicts than the Zuni mothers.

The study by Whiting et al. (1966) compared parental cognition about their intervention in conflict with their active intervention. There have not been many studies that focus on how parents think about conflict. The discrepancies that were found in the Whiting et al. (1966) study suggest that this may be a topic that should be further researched. Parental beliefs about conflict and intervention cannot be deduced from only from the actions of parents. A study that focuses on their beliefs about their children's conflicts is important in order to understand parental goals and their origins.

Intervention in Children's Conflict

According to our functional model of parental intervention in conflict, parents' thoughts about conflict should influence their actions in handling conflict. Although there is evidence that this may be the case (Hastings & Grusec, 1998), other studies (Ross et al., 1990; Whiting et al., 1966) have found inconsistencies between reported belief and action.

Hastings and Grusec (1998) found that parents' goals in conflict interactions correlated with their preferred methods of intervention. They surveyed U.S. parents and non-parents about parent-child conflict. Subjects responded to hypothetical vignettes about parent-child conflict. Parents were also interviewed about recent conflicts with their children. When parental goals focused on socializing the child, parents used more reasoning with the child and more responsive behaviors. When parental goals focused on the child obeying or complying, parents used more power assertive techniques and less responsive behaviors with their children.

Anecdotes from Whiting and Edwards (1988) observational studies of children's activity settings in thirteen cultures illustrates cultural differences in parental intervention

in children's conflict. They observed that African Ngeca and Nyansongo mothers often ignored their children's disputes, letting the children handle their conflicts independently. Often dominance hierarchies were observed among children in these cultures based on age. These hierarchies and the conflicts that arose within them, were accepted and allowed by mothers. In contrast, Whiting and Edwards (1988) observed that parents in American society intervened in their children's conflicts to maintain egalitarian relations. When intervention was not obeyed, the disobedience was often ignored, perhaps sending conflicting messages to children about what is expected of their behavior (Whiting & Edwards, 1988).

Evidence from Whiting and Edwards (1988), Whiting et al. (1966) and Ross et al. (1990) reveals a discrepancy between intervention in conflict and the belief systems of parents. Whether the beliefs transmitted to children are about the appropriateness of behavior or about rules of sharing, it is clear that belief systems and actions in enforcing these beliefs may not be consistent. Therefore, I suggest that there is a need for separate studies that focus on belief systems, intervention, and why there is a discrepancy between the two. As an exploratory study, I have chosen to focus on the belief systems that underlie potential intervention in children's object disputes and not the actual behavior that is exhibited.

The Present Study

By studying parental intervention in child object conflicts, we are studying two major sources of socialization for children: conflict and parental influence. Fiske (1998) suggests that individuals' orientation to possessions may be related to their cultural values, specifically individualism or collectivism. Through a comparison of U.S. and

Indonesian prospective parents' ideas about object conflicts, we may better understand how cultural values are translated into parental scripts of conflict intervention. We expect that there will be differences within these parental scripts in children's conflict intervention that may affect socialization of cultural values. More specifically, we expect the value of independence and property rules to be more salient in U.S. prospective parental ideas about property conflict and that the social harmony values that are essential in Indonesia to more prominent in their ideas about object conflicts.

In order to explore these belief systems, participants responded to vignettes that described children's property disputes. Participants responded to the conflicts as prospective parents and were asked if they would intervene in the object disputes, and why or why not, and how they would do so. The vignettes were formatted as open-ended questions to the participants, allowing for unstructured free responses. For exploratory work of this kind, open-ended questions are beneficial because participants are unconstrained in their responses (Conroy, Hess, Azuma, & Kashiwagi, 1980; Hastings & Grusec, 1998). It is hypothesized that Indonesian participants will intervene for reasons tied to their collectivistic ideology, while U.S. participants will intervene for reasons tied to their individualistic ideals and property rules.

Participants also rated a list of values that they deemed desirable in children. It was made of values related to conflict and property, as well as desirable values that were not related to the study. It is hypothesized that Indonesian participants will deem collectivistic values as more important than the U.S. participants, and that the U.S. participants will rate values tied to individualism higher than the Indonesian participants.

Hastings and Grusec (1998) used non-parents in their study in which they utilized hypothetical vignettes to measure parental goals because they argued that parenting cognitions are developed during one's own childhood socialization experiences. Hastings and Grusec (1998) did not find empirical evidence in earlier testing that parental experience affected responses to hypothetical child rearing situations. In this study, we used college students as the sample, in expectation that they would be representative of prospective parents (Hastings and Grusec, 1998).

Method

Participants

Sixty-four Indonesian college students (33 men and 31 women) from Padajaran University in Bandung, a city on the island of Java, participated in this study. They ranged in age 19 to 26 ($M=21$) and were in their second to thirteenth semester ($M=4.89$). Of the sample 48.4% were of Sudanese background and 35.9% were of Javanese decent. Most of the respondents were of middle class background and 93.8% reported that they were Islamic. They received the equivalent of three US dollars to participate.

Seventy-one U.S. college students (33 men and 38 women) from a small, U.S., private university volunteered to participate. They ranged in age from 17 to 22 ($M=18.90$) and were in their first to eighth semester ($M=1.83$). 90.1% were Caucasian and most participants were of upper middle class background. 84.5% reported that they were Christian. They received credit for their general psychology research experience.

Measures

One of the measures that was used was the independence and interdependence scale devised by Kato and Markus (1993). This has been used in many studies and

represents the independence and interdependence dimensions established by Markus and Kitayama (1991). The scale consists of thirty-one items divided into two subscales: an independence subscale that contains items referring to the construct of independence (i.e., “I am special,” “I am always myself. I do not act like other people.”) and a subscale for interdependence with items to measure this construct (i.e., “I feel it is better to follow tradition or authority than to try to do something my way,” “Before making a decision I always consult with others.”).

A Q-sort was developed of values deemed desirable in children (Appendix 1). The Q-sort was a task in which individuals were asked to group forty-three values into lists of between 8-11, by their relative importance. The groups ranged from “Least Desirable” to “Middle Desirability” to Most Desirable.” Forty-three characteristics were chosen from past research on cultural values (Chinese Cultural Connection, 1987; Alwin, 1988, Alwin & Krosnick 1985). Values were chosen from these sources for their relevancy to conflict, possessions and their application across cultures. The list was edited due to redundancy found in pilot testing. Our Indonesian colleagues also edited the list and added values previously missing about religiosity and social hierarchies, values considered particularly appropriate to their culture.

Vignettes were constructed that described object conflicts among children (Appendix 1). These were modeled after object conflicts described in Navon and Ramsey (1989) and Ross et al. (1990). Pilot work showed evidence of emotionally loaded words and these were removed from the vignettes so as not to affect the situations by different perceived intensity. Our Indonesian colleagues edited the list to avoid references to situations, toys or objects that were atypical for Indonesian children. Directions told

participants to hypothetically place themselves in the parenting role of a three or four year old child. Then subjects responded to the questions: “Would you intervene?”, “Why or why not?” and “What would you do?”

A coding system was developed to assess the vignettes. Intervention was coded as present if the participant, as a prospective parent, indicated that he or she would become involved with the conflict. Some participants responded that they would intervene only under specific circumstances. For these responses, the first intervention choice was coded, however, all explanations were coded.

Vignettes were coded for the presence or absence of the following intervention explanation categories. *Property* referred to reasoning based on ‘rules’ of behavior with property. These rules refer to ownership, possession, property rights, sharing, or turn-taking. *Independence* referred to reasoning based on making independent choices and acting independently. One example of reasoning coded in this category included suggestions that the child needed to learn or be able to handle the situation on their own. It also referred to making decisions and dealing with their consequences. *Social Harmony* referred to reasoning based upon desired relationships or relating to peers. Reasoning coded in this category included references to rules about how to treat others, behavior with others, and the importance of friends. *Generosity* referred to reasoning based upon wanting children to be generous, not selfish, or being giving. *Immediate Harmony* referred to reasoning based upon soothing the immediate atmosphere, or intervention based on stopping the immediate conflict. *Conflict Unimportance* referred to reasoning based upon the idea that the conflict presented was not yet at the point that intervention was required.

All measures were translated to Indonesian and back translated to English to assure accuracy and consistency. When appropriate, names were changed for cultural normalcy.

Procedure

Participants met individually with a researcher. After reviewing the informed consents, the experimenter explained all procedures and directions. Participants completed the surveys in the following order: demographics form, the Q-sort of children's values, the object dispute vignettes, and the independence/ interdependence scale.

After completion, subjects discussed the experience with the experimenter and the vignettes were checked for completeness. The experimenter thanked the participants then they left. A full debriefing sheet was distributed to the participants after all data had been collected.

Results

Independence/Interdependence Scale

The scores of four U.S. participants on the Independence/Interdependence scale were not analyzed because of incomplete data. The Independence/Interdependence Scale (Kato & Markus, 1993) scores for each participant were computed by finding the mean of questions on the independence portion and the mean on the questions for the interdependence portion. Internal consistency was found for the whole sample and by country for both scales. Then the means for both the independence and interdependence scales were compared in an independent samples t-test.

Upon examination of the internal consistency for the scale, items 12, 14, 9, and 7 were eliminated from the independence portion because of low item to total score correlations. After these were removed, internal consistency was .83 for the U.S. and .78 for Indonesia. Items 18 and 2 were also eliminated from the interdependence scale and the resulting alphas were .69 for the U.S. and .75 for Indonesia.

Independent sample t-tests revealed that for independence, the U.S. sample ($M=6.90$, $SD=1.05$) scored higher than the Indonesian sample ($M=6.35$, $SD=1.16$), $t(129)=-2.89$, $p<.01$, $d=.5$. For the interdependence scale, Indonesian scores ($M=7.41$, $SD=.78$) were significantly higher than U.S. scores ($M=6.35$, $SD=.91$), $t(129)=7.18$, $p<.001$, $d=1.06$.

Vignettes

One rater coded all of the conflicts and another checked approximately 41% of the conflicts. Any disagreements were reviewed and agreed upon by coders. Reliability and kappa coefficients for each intervention rationale can be seen in Table 1. Overall, reliability was high across all the rationale categories. Kappas were also high with the exception of *Immediate Harmony* (.77) and *Conflict Unimportance* (.68).

Internal consistency. Vignette one was eliminated from the analysis because upon inspection of the responses, it became apparent that participants viewed it as a social conflict instead of the conflict over space that was intended. Internal consistency was computed by country in order to see if individuals consistently cited the same reasons to intervene or not intervene across vignettes. The internal consistency of the intervention rationales are presented in Table 2 and range in size from small to medium.

The low internal consistency among the chosen interventions may in part be attributed to the dichotomous characteristics of the scale.

Analysis. The vignette data was analyzed in two ways because the internal consistency for the combined intervention score was low. First, separate chi-square analyses by country were computed for the categories of *Intervention*, *Property*, *Independence*, *Social Harmony*, *Generosity*, *Immediate Harmony*, and *Conflict Unimportance*. Chi-square analyses for all six vignettes were computed for each rationale category and the results are presented in Table 3. Then composite scores for participants were computed for the above categories by summing the number of vignette responses in which each rationale was present, so that individuals had rationale scores for each of the categories. The composite scores were analyzed in a 2 (country) x 2 (sex) analysis of variance. Means of the composite scores can be seen in Table 4.

Figure 2 is an illustration of the general trends in rationale categories. It reveals that both U.S. and Indonesian participants used rationale based on property rules more than any other category. Also, the second highest category for both groups of participants was *Social Harmony*, and the third most used intervention category for both samples was *Independence*. After the similar trends in those categories, we see differences between the U.S. and Indonesia. The U.S. participants fourth most frequently used category was *Conflict Unimportance*, then *Immediate Harmony* and then *Generosity*. For the Indonesian participants the fourth most used category was *Immediate Harmony*, followed by *Generosity* and *Conflict Unimportance*.

With the exception of vignettes three and four, Indonesian and U.S. participants said they would intervene approximately equal amounts. In vignette three, more U.S.

respondents (80.3%) than Indonesian respondents (60.9%) stated that they would intervene. Similarly for vignette four, comparatively more U.S. (33.8%) than Indonesian participants (12.5%) intervened. Combining the vignettes, 64.3% of U.S. participants cited *Intervention* compared to 59.6% of the Indonesians, a difference that was not significant. Analysis of the composite scores did not reveal a main effect for sex or country for *Intervention*.

There was a trend in that U.S. participants cited *Property* rationale more than Indonesian participants for all of the vignettes. There were significant differences, however, in only three of the vignettes; U.S. participants cited significantly more intervention based on property rules in vignette two (74.6% vs. 56.3), vignette three (77.5% vs. 48.4%), and vignette seven (71.8% vs. 37.5%). For the combined vignettes, U.S. participants used *Property* rationale significantly more than Indonesian participants (69.5% vs. 51.6%). Analysis of the composite scores for *Property*, revealed a main effect for sex indicating that females cited more property reasons than males ($d=.37$). There was also a main effect for country with the U.S. participants citing more property reasons for intervention ($d=.75$).

In only one vignette (3) was there a significant difference between the respondents from Indonesia and the U.S. in frequency of *Independence*. In vignette three, 34.4% of the Indonesian sample used independence reasons compared to 16.9% of the U.S. participants. For the vignettes combined, there was no significant difference between Indonesia and the U.S. in *Independence* rationale (21.6% vs. 17.9%). Analysis of the composite scores for *Independence* rationale showed that there was not a significant main effect for sex or for country.

Indonesian participants consistently used more *Social Harmony* rationales than U.S. participants. In three of the vignettes these results were significant. In vignette two, 56.3% of the Indonesian respondents vs. 28.2% of the U.S. participants used *Social Harmony* reasons in intervention. Similarly, in vignette five, 48.4% of the Indonesian compared to 25.4% of the U.S. participants, as well as in vignette six, in which 42.2% of the Indonesian subjects vs. 25.4% of the U.S. respondents used intervention based on social harmony rules. In vignette three, U.S. participants endorsed social harmony more than Indonesians (35.2% vs. 31.3%) but the differences were not significant. Combining all the vignettes, Indonesian participants (37.2%) used *Social Harmony* rationales more than the U.S. participants (24.9%). Analysis of the composite scores for *Social Harmony* did not show a main effect for sex, however there was a significant effect for country, indicating that Indonesians cited intervention based on social harmony more than U.S. participants ($d=.60$).

In most of the vignettes, Indonesian participants used *Generosity* rationale more often than U.S. participants. In vignette six, Indonesian participants (34.4%) cited *Generosity* rationale significantly more than U.S. participants (7.0%). An exception occurred, however, in vignette four, because U.S. participants (22.5%) used it significantly more often than Indonesian participants (7.8%). Analysis of the vignettes combined, revealed that Indonesians cited *Generosity* significantly more than U.S. subjects (12.0% vs. 7.7%), however analysis of the composite scores showed that there was not a main effect for sex, nor was there a significant result for country.

Indonesian participants cited rationale based on *Immediate Harmony* more frequently than U.S. participants and this was significant for four out of the six vignettes.

In vignette two, Indonesian participants cited intervention based on *Immediate Harmony* significantly more than U.S. participants (51.6% vs. 19.7%). Similarly in vignette three (28.1% vs. 12.7%) and also in vignette five (32.8% vs. 15.5%), and six (18.8% vs 2.8%), Indonesian respondents used this rationale more than U.S. participants. Combining the vignettes, Indonesians used more *Immediate Harmony* rationale than the U.S. (24.2% vs. 8.9%). For composite scores based on *Immediate Harmony*, there was an effect for country ($d=.29$) but no effect for gender.

Conflict Unimportance, was cited with greater frequency by U.S. respondents. The only significant differences in frequency, however, occurred in vignette two (8.5% vs. 0) and in vignette seven (21.1% vs. 6.3%). Combining the vignettes, U.S. respondents cited significantly more *Conflict Unimportance* than did Indonesians (9.4% vs. 3.4%). For *Conflict Unimportance* composite scores, there was an effect for country; U.S. participants used *Conflict Unimportance* significantly more than Indonesian participants ($d=.54$). There was not an effect for gender.

Values

From the 43 values, 21 of these were selected that were pertinent to the goals of the study. Values that pertained to the categories of property and generosity, independence, social harmony, and conflict management are listed in Table 5.

The chosen list of pertinent values was analyzed in a series of independent sample t-tests by country and the results can be seen in Table 6. None of the values previously deemed related to property and generosity showed significant differences between the ratings of Indonesian and U.S. participants.

All of the values related to independence showed significant differences between the U.S. and Indonesian ratings. The mean rating for the value ‘makes own decisions and takes responsibility for the consequences’ was significantly rated higher by U.S. participants than Indonesians respondents ($d=.44$). ‘Uses good sense and judgement’ was rated higher by U.S. respondents than by Indonesian participants ($d=.42$). ‘Responsible’ was rated higher by Indonesian participants than by U.S. participants ($d=.44$). ‘Good self-esteem’ was rated significantly higher by U.S. participants than by Indonesian participants and showed a large effect size ($d=1.24$).

Five out of the six values related to social harmony were rated differently by participants. ‘Patient’ was rated significantly higher by Indonesian participants than by U.S. participants ($d=.57$). The value ‘tolerance of differences in others’ was rated higher by U.S. participants than by Indonesian ($d=.45$) as was ‘considerate and sensitive to the feelings of others,’ ($d=.41$). Indonesian respondents rated ‘able to control emotions’ significantly higher than U.S. respondents and this result had a large effect size($d=1.17$).

Country differences were found for three out of the four values related to conflict management. ‘Able to conform to the group’ was rated significantly higher by Indonesian participants than by U.S. participants and had a large effect size ($d=1.39$). ‘Able to keep conflict from occurring in groups’($d=.51$) as well as ‘maintains harmony in social interaction’ were rated higher by the Indonesian participants than by the U.S participants ($d=.55$).

Discussion

This study was conducted in order to investigate whether potential parental scripts for intervention in child conflict were influenced by cultural values. This was explored

through the use of vignettes and value surveys. It was hypothesized that the U.S. prospective parents would be more likely to report intervention rationales based on specific property rules and independence along with desirable children's characteristics associated with independence. In contrast, it was expected that Indonesian respondents would use rationales based on social harmony rules and conflict avoidance and would report desirable children's characteristics associated with interdependence. The results of the study are generally consistent with these expectations.

Independence/Interdependence

It was hypothesized that the U.S. and Indonesian participants would differ on the dimensions of independence and interdependence, and our results supported this. Indonesian respondents were more interdependent than U.S. participants, while the U.S. subjects were more independent than Indonesian respondents. These findings are consistent with those of others (French, in press; Hofstede, 1991).

Intervention

There were no significant differences between U.S. and Indonesian prospective parents in the frequency that they stated they would intervene in hypothetical object disputes. Therefore, the differences in the frequency of explanation patterns are not affected by a differential pattern of intervention.

It is important to note that parents' actual intervention actions may not correspond to the patterns that they report. In interviews, Whiting et al. (1965) found that Zuni parents stated that they would intervene in their children's conflict to a level comparable to that stated by Texan and Mormon mothers. In observation however, Zuni mothers were less likely to intervene than mothers in other groups. In another study that utilized

vignettes (Hastings & Grusec, 1998), prospective parents' predictions of their actions in conflict situations did not correspond to their actual behaviors. Ross et al. (1990) found that many parents were inconsistent in their interventions, thus sending mixed messages to their children about what was expected of them and failing to consistently convey a strong message about appropriate behavior. Parents in real life situations are influenced by multiple situational factors and they may not necessarily choose actions that are consistent with the goals they state that are important to them (Hastings & Grusec, 1998; Ross et al., 1990).

Property and Generosity

Both the U.S. and Indonesian participants frequently used rationales that were based on property rules in their responses. These were endorsed with greater frequency, however, by U.S. participants. The U.S. participants cited reasons about the importance of sharing as well as learning rules of possession and ownership for intervention into children's conflict disputes more often than Indonesian participants. The results indicate that the use of property rules, suggested by Ross et al. (1990), may not be only a Western phenomena, but the frequency of property rule endorsement may differ across cultures. Ross et al. (1990) argued that object conflicts may be a way of socializing principles of justice associated with property into children. Perhaps what is important is the relative density of these rationales and not their presence or absence. The differences in the endorsement of property rules may be influential on the dissimilar cultural importance placed on property.

The Indonesian vignette responses contained more responses referring to generosity than those from the U.S. These results were in apparent disagreement with the

value data in which no differences between the U.S. and Indonesian endorsement of generosity values emerged. It is possible that the differences in the vignette data can be explained, by understanding generosity as an interpersonal quality. It was found that U.S. participants endorsed social harmony rules more than Indonesian respondents. French (in press) has shown that instrumental aid is an important feature of friendships within Indonesia, thus generosity of help and aid may blend into and be considered a feature of a harmonious relationship. Thus, Indonesian prospective parents may use generosity slightly more as an explanation of intervention rationale and this coincides with their endorsement of social harmony.

Independence

U.S. participants did not intervene with rationale based on independence more than Indonesians. Much of the previous anthropological and psychological research (Hofstede, 1991; Magnis-Suseno, 1997) as well as our independence and interdependence data show that independence is valued comparatively more in the U.S. than in Indonesia.

The equal frequency that independence was used as a rationale could be a confound of the broadness of the coding category. Whiting and Edwards (1988) found in their six culture study that children in non-Western countries had more responsibility in the form of work around the house and less supervision by adults in their daily lives. Thus, the similarity in independence has been confounded because the category encompasses independence in the form of responsibility as well as the forms of independence associated with individualistic cultures (e.g. autonomy from others and self-assertion). In the coding system, responsibility for oneself and for one's actions would have represented *Independence*, while the values of making decisions and thinking

for oneself would have also been *Independence*. These differences were not assessed in the coding category, therefore possible distinctions were missed.

The independence values support the idea that responsibility was valued more in Indonesia. ‘Responsibility’ was a more desired trait among Indonesian participants than by the U.S. participants, while the rest of the independent values were higher rated by the U.S. participants. ‘Good self-esteem,’ a value associated with individualistic self exploration and independence, was rated much higher by U.S. participants than by Indonesian participants.

U.S. respondents were more likely than Indonesian participants not to intervene in the hypothetical conflict situations because they believed that the conflict was not yet important enough to intervene (*Conflict Unimportance*). They cited reasons such as “It doesn’t seem like a big deal,” “...it isn’t a big deal unless it leads to a fight,” “I would give (the child) some time to stand up for himself,” and “...not unless he gets violent...” Some of the reasons given like, “it’s not really serious...they can work it out on their own,” can be interpreted as attempts to foster independence because children are expected to be able to handle the situation independently of outside help or parental interference. Rothbaum et al. (2000) observed that in the U.S., conflicts among peers were expected and encouraged as a form of self-exploration. U.S. parents want children to learn to work out their problems in order that they will develop into autonomous individuals. The belief that conflict is common among children may explain why parents are reluctant to intervene in some conflict situations.

In hindsight, the coding system may not have captured essential distinctions in independence. I hypothesize that the Indonesian coding of independence was inflated

because responsibility was also coded under the same category as independent decision making. In contrast, U.S. participants may have endorsed ideas of independent action through the category of *Conflict Unimportance*. These distinctions should be further explored in future research.

Social Harmony and Conflict

As expected, Indonesians endorsed reasons for intervention based on teaching children social harmony rules and maintaining the immediate harmony with greater frequency than the U.S. participants. Indonesian participants also more frequently endorsed intervention based on stopping the immediate conflict and preserving the immediate harmony. Anthropologists have consistently found that Indonesians are concerned about maintaining the outward vision of harmony as captured by the Javanese word "rukun" (Magnis-Suseno, 1997). This includes avoidance of open conflict and maintaining peace in every interaction.

The values associated with conflict management were more strongly endorsed by Indonesian than by the U.S. participants. The values associated with social harmony, however, were inconclusive. Values such as 'able to control emotions,' 'patient,' and 'able to conform to the group' were endorsed more by the Indonesian sample, while the values 'tolerance of difference in others' and 'considerate and sensitive to the feelings of others' were rated higher by U.S. participants. The values rated more highly in Indonesia are characteristic of the 'rukun' in which an outward vision of harmony is displayed.

General Trends

Although, the results indicated several significant differences in the frequency that U.S. and Indonesian participants endorsed different rationale categories, the general

trends in perspective intervention rationale are very similar across cultures. As illustrated in Figure 2, the U.S. and Indonesia are very similar in the rationale categories that were dominant in their responses. This indicates, that the differences we found between the two groups of participants is not a difference in the preference for one rationale category over another but rather to the differences in the frequency that rationales are used. If the model of parental intervention proposed in the introduction is correct, then it could be hypothesized that, the different core cultural ideology within a culture influences the frequency of beliefs about parental intervention in conflict.

Methodology

There were many methodological limitations in this study. Caution should be taken when generalizing results of the study to the actions of real parents and all the parents within the U.S. or Indonesia. The results may also be affected but the specific paradigm of object disputes that was used in the hypothetical vignettes. These methodological complications may have affected the results and in future research steps should be taken to avoid these problems.

It is important to note that although the terms “U.S. and Indonesian participants” are used in this study to refer to the sample, it cannot be assumed that the sample represents the whole population of the U.S. or Indonesia. Within these countries, there are cultural and ethnic groups that were not represented in the sample of participants in this study. Therefore, the results of this study should be generalized cautiously to populations that were not represented in the sample. It is particularly important to consider issues of social class. Participants in both samples were college students at elite

universities. It can not be assumed that they are representative people of their age in either country.

This study was the first to investigate parental scripts in conflict and it was necessary that it be exploratory. Therefore, open-ended questions, a college student population, as well as an exhaustive list of values were used to explore this question. The results are limited in generalizability because of these constraints. Ross and colleagues (1990) also found that the behavior of parents in these conflict situations may not be consistent in enforcing their goals. Although, the study lends insight into the beliefs of potential parents in their children's object conflicts, these beliefs do not necessarily predict parental behavior.

A next step in this research would be to further investigate these issues using a multi-method approach with real parents and their children. These methods should include observational studies of parents and children, as well as interviews with parents about their experiences intervening in conflict. It would also be beneficial to include interviews of children, in order to understand the child's experience and understanding of the conflict intervention. These techniques may add valuable information that may connect parental scripts with parental action and child cognition.

Another difficulty that may have arisen is the situation specificity of the vignettes. Due to the desire to investigate property disputes as well as the need to control for situational variables, all the vignettes focused on conflicts over toys. The differences in rationale endorsement between Indonesia and the U.S. may have resulted from this narrow breadth of content. Instead of the differences found in intervention rationale between the U.S. and Indonesia being a result of actual cultural differences in parental

scripts, perhaps the differences were caused by differences in focus on the immediate situation or more generalized lessons. It is possible that U.S. participants were more situation-specific in their intervention goals, therefore they focused on property rules because the vignettes were about object conflicts. Alternatively, Indonesian participants were more likely to cite broader and more general intervention goals. These goals focused more on teaching their children how to get along with others and how to behave in more generalized relationships. In order to investigate the effects of vignette context, observational studies of real children's conflict should be done which compare the context and parental intervention beliefs and strategies.

Conclusion

Originally, it was proposed that rationale for intervention in object conflicts would be influenced by the ideology that is prominent within the culture. The model suggested in the introduction, proposed that cultural values and ideals shape parental scripts about object conflicts and these affect the actions of those involved. The behavior that is molded from this cultural ideology will itself reinforce the dominant ideology of the culture.

This study has focused on one aspect of this model: how cultural ideology influences parental scripts about object conflicts. The results are consistent with the hypothesis that there are parental scripts in conflict intervention and that these scripts are influenced by cultural values. Prospective parents in the U.S. more frequently rationalized intervention in conflict through endorsement of rules pertaining to property. Indonesian prospective parents more frequently supported intervention in children's

conflicts to endorse rules about social behavior. The differences between parental scripts of conflict intervention can be linked to differences in cultural values and expectations.

The findings support the idea that cultural values affect parental intervention in conflict and that this intervention may be a possible vessel for the further transmission of values. Parent's chosen intervention method as well as their goals in intervention may be a way in which the important values of a culture are emphasized to children. Children receive these messages through the relative frequency that values are endorsed through rationale for parental intervention. Parents that intervene in their children's object conflicts for the reason "It is important to learn to share" will send very different messages to their children about important social values than parents that intervene for the reason, "It is important to learn how to get along with others."

In order to further this investigation, more research should be done that focuses on the transmission of the cultural values. Observational studies of parents with their children in object conflict as well as other types of conflict should be done. I also suggest that follow up interviews be conducted of these parents to investigate whether their goals and reasons for intervention match their actions in these situations. From these next steps, investigators may further understand cultural differences in parental conflict intervention and the transmission of cultural values.

References

- Alwin, D.F (1988). From obedience to autonomy: Changes in traits desired in children, 1924-1978. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 52, 33-52.
- Alwin, D.F.& Krosnick, J.A (1985). The measurement of values in surveys: A comparison of ratings and rankings. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 49, 535-552.
- Chinese Cultural Connection (1987). Chinese values and the search for culture free values of culture. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 18, 143-164.
- Conroy, M., Hess, R.D., Azuma, H., & Kashiwagi, K. (1980). Maternal strategies for regulating children's behavior. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 11, 153-172.
- Hastings, P. D. & Grusec, J.E. (1998). Parenting goals as organizers of responses to parent-child disagreement. *Developmental Psychology*, 34, 465-479.
- Hofstede, G. (1991). Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind. London: McGraw-Hill.
- Fiske, A. P. (1992). The four elementary forms of sociality: Framework for unified theory of social relations. *Psychological Review*, 99, 689-723.
- French, D.C., Denoma, J., Cordes, S., Lawton, A., McDonald, K.L., & Pidada, S. (August 2002). Reported peer conflicts of U.S. and Indonesian children. Paper to be presented at International Society for the Study of Behavioral Development: Ottawa.
- Furby, L. (1978). Possessions: Toward a theory of their meaning and function throughout the life cycle. In P. Baltes (Ed.), Life span development and behavior Vol. 1. New York: Academic Press.
- Kagitcibasi, C. (1997). Individualism and collectivism. In J.W. Berry, M.H. Segall, & C. Kagitcibasi (Eds.), Handbook of Cross Cultural Psychology, Vol. 3. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Kato, K., & Markus, H. (1993, June). Development of Interdependence/Independence Scale. Poster presented at the 5th annual meeting of American Psychological Society, Chicago, Illinois (USA), June 3-8.
- Kitayama, S., & Markus, H.R. (1994). Emotion and Culture: Empirical Studies of Mutual Influence. Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association.
- Magnis-Suseno, F. (1997). Javanese Ethics and w\World-view: The Javanese Idea of the good Life. Jakarta: Penerbit PT Gramedia Pustaka utama.

- Markus, H. R. & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self : Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review*, 98, 224-253.
- Matsumoto, D. (2000). Culture and Psychology: People Around the World; 2nd edition. Blemont CA :Wadsworth Thomson Learning.
- Navon, R. & Ramsey, P.G. (1989). Possession and exchange of materials in Chinese and American preschools. *Journal of Research in Childhood Education*, 4, 18-29.
- Ross, H., Tesla, C., Kenyon, B., & Lollis, S. (1990). Maternal intervention in toddler peer conflict: The socialization of principles of justice. *Developmental Psychology*, 26, 994-1003.
- Rothbaum, F., Pott, M., Azuma, H., Miyake, K., & Weisz, J. (2000). The development of close relationships in Japan and the United States: Paths of symbiotic harmony and generative tension. *Child Development*, 71, 1121-1142.
- Scheider, B.H. (1998). Cross-cultural comparison as doorkeeper in research on the social and emotional adjustment of children and adolescents. *Developmental Psychology*, 34, 793-797.
- Shantz, C. (1993). Children's conflicts: Representations and lessons learned. In R. R. Cockling & K. A. Renninger (Eds.). The Development and Meaning of Psychological Distance. Erlbaum.
- Whiting, J.W.M., Chasdi, E.H., Antonvsky, H. F., & Ayres, B.C. (1966). The learning of values. In E.Z. Vogt & E.M. Albert (Eds.). People of Rimrock: A study of values in five cultures. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Whiting, B. B. & Edwards, C., P. (1988). Children of different worlds: The formation of social behavior. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Table 1

Interrater Reliability for Intervention Rationale

Rationale	% Agreement	Kappa
Intervention	94.80	.90
Property	87.53	.81
Independence	95.58	.84
Social Harmony	88.57	.75
Generosity	97.92	.86
Immediate Harmony	93.51	.77
Conflict Unimportance	97.42	.68

Table 2

Internal Consistency of the Intervention Rationale Categories

Rationale	U.S.	Indonesia	U.S. and Indonesia
Intervention	.20	.49	.35
Property	.43	.09	.38
Independence	.19	.34	.27
Social Harmony	.14	.41	.36
Generosity	.35	.21	.25
Immediate Harmony	.50	.40	.52
Conflict Unimportance	.12	.19	.19

Table 3
Chi-square Values and Intervention Rationale Percentage Within Country

	Intervene		Property		Independence		Social Harmony		Generosity		Immediate Harmony		Conflict Unimportance	
Vignette	US	I	US	I	US	I	US	I	US	I	US	I	US	I
2	87.3 (1.60)	93.8	74.6 (5.07)*	56.3	9.9 (.59)	6.3	28.2 (10.93)**	56.3	1.4 (1.26)	4.7	19.7 (15.04)***	51.6	8.5 (5.66)*	0.0
3	80.3 (6.13)*	60.9	77.5 (12.27)***	48.4	16.9 (5.45)*	34.4	35.2 (.29)	31.3	0.0 (1.19)	1.6	12.7 (5.02)*	28.1	12.7 (1.60)	6.3
4	33.8 (8.45)**	12.5	54.9 (3.40)	39.1	29.6 (.36)	34.4	15.5 (1.37)	23.4	22.5 (5.55)*	7.8	0.0 (3.40)	4.7	0.0 (none)	0.0
5	71.8 (.15)	68.8	54.9 (2.19)	42.2	11.3 (1.49)	18.8	25.4 (7.76)**	48.4	5.6 (.06)	4.7	15.5 (5.56)*	32.8	7.0 (.34)	4.7

Prospective Parents 45

6	83.1 (.20)	85.9	83.1 (.20)	85.9	11.4 (.50)	7.8	25.4 (4.29)*	42.2	7.0 (15.72)***	34.4	2.8 (9.19)**	18.8	7.0 (1.05)	3.1
7	29.6 (.62)	35.9	71.8 (16.07)***	37.5	28.2 (0.0)	28.1	19.7 (.10)	21.9	9.9 (2.20)	18.8	2.8 (2.60)	9.4	21.1 (6.16)*	6.3
Total	64.3 (1.88)	59.6	69.5 (27.26)***	51.6	17.9 (1.78)	21.6	24.9 (14.48)***	37.2	7.7 (4.11)*	12.0	8.9 (34.89)***	24.2	9.4 (11.91)**	3.4

U.S. N=71, Indonesia N=64

df=3

Chi-square values in parentheses

* p< .05, **p< .01, ***p<.001

Table 4

Means, Standard Deviations, and F-Values of Composite Scores by Rationale, Country and Sex

Rationale	U.S.		Indonesia		F value		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Sex	Country	Sex*Country
Intervention	4.06(1.00)	3.68(1.23)	3.48(1.33)	3.68(1.26)	.192	1.93	1.84
Property	3.91(1.35)	4.37(1.38)	2.88(1.17)	3.35(1.23)	4.41*	21.05***	.97
Independence	.91(.88)	1.21(1.09)	1.30(1.13)	1.26(1.18)	.476	1.41	.868
Social Harmony	1.15(1.00)	1.68(1.14)	2.18(1.47)	2.29(1.40)	2.18	14.17***	.952
Generosity	.364(.742)	.553(.795)	.667(.854)	.774(.805)	1.15	3.61	.087
Immediate Harmony	.636(1.03)	.448(.724)	1.27(1.07)	1.71(1.32)	.476	27.91***	3.03
Conflict Escalation	.455(.617)	.632(.819)	.273(.517)	.129(.428)	.024	10.08**	.139

df=135

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 5

Values Related to Property and Generosity, Independence, Social Harmony, and Conflict Management

Value relevancy	Values
Property and Generosity	Willingness to share possessions with others Generous to those in need Willingness to help others do jobs or activities
Independence	Uses good sense and judgement Responsible Makes own decisions and takes responsibility for the consequences Good self-esteem
Social Harmony	Tolerance of difference in others Able to control emotions Cooperative Patient Open-minded and able to consider many different views Maintains good relationships with others Exhibits fairness with others Develops strong friendships with others Considerate and sensitive to the feelings of others Polite
Conflict Management	Able to conform to the group Maintains harmony in social interaction Able to solve conflicts if they arise Able to keep conflict from occurring in groups

Table 6

Means and Standard Deviations of Selected Values by Country

	U.S.	Indonesia	t
Willingness to share possessions with others	2.56(1.10)	2.27(1.10)	-1.53
Generous to those in need	3.26(1.16)	2.98(1.24)	-1.29
Willingness to help others do jobs or activities	2.37(1.14)	2.47(1.02)	.53
Uses good sense and judgement	4.21(.89)	3.78(1.09)	-2.47*
Responsible	4.32(.86)	4.67(.71)	2.47*
Makes own decisions and takes responsibility for the consequences	4.28(.81)	3.83(1.15)	-2.52*
Good self-esteem	4.44(.69)	2.60(1.51)	-9.18***
Tolerance of difference in others	3.61(1.31)	3.03(1.21)	-2.58*
Able to control emotions	2.24(.96)	3.72(1.12)	8.11***
Cooperative	3.30(1.03)	3.00(1.14)	-1.55
Patient	2.97(1.08)	3.70(1.40)	3.33**
Open-minded and able to consider many different views	3.66(1.25)	3.55(1.24)	-.51
Maintains good relationships with others	3.51(1.08)	3.75(.92)	1.34
Exhibits fairness with others	3.17(1.13)	2.98(1.36)	-.85
Develops strong friendships with others	2.34(1.28)	2.13(1.07)	-.99
Considerate and sensitive to the feelings of others	3.75(1.07)	3.29(1.13)	-2.38*
Polite	3.51(1.16)	3.77(1.06)	1.33
Able to conform to the group	1.25(.69)	2.93(1.02)	11.15***

Maintains harmony in social interaction	2.06(.92)	2.67(1.19)	3.30**
Able to solve conflicts if they arise	2.93(1.09)	3.25(1.17)	1.62
Able to keep conflict from occurring in groups	1.93(.82)	2.42(1.05)	2.99**

Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

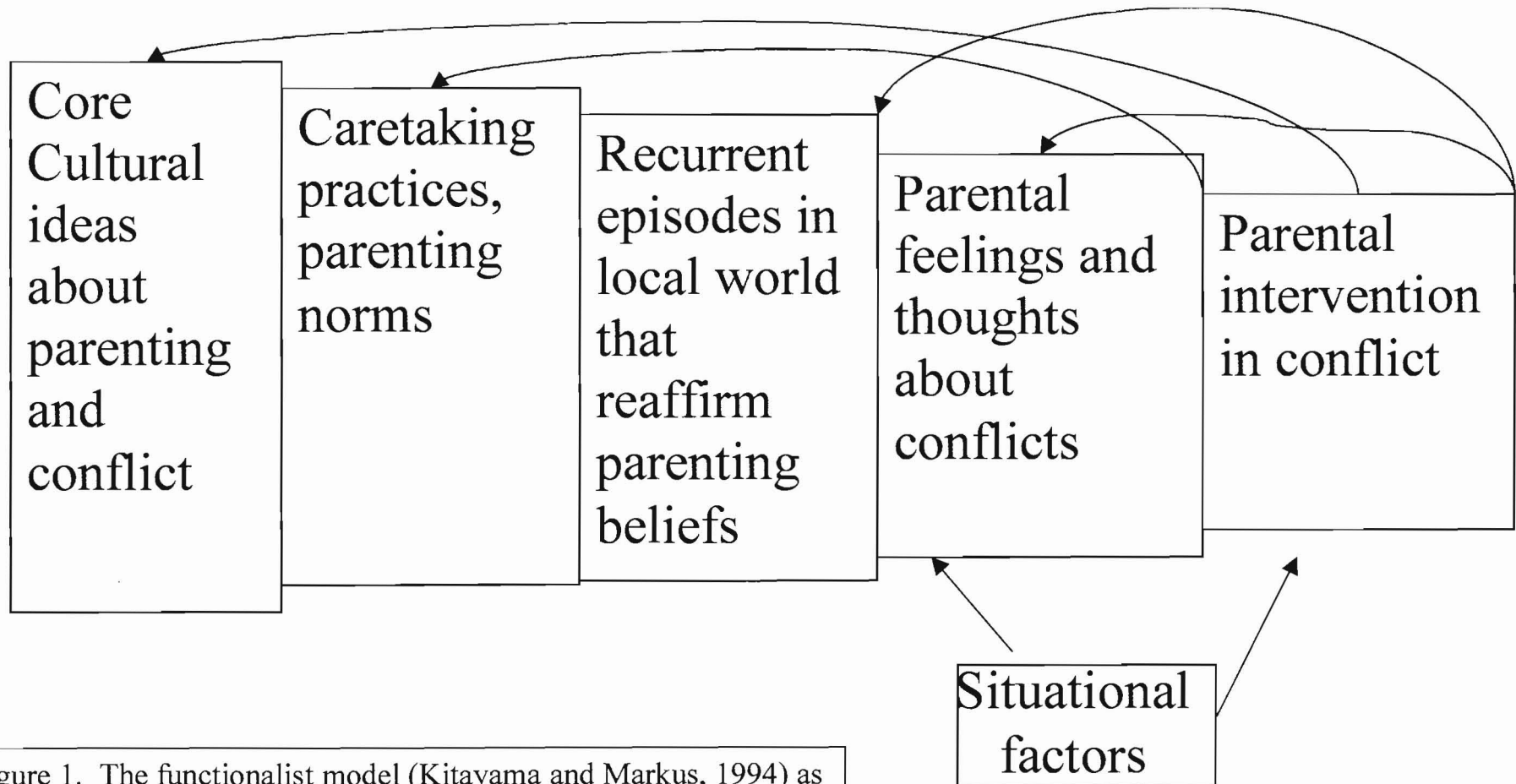


Figure 1. The functionalist model (Kitayama and Markus, 1994) as adapted to parental intervention in conflict.

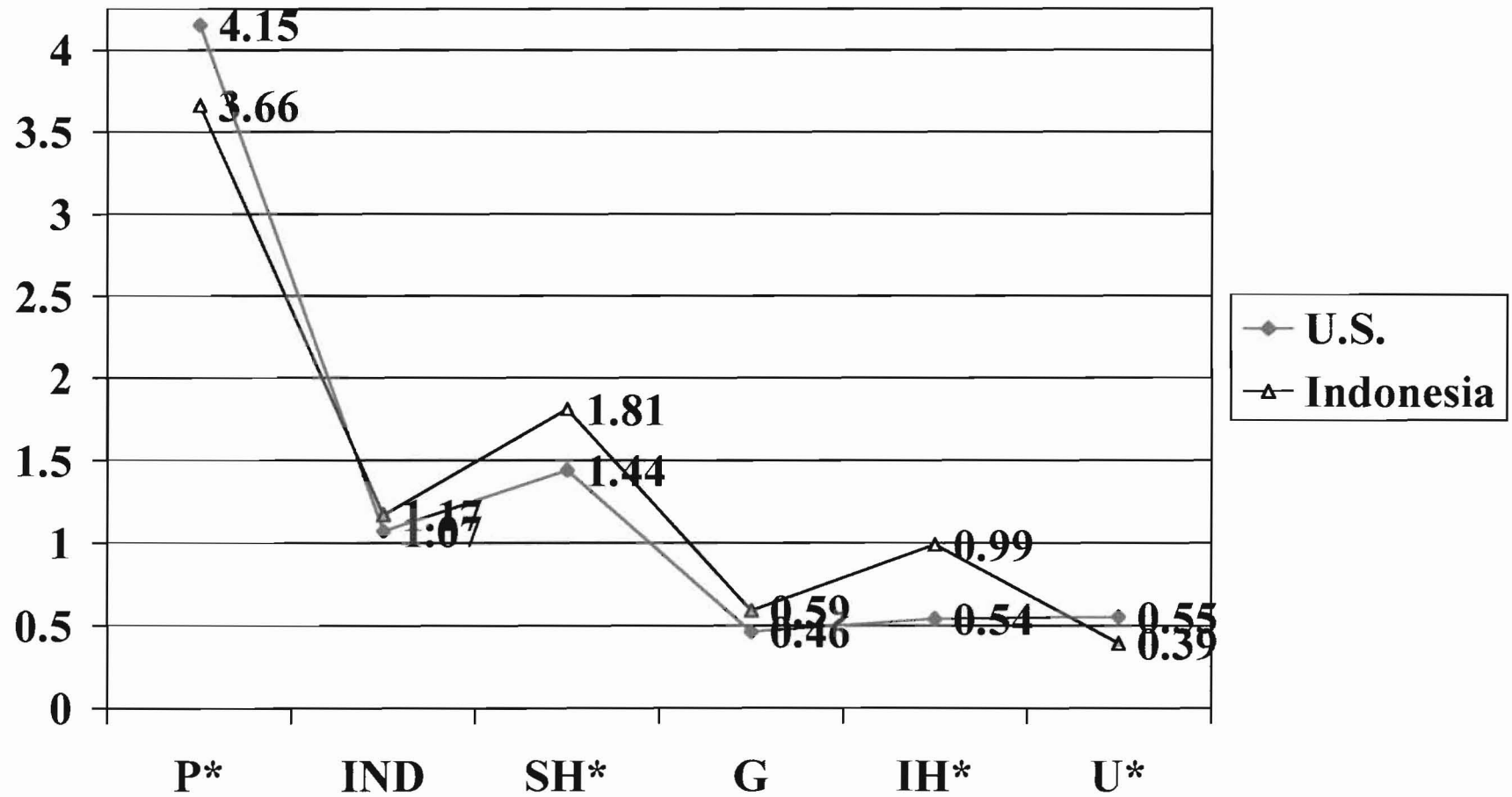


Figure 2. Means of composite scores for rationale intervention categories.