

Université de Montréal

**Le soutien parental à l'autonomie et la santé mentale des enfants : un regard sur le rôle de
la hiérarchie culturelle**

par Naïla Saïb

Département de psychologie

Faculté des arts et des sciences

Thèse présentée à la Faculté des études supérieures et postdoctorales

en vue de l'obtention du grade de Philosophiæ Doctor (Ph. D.)

en psychologie recherche et intervention,

option psychologie clinique

Juin, 2023

© Naïla Saïb, 2023

Université de Montréal

Faculté des arts et des sciences : Département de psychologie

Cette thèse intitulée

**Le soutien parental à l'autonomie et la santé mentale des enfants : un regard sur le rôle de
la hiérarchie culturelle**

Présentée par

Naïla Saïb

A été évaluée par un jury composé des personnes suivantes

Marie-Julie Béliveau
Président-rapporteur

Mireille Joussemet
Directeur de recherche

Julie Laurin
Membre du jury

Tamarha Pierce
Examineur externe

Résumé

Parmi les déterminants environnementaux, les pratiques parentales représentent le facteur de prédiction de la santé mentale des enfants le plus largement accepté dans la littérature (Holte et al., 2014). Il est intéressant que le soutien à l'autonomie (SA) représente l'une des trois composantes clés du parentage optimal. Alors que les bienfaits de la satisfaction du besoin d'autonomie seraient, selon la théorie de l'autodétermination (TAD ; Ryan et Deci, 2017), universels, des différences fondamentales existent en ce qui concerne les pratiques parentales à travers les cultures (Lehman et al., 2004). Étant donné que la relation parent-enfant représente un type de relation hiérarchique, la variable de la hiérarchie culturelle (HC) s'avère particulièrement pertinente. La HC met l'accent sur la reconnaissance et le respect de l'autorité (Schwartz, 1994, 2008). Composée de deux études empiriques, la présente thèse tente de faire un pas de plus dans la réflexion concernant la généralisation interculturelle des bénéfices du SA parental.

L'étude 1 repose sur deux banques de données transversales, recueillies auprès de participants présentant une large variabilité culturelle. L'objectif était d'explorer les associations entre la HC, le SA parental et les indicateurs d'ajustement psychosocial des jeunes et d'examiner si la HC joue un rôle modérateur dans l'association entre le SA parental et l'ajustement psychosocial des jeunes. Les résultats indiquent que plus le niveau de HC des parents est faible, plus leur niveau de SA est élevé. Alors que le SA parental est associé positivement aux indicateurs de bien-être (p.ex., satisfaction de vie) et négativement aux difficultés (p.ex., symptômes), les résultats n'ont révélé aucune modulation par la HC, à l'exception de la relation entre le SA parental et la régulation autonome des adolescents.

L'étude 2 a utilisé des données provenant d'une étude expérimentale mesurant les effets de l'atelier parental *How to talk so kids will listen & listen so kids will talk* (Faber & Mazlish,

1980; 2000) afin d'évaluer si le niveau de HC des parents modère les effets (ou l'absence d'effets) de l'atelier sur les pratiques parentales et la santé mentale des enfants. Dans l'ensemble, les résultats suggèrent un impact généralement indifférencié sur les pratiques parentales et sur la santé mentale des enfants, et ce, en ayant réalisé une multitude de tests (effets sur le SA, l'affiliation, et le cadre des parents, rapportés par les parents et les enfants, de même que le bien-être et les symptômes des enfants). Les effets précédemment documentés de l'atelier ne diffèrent donc généralement pas selon l'identité ethnique des parents. Parmi l'ensemble des tests réalisés, la seule exception concerne le SA tel que perçu par les enfants.

En somme, les deux études ont porté sur le rôle potentiellement modérateur de la HC dans la relation entre les pratiques parentales soutenant l'autonomie et divers indicateurs de santé mentale chez les jeunes. De manière générale, les patrons de résultats suggèrent que les jeunes dont les parents favorisent davantage leur autonomie ont tendance à présenter de meilleurs niveaux d'ajustement psychosocial et ce, indépendamment du niveau de HC lié à l'ethnicité de leurs parents. De plus, les résultats ont montré que l'atelier évalué a un impact similaire sur les pratiques parentales et la santé mentale des enfants, quelle que soit l'ethnicité des parents qui y ont participé. Ces résultats soutiennent de manière générale la position de la TAD sur les bénéfices universels du SA.

Mots-clés : soutien parental à l'autonomie, hiérarchie culturelle, santé mentale, ajustement psychosocial, enfance, adolescence, théorie de l'auto-détermination

Abstract

Among the environmental determinants, parental practices represent the most widely accepted predictor of children's mental health in the literature (Holte et al., 2014). Interestingly, autonomy support (AS) represents one of the three key components of optimal parenting. While the benefits of satisfying the need for autonomy are believed to be universal according to Self-Determination Theory (SDT; Ryan & Deci, 2017), fundamental differences exist in parental practices across cultures (Lehman et al., 2004). Given that the parent-child relationship represents a hierarchical type of relationship, the cultural hierarchy variable (CH) is particularly relevant. CH emphasizes the recognition and respect for authority (Schwartz, 1994, 2008). Comprised of two empirical studies, this thesis attempted to further explore the intercultural generalization of the benefits of parental AS.

Study 1 relied on two cross-sectional databases collected from participants with a wide cultural variability. The aim was to explore the associations between CH, parental AS, and indicators of young individuals' psychosocial adjustment, and to examine whether CH plays a moderating role in the association between parental AS and young individuals' psychosocial adjustment. The results indicate that lower levels of CH among parents are associated with higher levels of AS. While parental AS is positively associated with well-being indicators (e.g., life satisfaction) and negatively associated with difficulties (e.g., symptoms), the results revealed no moderation by CH except for the relationship between parental AS and adolescents' autonomous regulation.

Study 2 utilized data from an experimental study measuring the effects of the parenting program *How to talk so kids will listen & listen so kids will talk* (Faber & Mazlish, 1980, 2000) to assess whether parents' level of CH moderates the effects (or lack thereof) of the program on

parenting and children's mental health. Overall, the results suggest a generally undifferentiated impact on parenting and children's mental health, even after conducting multiple tests (effects on AS, affiliation, and structure, as reported by parents and children, as well as children's well-being and symptoms). The previously documented effects of the program generally do not differ based on parents' ethnic identity. Among all the tests conducted, the only exception concerns AS as perceived by children.

In summary, both studies focused on the potentially moderating role of CH in the relationship between autonomy-supportive parenting practices and various indicators of mental health in young individuals. Overall, the pattern of results suggests that youths whose parents promote their autonomy tend to exhibit better levels of psychosocial adjustment, regardless of the level of CH associated with their parents' ethnicity. Furthermore, the results showed that the evaluated parental program has a similar impact on parenting and children's mental health, regardless of the ethnicity of the participating parents. These findings generally support the position of SDT regarding the universal benefits of AS.

Keywords: parental autonomy support, cultural hierarchy, mental health, childhood, adolescence, self-determination theory

Table des matières

| | |
|---|------|
| Résumé..... | i |
| Abstract..... | iii |
| Table des matières..... | v |
| Liste des figures..... | vii |
| Liste des sigles et abréviations..... | viii |
| Remerciements..... | x |
| Introduction..... | 1 |
| Article 1 | 18 |
| Parental Autonomy Support and Child Psychosocial Adjustment: Examining the Role of Cultural Hierarchy | 19 |
| Abstract | 20 |
| Résumé | 21 |
| Introduction | 22 |
| Present Studies | 28 |
| Study 1..... | 30 |
| Study 2..... | 37 |
| General Discussion..... | 41 |
| References | 47 |
| Article 2 | 65 |
| Are the How-to Parenting Program’s Effects Moderated by Culture? A Look at Cultural Hierarchy ... | 66 |
| Abstract | 67 |
| Résumé..... | 68 |
| Introduction | 69 |
| Present Study..... | 74 |
| Method..... | 76 |
| Results | 85 |
| Discussion | 87 |
| References | 95 |
| Discussion générale | 124 |
| Références citées dans l’introduction et la discussion générale | 140 |
| Annexe A : Échelles utilisées dans les questionnaires de l’article 1 | xii |
| Annexe B : Échelles utilisées dans les questionnaires de l’article 2..... | xxiv |

Liste des tableaux

Article 1

| | |
|---|----|
| Table 1: <i>Examples of the Cultural Hierarchy Scoring Process</i> | 58 |
| Table 2: <i>Descriptive Statistics of Measures for Adolescents</i> | 59 |
| Table 3: <i>Correlations Between Variables in Adolescents</i> | 60 |
| Table 4: <i>Descriptive Statistics of Measures for School-Aged Children</i> | 61 |
| Table 5: <i>Correlations Between Variables in School-Aged Children</i> | 62 |
| Supplemental Material Table 1: <i>Coded Cultural Hierarchy Scores of Nations Absent in Schwartz's (2008) List</i> | 64 |

Article 2

| | |
|--|-----|
| Table 1: <i>Sample's Sociodemographic Characteristics by Conditions</i> | 119 |
| Table 2: <i>Means, Standard Deviations, Theoretical Intervals, and Correlations Between All Variables at Pre-Intervention (T1)</i> | 120 |

Liste des figures

Article 1

| | |
|---|----|
| Figure 1: <i>Moderation Effect of Cultural Hierarchy on the Relation Between Parental AS and Adolescents' Autonomous Motivation</i> | 63 |
|---|----|

Article 2

| | |
|--|-----|
| Figure 1: <i>Impact of the How-to Parenting Program on Post-Intervention Parental Autonomy Support (Child-Rated) Moderated by Cultural Hierarchy</i> | 122 |
| Figure 2: <i>Longer-Term Impact of the How-to Parenting Program on Parental Autonomy Support (Child-Rated) Moderated by Cultural Hierarchy</i> | 123 |

Liste des sigles et abréviations

| | |
|----------|--|
| α | Alpha de Cronbach / Cronbach's alpha, scale's internal consistency coefficient |
| AS | Autonomy support |
| β | Standardized beta |
| CBCL | Child Behavior Checklist |
| CR | Child report |
| e.g. | Exempli gratia (for example) |
| CH | Cultural hierarchy |
| et al. | Et autres / and others |
| etc. | Et cætera |
| F | F ratio |
| HC | Hierarchie culturelle |
| i.e. | Id est (that is) |
| M | Moyenne / Mean |
| MLR | Maximum Likelihood Robust estimator |
| N | Taille de l'échantillon / Sample size |
| p | Probability of committing a type-I error |
| p. ex. | Par exemple |
| PANAS | Positive and Negative Affect Schedule |
| PAS | Parental Attitude Scale |
| P-PASS | Perceived Parental Autonomy Support Scale |
| PR | Parent report |

| | |
|-----------|---|
| R^2 | Multiple correlation squared; measure of strength of association |
| RCT | Randomized controlled trial |
| SA | Soutien à l'autonomie |
| <i>SD</i> | Standard deviation |
| SDT | Self-determination theory |
| SEM | Modélisation par équation structurelle / Structural equation modeling |
| SES | Socioeconomic status |
| SSE | Statut socio-économique |
| SWB | Subjective well-being |
| TAD | Théorie de l'autodétermination |
| vs. | Versus |

Remerciements

Mon parcours doctoral a été une expérience inoubliable dans ma vie, tant sur le plan académique que personnel. Alors que je me trouve au terme de cette étape cruciale, je désire exprimer ma profonde gratitude envers les gens dont le soutien fut essentiel tout au long de cette grande aventure.

Je tiens d'abord à exprimer mes sincères remerciements à ma directrice de recherche, Mireille, pour son dévouement et son accompagnement dans la réalisation d'un grand rêve. Ta disponibilité, ta chaleur et ta bienveillance ont été d'une valeur inestimable pour apprécier pleinement chaque étape de ce marathon. Je suis profondément reconnaissante d'avoir pu explorer et apprécier la valeur du soutien à l'autonomie à la fois sur le plan théorique et pratique avec un modèle comme toi. Merci d'avoir toujours cru en mes idées en les soutenant sans relâche.

Je remercie mes chers co-auteurs pour leur altruisme et leur implication. Merci Jean-Michel pour ta générosité et ton aide inestimable en statistiques, à Anna pour ton coup de main dans la mise en œuvre du système de cotation, à Geneviève et à Richard pour vos idées singulières et pour la révision des manuscrits. Un grand merci également pour le partage de vos banques de données Jean-Michel, Geneviève et Mireille. Ceci témoigne de votre dévouement à favoriser le progrès collectif de notre communauté scientifique.

Au cours de mes stages cliniques, j'ai eu la chance d'être supervisée par des psychologues exceptionnels qui ont su m'épauler et me transmettre leur passion pour leur profession. Un merci particulier à Kees, à Mylène et à la fabuleuse équipe du CHU Sainte-Justine pour vos enseignements et pour les expériences déterminantes que vous m'avez permis de vivre.

Je souhaite remercier toutes mes collègues du laboratoire et ma cohorte avec qui j'ai partagé une multitude de moments agréables. À mes proches et mes amies qui ont fait en sorte que tout était plus doux. Nos moments de plaisir, nos discussions profondes et animées et nos rires partagés ont été d'importants moments de ressourcement pour moi.

Pour terminer, je tiens à exprimer mon éternelle reconnaissance envers ma famille pour leur soutien inconditionnel tout au long de mon parcours depuis le berceau. Papa, maman, Lotfi et Hanya, votre soutien indéfectible et votre amour à mon égard ont été les fondements de ma réussite. Votre présence a été une boussole à travers ce voyage. Cette thèse est également le fruit de vos sacrifices et de votre dévouement. Vous étiez toujours là pour m'écouter, me soutenir et me rappeler que je suis capable de réaliser de grandes choses et de me dépasser. Merci pour tout.

À vous tous qui avez été là de près ou de loin, je vous dis merci.

شكرا لكم على كل شيء

Introduction

Santé mentale des enfants

La santé mentale, telle que définie par l'Organisation mondiale de la santé (OMS, 2018), représente un état de bien-être qui va au-delà de l'absence de problèmes psychologiques. Selon l'Agence de santé publique du Canada (2016), la santé mentale s'agit d'un sentiment positif de bien-être émotionnel et d'une capacité que possède chaque individu pour ressentir, penser et agir de manière à améliorer sa qualité de vie. Ainsi, pour obtenir un portrait complet de la santé mentale des enfants, il est pertinent de tenir compte de leur bien-être socio-affectif en plus de leurs problèmes psychologiques.

Les indicateurs positifs de la santé mentale comprennent notamment l'autorégulation émotionnelle (Hu et al., 2014) et comportementale (p. ex., tolérance à la frustration), ainsi que la présence de bien-être subjectif. Selon Diener (2000) et Ben-Zur (2003), le bien-être représente un construit multidimensionnel référant à des composantes à la fois affective et cognitive de la vie des personnes. La composante affective réfère à la présence de plus d'émotions positives (p. ex., la joie, l'intérêt, la confiance en soi) et de moins d'émotions dites négatives (p. ex., la colère, la peur, la tristesse), alors que la composante cognitive est l'évaluation de la satisfaction de vie (Diener et al., 2002). Un autre indicateur positif de la santé mentale couramment mesuré chez les enfants est l'estime de soi, qui reflète le sentiment général de l'enfant de la valeur personnelle portée à son propre égard (Rosenberg et al., 1989).

Concernant les problèmes psychologiques durant l'enfance, il est possible de distinguer deux catégories distinctes : les problèmes intériorisés et extériorisés. Les problèmes intériorisés consistent en des difficultés émotionnelles (p. ex., dépression, anxiété, plaintes somatiques) et réfèrent à une autorégulation rigide ainsi que des comportements surcontrôlés (Achenbach, 1998;

Bayer et al., 2011). Les enfants présentant des problèmes intériorisés risquent de ressentir de la tristesse et de vivre des contacts sociaux moins fréquents (Laukkanen et al., 2002). Les problèmes extériorisés (p. ex., comportements agressifs et/ou enfreignant les règles) font quant à eux référence à un plus faible niveau de maîtrise de soi et une présence de comportements sous-contrôlés (Eisenberg et al., 2001). Contrairement aux problèmes intériorisés, les problèmes extériorisés sont associés à l'impulsivité et à des comportements risqués pouvant compromettre la santé et l'intégrité physique (Laukkanen et al., 2002).

Lorsque des difficultés d'ajustement psychosocial se cristallisent chez les enfants, celles-ci peuvent avoir des répercussions négatives sur leur fonctionnement adaptatif, limitant leur développement socio-affectif, cognitif et académique ultérieur (Dumas, 2013). À l'inverse, un bon développement socio-affectif durant l'enfance prédirait une meilleure santé mentale et ce, tout au long de la vie. Selon l'Institut canadien d'information sur la santé (ICIS, 2015), être en bonne santé mentale serait associé à des interactions sociales positives, à une meilleure confiance en soi, à une résilience accrue, ainsi qu'à une meilleure insertion dans le marché du travail à l'âge adulte. Par conséquent, étudier des facteurs favorisant la santé mentale au cours de l'enfance semble capital.

Les besoins psychologiques fondamentaux et leur universalité

La théorie de l'auto-détermination (TAD) est une macro-théorie de la motivation du développement et de la personnalité qui met l'accent sur les conditions sociales et contextuelles qui facilitent ou entravent le développement humain (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Ryan & Deci, 2017). La TAD affirme que tous les êtres humains ont une tendance naturelle vers la croissance, le bien-être psychologique, l'intégration de la personnalité et l'actualisation de soi (Vansteenkiste & Ryan, 2013). Cette tendance naturelle se manifeste très tôt dans la vie. Par exemple, les jeunes

enfants démontrent une curiosité intrinsèque à explorer leur environnement, ont une propension à assimiler les normes sociales et ont une tendance innée à la maîtrise et l'intégration de leurs « mondes », tant intérieur qu'extérieur (McDevitt et al., 2010; Ryan & Deci, 2017). Ces tendances actualisantes seraient préservées dans la mesure où les besoins des êtres humains sont satisfaits : la TAD s'intéresse donc aux facteurs contextuels qui facilitent ou compromettent ces tendances développementales.

Les différences individuelles en termes de développement, fonctionnement et bien-être psychologique dépendraient donc de la satisfaction de trois besoins psychologiques de base qui seraient innés et universels, soit l'autodétermination (ou autonomie), la connexion sociale et la compétence (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Ryan & Deci, 2017). S'attarder au niveau de satisfaction de ces besoins psychologiques fondamentaux au cours de l'enfance et de l'adolescence permettrait ainsi de mieux comprendre la santé mentale des jeunes.

Le besoin de connexion sociale réfère au besoin d'être relié aux autres, d'être apprécié et d'éprouver un sentiment de respect mutuel (Baumeister & Leary, 2017; Deci & Ryan, 2000; Ryan & Deci, 2017), alors que le besoin de compétence représente le sentiment d'avoir un impact sur son environnement et d'être capable d'atteindre ses buts (Deci, 1975). Le sentiment de compétence soutiendrait la curiosité, le goût d'explorer et de relever des défis. La recherche guidée par la TAD a porté relativement davantage d'attention sur le besoin d'autodétermination. Celui-ci réfère aux sentiments de volition et de liberté d'action (Baumeister & Leary, 2017; Deci & Ryan, 2000; Ryan & Deci, 2017). En d'autres termes, l'individu sent que ses actions ont un locus de causalité interne plutôt qu'externe (Ryan & Connell, 1989), qu'il endosse ses comportements et qu'il agit de plein gré. L'autodétermination permet de mieux s'approprier et

même d'intégrer une règle provenant d'autrui (p. ex., enfant qui suit une règle de l'école) lorsque l'individu saisit pleinement la signification et la portée du comportement (Sarrazin et al., 2011).

Le besoin d'autodétermination. La démarcation conceptuelle entre l'autodétermination et l'indépendance ou le détachement est importante à considérer. Certains chercheurs ont mis en doute l'universalité du besoin d'autodétermination, en suggérant qu'il s'agirait plutôt d'un construit propre à l'Occident (Henrich et al., 2010; Iyengar & DeVoe, 2003; Markus et al., 1996). Or, l'autodétermination, telle que définie dans la TAD, ne signifie pas d'être libre de toute influence de l'environnement, ni de rompre tout lien affectif avec l'entourage (Ryan et al., 2006a; Ryan & Deci, 2017; Soenens et al., 2007). Des individus présentant un niveau d'autodétermination élevé peuvent désirer et entretenir des relations importantes et interdépendantes avec d'autres individus ou groupes sociaux (Ryan, 2005). De plus, le détachement affectif a été associé à des conséquences négatives sur le bien-être des enfants, tels que des symptômes anxieux et dépressifs et/ou des problèmes de comportement (Lamborn & Steinberg, 1993; Ryan & Lynch, 1989). L'autodétermination, telle que définie dans le cadre de la TAD, a plutôt été associée au bien-être psychologique et ce, dans de nombreuses études (Chen, Vansteenkiste, Beyers, Boone, Deci, der Kaap-Deeder, et al., 2015; Chirkov et al., 2003; Chirkov et al., 2005; Sheldon et al., 2001). Une étude de Van Petegem et al. (2013) a examiné comment le bien-être était lié à l'autodétermination (telle que définie selon la TAD), ainsi qu'au niveau d'indépendance des adolescents vis-à-vis leurs parents. Seule l'autodétermination définie selon la TAD prédisait le bien-être, alors que l'indépendance était associée principalement à plus de comportements problématiques et à un style d'attachement évitant. Finalement, une récente méta-analyse (Yu et al., 2018) de 27 études évaluant le lien entre la satisfaction du besoin d'autodétermination et le bien-être au sein de 36 échantillons de sept pays suggère que la

satisfaction du besoin d'autodétermination était reliée positivement avec le bien-être (lien de taille modérée) et qu'il n'y avait pas de différence significative entre les divers échantillons.

Bref, tel que conceptualisée par la TAD, l'autodétermination représenterait un besoin psychologique fondamental dont la satisfaction faciliterait le développement et le bien-être psychologique de tous. L'autodétermination occupe d'ailleurs une place prépondérante dans la littérature en psychopathologie développementale (Ryan et al., 2006b; Ryan et al., 2016; Winnicott, 1958). Par exemple, des troubles associés à de la défiance et/ou un manque d'autorégulation (p. ex., opposition, agressivité) de même qu'à de la soumission et/ou une régulation trop rigide (p.ex., anxiété, compulsions) peuvent résulter de pratiques parentales visant à contrôler le monde intérieur de l'enfant (Ryan & Deci, 2017). Bref, le degré de satisfaction/frustration du besoin d'autonomie semble avoir des retombées importantes sur la santé mentale des êtres humains, tout au long de leur développement. Or, l'une des questions que l'on peut se poser est de savoir si le lien entre la satisfaction/frustration du besoin d'autonomie et la santé mentale des individus peut différer selon le bagage social et culturel des individus. De plus, une part importante des études publiées sur ce thème reposent sur des échantillons de participants qui ne sont pas généralisables à la population globale, contribuant aux doutes concernant l'universalité du besoin d'autodétermination (Nielsen et al., 2017). En effet, certains chercheurs ont suggéré que le besoin d'autodétermination s'agirait d'une construction spécifique à la culture occidentale (Henrich et al., 2010).

Pratiques parentales et santé mentale des enfants

L'influence de l'environnement social sur le développement socio-affectif et la santé mentale des enfants a été rapportée à plusieurs reprises par les théoriciens et chercheurs en psychologie du développement (Dumas, 2013; Hayden & Mash, 2014; Vitaro & Gagnon, 2000).

En tant que principales figures de soin, l'influence des parents sur le développement et la santé mentale de leurs enfants est substantielle (Masten & Shaffer, 2006; Watamura et al., 2011).

Parmi les déterminants environnementaux, la qualité des pratiques parentales représente le facteur de prédiction de la santé mentale des enfants le plus puissant et largement accepté dans la littérature (Holte et al., 2014; Masten & Shaffer, 2006). Selon Gray and Steinberg (1999), le style parental optimal serait composé de trois dimensions, soit : (1) l'affiliation, (2) le cadre et (3) le soutien à l'autonomie (SA).

L'affiliation (vs. désengagement) représente l'implication chaleureuse des parents auprès de leur enfant. Les parents plus impliqués témoignent de l'affection et de l'intérêt à l'égard de leur enfant, sont plus sensibles face à ses besoins, et l'acceptent tel qu'il est, de façon inconditionnelle (Grolnick, 2002; Grolnick & Ryan, 1989). Le cadre (vs. permissivité), lui, implique la présence de règles de conduite et de limites claires et constantes. Il se manifeste par la supervision des comportements de l'enfant et la présence d'attentes claires et réalistes de même que des conséquences prévisibles, logiques et constantes (Grolnick, 2002).

Le SA réfère à l'empathie et la considération envers l'enfant (Grolnick et al., 1997; Joussemet & Grolnick, 2022), ainsi qu'au respect de ses idées (Ryan et al., 2006a; Ryan & Deci, 2017). Le SA sous-tend que les parents encouragent l'enfant à s'approprier ses comportements et à faire preuve d'initiative. Les parents font preuve de SA lorsqu'ils permettent également à leur enfant de faire des choix et de prendre des décisions appropriées pour leur niveau développemental, par le biais notamment d'un langage non-contrôlant. Lorsqu'ils font des requêtes, ils informent les enfants de leur raison d'être, les aidant à valoriser le comportement requis. À l'opposé du SA, le style contrôlant réfère à tout comportement parental qui vise à manipuler les pensées, les sentiments et les préférences de l'enfant (Soenens & Vansteenkiste,

2010). Ce contrôle dit psychologique se caractérise par un comportement intrusif ou insensible à l'égard des besoins de l'enfant, tels que l'induction de honte, la menace, la manipulation, la surprotection ou l'abus de pouvoir (Soenens & Vansteenkiste, 2010).

En établissant une analogie avec les styles parentaux (Baumrind; 1966; Maccoby & Martin, 1983), il convient de souligner que le SA présente des caractéristiques qui se superposent à l'affiliation et le cadre retrouvés dans le style parental démocratique, bien que ce dernier peut être présent avec plus ou moins de SA (p.ex., niveau élevé d'exigence associé à l'utilisation de stratégies disciplinaires impliquant des comportements de contrôle qui se distinguent du SA, tels que la manipulation, du sarcasme ou de l'amour conditionnel).

Il importe de noter que chacune des composantes parentales favorables est associée à une meilleure santé mentale chez l'enfant, tandis que leurs opposés ont été associés à plus de symptômes (Chorot et al., 2017). Par ailleurs, les avantages liés au soutien des besoins psychologiques de base dans le contexte des pratiques parentales ont fait l'objet de nombreuses études (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001; Joussemet et al., 2018; Soenens et al., 2007). Le SA représenterait une ressource sociale cruciale favorisant la santé mentale et le bien-être des enfants. Une méta-analyse (Vasquez et al., 2016) qui a exploré 36 études a relevé que le SA parental était associé à de meilleurs résultats scolaires et à des indicateurs de fonctionnement psychosocial adaptatifs chez les enfants, tels que la motivation autonome plus élevée, une meilleure santé psychologique, un plus grand sentiment de compétence, ainsi que plus de comportements positifs. De plus, Chirkov and Ryan (2001) ont montré qu'il existait un lien positif entre l'expression parentale de SA et le bien-être et les résultats scolaires des enfants. Il a aussi été constaté que le SA parental prédisait un engagement académique axé sur les intérêts plutôt que sur les notes (Roth et al., 2009). Le SA parental a également été associé à de

meilleures compétences de régulation émotionnelle d'adolescents (Roth et al. (2009), par le biais d'une régulation souple et intégrée des émotions dites négatives.

Le SA serait essentiel dès les premiers stades de la vie (Frodi et al., 1985; Ryan & Deci, 2017). Des études ont montré que le SA permettrait de prédire la sécurité d'attachement des bambins (Bernier et al., 2014; Whipple et al., 2011), ainsi que des habiletés d'autorégulation à 18 et 24 mois (Bernier et al., 2010). Aussi, une étude ayant observé le lien entre le SA et l'amélioration de l'autorégulation comportementale chez les enfants âgés entre 2 ans et 3,5 ans (Laurin & Joussemet, 2017) a montré que les pratiques parentales qui soutiennent l'autonomie des bambins sont associées positivement à une amélioration de l'internalisation des règles chez ces derniers. De plus, une étude de Bindman et al. (2015) a mis en évidence une association positive entre le SA parental et le développement cognitif des enfants. Il a été constaté que les enfants dont les parents présentaient un plus haut niveau de SA durant les trois premières années de la vie de leurs enfants témoignaient de fonctions exécutives plus élevées deux ans plus tard. Ces enfants manifestaient une attention plus soutenue, un délai de satisfaction plus long et une plus grande capacité d'inhibition. Par ailleurs, l'importance du SA persiste au-delà des premières années de l'enfance. Par exemple, il a été démontré que le SA permettrait aux enfants et aux adolescents d'intérioriser les valeurs, les normes et les comportements mis de l'avant par les parents, ainsi que de favoriser un engagement autodéterminé (Joussemet et al., 2004; Mageau et al., 2009).

Étant donné toute l'importance des pratiques des parents pour la santé mentale de leurs enfants, il est pertinent de souligner que le SA puisse être enseigné et appris. Par exemple, Joussemet et al. (2014) ont évalué avec un devis pré-post l'atelier *How to talk so kids will listen & listen so kids will talk* issu du livre du même titre (Faber & Mazlish, 1980), qui met l'accent

sur l'enseignement d'habiletés parentales soutenant l'autonomie d'enfants d'âge scolaire. Une hausse du niveau de SA parental a été observée suite à l'atelier par rapport au niveau de référence. Parallèlement à la hausse du SA parental, les symptômes des enfants ont aussi considérablement diminué. Certains de ces résultats ont été répliqués subséquemment, dans le cadre d'un essai contrôlé randomisé (ECR; Joussemet et al., 2018).

Généralisation transculturelle?

Chaque individu existe dans un environnement social constitué de multiples sphères d'influence qui affectent de manière plus ou moins directe son bien-être (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Par exemple, l'influence la plus proche est celle de la famille, alors qu'au niveau plus distal (macrosystème), la culture agit également à titre d'influence contextuelle. En fait, la culture représente l'une des influences les plus considérables sur le comportement humain (Brislin, 2000; Triandis, 1996). Les contenus culturels, c'est-à-dire les pratiques, les valeurs, les rituels et les normes peuvent varier de manière importante et peuvent être vus comme des antécédents importants du comportement des individus (Adamopoulos & Lonner, 1997; Greenfield, 2000; Lehman et al., 2004). Bien qu'il existe de nombreuses définitions de la culture, un large consensus existe pour dire que la culture se compose d'éléments communs (Shweder et al., 1984) qui fournissent les normes pour percevoir, penser, évaluer, communiquer et agir parmi ceux qui partagent une langue, une période historique et une situation géographique (Triandis, 1996). L'étude culturelle vise notamment à identifier les régions au sein desquelles des similitudes culturelles existent. De manière générale, la géographie est un moyen important pour identifier de telles régions (Triandis, 1993, 1995, 1996). À titre d'exemple seulement, l'Occident, composé de l'Europe, l'Océanie, l'Amérique du Nord, ainsi que l'Orient, constitué de l'Asie de l'Est,

l'Asie du Sud-Est du Moyen-Orient, peuvent être considérés comme des régions possédant des caractéristiques culturelles distinctes.

Du point de vue de la TAD, la culture et l'individu sont indissociables, en ce sens que le soi se développe à travers l'intériorisation et l'intégration constante des pratiques, valeurs et normes culturelles (Ryan et al., 2017). L'influence de la culture sur l'individu concerne non seulement l'assimilation des rôles, relations et identités conférés, mais également les pratiques quotidiennes, allant des pratiques alimentaires à la musique, en passant par la langue (Chirkov et al., 2010). Les interactions parents-enfants sont également enchâssées dans un contexte socioculturel plus large dont les caractéristiques et les effets peuvent différer d'une culture à l'autre.

L'essor de la psychologie interculturelle a amené divers questionnements quant à la possibilité de généraliser les connaissances issues d'études réalisées en Occident à d'autres cultures. Une enquête de 2015 (Arnett, 2016), qui s'est intéressée à un large bassin international de revues de psychologie, a constaté que la vaste majorité (96%) des participants des études publiées provenaient de pays Occidentaux industrialisés – qui eux-mêmes représentent seulement 12% de la population mondiale (Henrich et al., 2010). La généralisation de leurs résultats aux individus non-Occidentaux ne peut donc pas être tenue pour acquise.

Dans le cadre de la TAD, l'importance de la satisfaction du besoin d'autonomie à travers divers contextes culturels et par le fait même les effets du SA parental, a fait l'objet de controverses dans la littérature. L'idée principale des chercheurs qui nient l'universalité du besoin d'autodétermination (Iyengar & Lepper, 1999; Markus & Kitayama, 2003) est que la construction du concept d'autonomie émane des sociétés occidentales, qui prônent des valeurs singulières telles que l'individualisme, le libéralisme ou l'indépendance. Par le fait même, ce

construit ne serait que partiellement applicable aux sociétés orientales, plus collectivistes ou orientées vers le groupe (Markus & Kitayama, 2003; Oishi, 2000). La nécessité d'un sentiment d'appartenance au groupe peut d'ailleurs être une préoccupation majeure dans les cultures orientales (Heine et al., 1999; Triandis, 1995). Selon cette position, l'autonomie est considérée comme culturellement relative. Par exemple, Miller (1997) a fait valoir que dans de nombreux pays non-occidentaux, le contrôle parental est normatif et n'est pas associé à des impacts négatifs sur le bien-être des enfants. Ces affirmations peuvent en partie être appuyées par le fait que les cultures varient considérablement dans leur définition de l'autonomie, de l'égalitarisme et de l'importance de la conformité sociale (Schwartz, 1994; Schwartz & Bardi, 1997). De plus, Chirkov et al. (2010) soulignent que dans les cultures où l'harmonie familiale est cruciale, les parents exercent davantage de contrôle sur leurs enfants afin de maintenir cette harmonie et que cette forme d'implication parentale, quoiqu'elle dicte les comportements, puisse être perçue par les enfants comme une forme d'amour et de protection (p.ex., mon parent se soucie de mon bien-être et prend soin de moi). Par ailleurs, les quelques études conduites au sein de cultures plus hiérarchiques (Chao, 2001; Stewart & Bond, 2002) n'ont pas détecté de lien entre le SA parental et l'ajustement psychosocial des enfants.

Dans un autre ordre d'idées, l'affirmation selon laquelle le construit d'autonomie n'est pas applicable aux cultures à l'extérieur de l'Occident peut elle-même être mise en doute. D'une part, il convient de noter que les chercheurs de divers domaines de la psychologie, y compris la psychologie du développement (Zimmer-Gembeck et al., 2003) et la psychologie interculturelle (Rothbaum & Trommsdorff, 2007) ne s'entendent pas sur l'opérationnalisation et le rôle fonctionnel de l'autonomie (Van Petegem et al., 2013). Par exemple, en psychologie du développement, le terme a été utilisé pour désigner un amalgame de concepts distincts, y compris

l'indépendance, le détachement, l'auto-gouvernance et l'affirmation de soi (Beyers et al., 2003). En raison de cette confusion conceptuelle, les opinions divergent également sur la question des bénéfices du SA parental.

La TAD soutient l'idée selon laquelle tous les enfants devraient bénéficier du SA parental (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Ryan et al., 2017) et des études (provenant de pays industrialisés) montrent que le SA parental est associé à de nombreux indicateurs d'ajustement psychosocial chez les enfants (Vasquez et al., 2016). Il a également établi que la satisfaction du besoin d'autonomie est liée positivement au bien-être à travers les cultures orientales et occidentales (Downie et al., 2007; Yu et al., 2018). En effet, dans le domaine de la recherche interculturelle, plusieurs associations positives ont été trouvées à travers diverses cultures entre la satisfaction des besoins psychologiques de base et des mesures du bien-être, tels que davantage de bien-être et moins de symptômes liés à diverses psychopathologies (Sheldon et al., 2009; Sheldon et al., 2004). Par exemple, Chirkov et al. (2003) ont constaté que la satisfaction du besoin d'autonomie prédisait positivement le bien-être des étudiants à travers quatre pays culturellement différents (États-Unis, Corée du Sud, Russie et Turquie). Plus récemment, Chen et al. (2015) ont constaté que la satisfaction des besoins psychologiques de base avait une association positive avec le bien-être des adolescents et des adultes. Cette association ne variait pas entre les quatre cultures échantillonnées (États-Unis, Chine, Pérou et Belgique). Des résultats similaires ont été obtenus dans d'autres études multi-pays, y compris des pays aussi divers que le Brésil (Chirkov et al., 2005), la Bulgarie (Deci et al., 2001) et le Japon (Church et al., 2013). D'autres études soutiennent l'universalité du besoin d'autonomie en suggérant qu'à travers les cultures, lorsque celui-ci est brimé, des conséquences négatives pour le bien-être des individus peuvent résulter

(Chirkov et al., 2010; Marbell-Pierre et al., 2019).

Hiérarchie culturelle

Ces visions contradictoires témoignent de toute l'importance de s'intéresser aux variabilités interculturelles en ce qui a trait aux pratiques parentales – d'autant plus au SA parental – et à son influence sur la santé mentale des enfants. Étant donné que la relation parent-enfant représente un type de relation hiérarchique, l'étude d'une variable culturelle qui met l'accent sur une telle inégalité des rôles revêt un intérêt particulier. Se pencher sur la variable de la hiérarchie culturelle (Schwartz, 1994) permet d'approfondir ce champ d'intérêt. La hiérarchie culturelle (HC) met l'accent sur la reconnaissance et le respect de l'autorité (Schwartz, 1994, 1999). Les individus sont socialisés de façon à plus ou moins tenir pour acquis la répartition hiérarchique des rôles, dans le but de se conformer aux obligations et aux règles attachées à leurs rôles (Schwartz, 1994). Par exemple, la Chine et l'Inde présentent un niveau de HC élevé. Les cultures dites plus hiérarchiques voient la répartition inégale du pouvoir, des rôles et des ressources comme plus légitimes et même plus désirables. Les valeurs telles que l'autorité, l'humilité et le pouvoir social sont davantage valorisées dans de telles cultures (Hofstede, 2001), comparativement aux cultures dites plus égalitaires. Ainsi, il est attendu que les enfants respectent l'autorité des adultes dans une plus large mesure. Dans le but de faciliter la comparaison interculturelle, Schwartz (1994, 1999, 2008) a créé un système de cotation dimensionnelle permettant d'évaluer le niveau de hiérarchie culturelle (vs. égalitarisme) de 80 nations à travers un vaste travail interculturel axé sur les valeurs.

Dans les nations où le niveau de HC est plus élevé, l'environnement social peut contraindre les comportements et les actions des individus et les amener à se sentir plus contrôlés par des figures d'autorité, tels que les parents et les enseignants (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001). Par

exemple, il a été constaté que les étudiants russes percevaient moins de SA de la part de leurs enseignants que les étudiants américains (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001). Les auteurs expliquent ces résultats par la possibilité d'une présence plus élevée de valeurs plus autoritaires en Russie (Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). De même, dans des contextes de HC plus élevée, encourager l'autonomie de ses enfants peut être perçu comme préjudiciable aux objectifs de socialisation, alors que l'utilisation de pratiques parentales contrôlantes puisse être associée à un meilleur ajustement (Chao, 1994; Dwairy, 2004; Rudy & Halgunseth, 2005). Par exemple, dans l'étude de Dwairy (2004), il a été constaté que le style parental autoritaire n'était *pas* associé à un moins bon ajustement psychologique chez des adolescents arabo-palestiniens qui vivent dans un contexte de HC plus élevée. L'auteur suggère que les effets des styles parentaux sur le bien-être des enfants seraient relatifs à la culture, plutôt qu'universels. Par exemple, le fait de permettre aux enfants de prendre leurs propres décisions pourrait plutôt bouleverser la hiérarchie sociale et contredire l'idée de s'en remettre à l'autorité des adultes (Helwig et al., 2003). Cependant, parmi un échantillon similaire d'adolescents arabes de Jordanie, Ahmad and Soenens (2010) ont constaté que le contrôle psychologique maternel était associé à plus d'autocritique et de symptômes dépressifs chez les adolescents.

À l'opposé de la HC, l'égalitarisme culturel considère les individus comme égaux. Les cultures dites plus égalitaires mettent davantage l'accent sur l'expression du développement personnel et de l'autonomie de chacun (p. ex., la Belgique et la Norvège). Les valeurs telles que l'égalité, la justice sociale et la responsabilité sont davantage valorisées au sein de ces cultures (Hofstede, 2001). Les individus issus des pays valorisant un haut niveau d'égalitarisme culturel peuvent avoir davantage d'occasions de relations sociales soutenant l'autonomie (Ferguson et al., 2011). Ceux-ci peuvent alors être amenés à ressentir moins de pression afin de se conformer aux

demandes provenant des autres et à avoir plus d'occasions pour exprimer leur autonomie à travers leurs comportements auto-endossés (Ferguson et al., 2011).

Les cultures plus ou moins hiérarchiques présentent ainsi des valeurs, des pratiques et des normes distinctes. Les cultures plus hiérarchiques tendent à restreindre davantage l'expression des désirs et intérêts d'un individu dans l'optique de se conformer à la collectivité ou à un groupe social, tandis que les valeurs et les normes des cultures plus égalitaires soutiennent davantage la présence d'une plus grande liberté de poursuivre des objectifs liés à la satisfaction et aux intérêts propres. Sur la base de l'exposition à de telles valeurs et normes, les interactions parent-enfant dans les cultures plus hiérarchiques peuvent être caractérisées par moins d'occasions pour les enfants de ressentir de l'autodétermination comparativement aux interactions parent-enfant dans des cultures plus égalitaires (Ferguson et al., 2011). En résumé, les résultats issus des recherches interculturelles s'intéressant aux pratiques parentales sont contradictoires. Ceux-ci témoignent du faible consensus au sein des chercheurs vis-à-vis de l'autonomie, du SA parental et de ses effets sur les enfants.

Il semble donc pertinent de considérer les variations de HC lors de l'étude des rapports parent-enfant. En effet, si le SA parental peut s'avérer moins bénéfique dans des contextes où la HC est plus élevée, il pourrait être pertinent de questionner la généralisation des bénéfices de d'ateliers parentaux qui mettent de l'avant la promotion du SA. À l'opposé, si le SA parental était associé au même niveau de bénéfices pour tous les enfants, peu importe le niveau de HC, cela soutiendrait l'idée de l'universalité du SA, et ce, malgré le fait que les pratiques parentales puissent différer selon les cultures. À notre connaissance, aucune étude n'a examiné dans quelle mesure les bénéfices du SA parental varient selon le niveau de HC. Le faire au sein d'une même société multiethnique au Québec sera informatif. En effet, tenir compte de cette dimension

culturelle est peut-être particulièrement pertinent à l'intérieur du contexte socioculturel québécois actuel, et ce, dans l'optique d'assurer une bonne représentativité de la population québécoise et de clarifier si le SA parental est généralement bénéfique pour toutes les familles. À cet effet, la composition démographique du Québec est hétérogène sur le plan culturel et l'immigration représente la principale source de croissance de la population (Immigration, Réfugiés et Citoyenneté Canada, 2018). De manière plus large, le multiculturalisme est une caractéristique déterminante même du Canada: les immigrants représentent actuellement près d'une personne sur quatre au pays (Immigration, Réfugiés et Citoyenneté Canada, 2018).

Buts de la recherche

Le rôle joué par la HC dans la relation entre les pratiques parentales et la santé mentale des enfants demeure encore mal connu. L'objectif global de cette thèse était de contribuer à la littérature grandissante portant sur la généralisation interculturelle des bénéfices possibles des pratiques parentales de SA. Plus précisément, il a été question de s'intéresser au rôle potentiellement modérateur de la HC dans (1) l'association entre le SA et divers indicateurs de la santé mentale des enfants, ainsi que (2) pour les effets (ou l'absence d'effets) d'un atelier visant l'apprentissage des pratiques parentales soutenant l'autonomie des enfants. Ancrées dans la TAD, chacune des deux études comporte des particularités qui ont permis de poursuivre cet objectif de façon complémentaire et par le biais d'échantillons présentant une large variabilité culturelle.

Étude 1. La première étude a cherché à savoir si la HC joue un rôle modérateur dans l'association entre le SA parental et l'ajustement psychosocial des enfants (plus de bien-être et de régulation autonome du comportement; moins de symptômes) parmi des échantillons présentant une grande variabilité culturelle (parents nés dans 71 nations différentes). Nous avons poursuivi

cet objectif en analysant des données provenant de deux échantillons de participants d'âges distincts (c.-à-d., des adolescents et des enfants d'âge scolaire). Dans le 1^{er} échantillon, 442 adolescents ($M_{\text{âge}} = 16$ ans) ont fait état de leur bien-être subjectif, de leur autorégulation morale et de leur perception du SA de leur parent. Dans le 2^e échantillon, 293 parents intéressés à prendre part à un atelier parental ont évalué leur propre SA parental et les symptômes psychologiques de leur enfant. La HC des origines ethniques des parents a été évaluée à l'aide du système de codage dimensionnel de Schwartz (2008), portant sur l'importance accordée au pouvoir hiérarchique. Étant donné que plusieurs des 71 nations rapportées par les participants n'avaient pas de cotes dans ce système, nous avons développé une procédure systématique nous permettant d'évaluer la HC des nations qui n'avaient pas encore été évaluées par Schwartz (36% de cet échantillon; 30 différentes nations évaluées ainsi).

Étude 2. Dans la 2^e étude, l'objectif a été d'évaluer si la HC modère les effets (ou l'absence d'effets) de l'atelier parental *How to talk so kids will listen & listen so kids will talk* (Faber & Mazlish, 2000) sur les pratiques parentales et sur la santé mentale des enfants. Cet objectif a été mené à l'aide de la seconde banque de données utilisée dans la 1^{re} étude de la thèse (c.-à-d., 293 parents d'enfant d'âge scolaire, originaires de 44 nations différentes), en valorisant cette fois-ci son devis expérimental (conditions : atelier vs. liste d'attente) et longitudinal (pré et post-intervention, suivis de 6 et 12 mois). Des analyses multi-niveaux ont porté sur le SA, l'affiliation et le cadre des parents, de même que les symptômes de leur enfant. Similairement, les enfants (s'ils étaient âgés de 8 ans ou plus; $N = 112$) ont évalué leur bien-être en plus du SA et de l'affiliation prodigués par leur parent. Le système de codage dimensionnel de Schwartz a également été utilisé dans le cadre de cette étude pour mesurer la HC des origines ethniques des parents.

Article 1

Parental Autonomy Support and Child Psychosocial Adjustment: Examining the Role of Cultural Hierarchy

This article was submitted to the *International Journal of Child, Youth and Family Studies*

Authors' contributions:

Naïla Saïb: literature review, conceptualization of the study, methodology, data curation, statistical analyses, interpretation of the results, writing of the manuscript

Mireille Joussemet: funding acquisition, conceptualization of the study, data collection, interpretation of the results, revision of the manuscript, supervision

Anna Cavenaghi: methodology, data curation

Jean-Michel Robichaud: data collection, statistical analyses, interpretation of the results, revision of the manuscript

Geneviève A. Mageau: funding acquisition, data collection, revision of the manuscript

Richard Koestner: funding acquisition, revision of the manuscript

Parental Autonomy Support and Child Psychosocial Adjustment: Examining the Role of Cultural
Hierarchy

Naïla Saïb¹, Mireille Joussemet¹, Anna Cavenaghi¹, Jean-Michel Robichaud², Geneviève A.

Mageau¹, Richard Koestner³

¹Département de psychologie, Université de Montréal, Canada

²Département de psychologie, Université de Moncton, Canada

³Department of Psychology, McGill University, Canada

Author Note

A grant from the *Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR)* and a grant from the *Fonds de recherche du Québec - Société et culture (FRQ-SC)* were provided to the second, fifth, and sixth authors. This research was also supported by doctoral scholarships from the Université de Montréal and FRQ-SC to the first author. Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Naïla Saïb, C/O Mireille Joussemet, Ph.D., Département de psychologie, Université de Montréal, C.P. 6128, Succursale Centre-Ville, Montréal (Qc.), H3C 3J7.

Abstract

This study investigated whether cultural hierarchy plays a moderating role in the association between AS and child psychosocial adjustment, operationalized as well-being, autonomous behavioral regulation, and the absence of psychological symptoms, among samples presenting a wide range of cultural variability (parents born in 71 different nations). Participants' cultural background was rated in terms of its emphasis on hierarchical power, based on parents' ethnicity, using Schwartz's dimensional coding system. SEM analyses revealed no moderation effect of cultural hierarchy on the relation between parental AS and child outcomes, with the exceptions of the relation between parental AS and adolescents' autonomous behavioral regulation. As expected, parental AS and cultural hierarchy were significantly and negatively correlated, AS was often associated with indicators of youth psychosocial adjustment, whereas cultural hierarchy was generally unrelated to adjustment. These results support Self-Determination Theory's position on the universal benefits of AS.

Keywords: psychosocial adjustment, youth, parental autonomy support, cultural hierarchy, self-determination theory

Résumé

Cette étude a examiné si la hiérarchie culturelle joue un rôle modérateur dans l'association entre le soutien à l'autonomie parental (SA) et l'ajustement psychosocial des jeunes, opérationnalisé en termes de bien-être subjectif, de régulation comportementale autonome et de relative absence de symptômes psychologiques, parmi des échantillons présentant une large variabilité culturelle (parents nés dans 71 nations différentes). L'origine ethnique des participants a été évaluée en termes de hiérarchie culturelle (HC), en se basant sur l'origine ethnique des parents et en utilisant le système de codage dimensionnel de Schwartz (1994, 2008). Les analyses MES ont révélé en général une absence d'effet modérateur de la HC dans la relation entre le SA parental et les indicateurs d'ajustement psychosocial des jeunes, à l'exception de la relation entre le SA parental et la régulation comportementale autonome des adolescents. Tel qu'attendu, le SA parental et la HC étaient significativement et négativement corrélés. Le SA parental était souvent associé à des indicateurs d'ajustement psychosocial chez les jeunes, tandis que la HC n'était généralement pas reliée à leur ajustement psychosocial. Ces résultats soutiennent la position de la théorie de l'autodétermination sur les avantages universels du SA.

Mots-clés : ajustement psychosocial, enfance, adolescence, soutien à l'autonomie parental, hiérarchie culturelle, théorie de l'autodétermination

Introduction

Parenting quality is among the most widely accepted predictors of child psychosocial adjustment, such as well-being and autonomous regulation indicators (Holte et al., 2014; Masten & Shaffer, 2006). Parenting research suggests that what defines high-quality parenting may differ according to contextual factors (e.g., cultural beliefs), though some components would be universally beneficial (Bornstein et al., 2021). One parenting component claimed to be universally beneficial to child psychosocial adjustment is parental autonomy support (AS). Parental AS refers to empathy towards children and adolescents (Grolnick et al., 1997), respect for their ideas (Ryan et al., 2006a; Ryan & Deci, 2017), and encouragement of their active participation (Mageau et al., 2015). For instance, parents show AS when they allow their children to have a say in (developmentally appropriate) decisions and use considerate, non-controlling language. Finally, when making requests, they inform children of their purpose, helping them to endorse the value underlying the required behavior (Koestner et al., 1984). Yet, the universality without uniformity principle (Soenens et al., 2015) also suggests that prototypical AS behaviors (i.e., choice, rationale, and acknowledgment of feelings) may not be perceived as autonomy-supportive across all cultures, thereby altering their potential impact. The main goal of the present study was to examine the potential moderating role of parents' culture on the link between parental AS and child psychosocial adjustment, operationalized as well-being and autonomous behavioral regulation.

Need for Autonomy

According to Self-Determination Theory (SDT; Deci & Ryan, 2000; Ryan & Deci, 2017), variations in psychosocial adjustment depend on the degree of satisfaction/frustration of three basic and universal psychological needs, namely autonomy (or self-determination), relatedness,

and competence. SDT research has paid relatively more attention to autonomy, which refers to feelings of volition and self-endorsement (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Ryan & Deci, 2017) and a sense of an internal (vs. external) locus of causality (Ryan, 1993). As such, a greater sense of autonomy is associated with a higher level of integration of external rules (e.g., school rules) and recommendations (e.g., medical advice; Ng et al., 2012), supported by a better understanding of behaviors' meaning (Sarrazin et al., 2011) and associated with psychological well-being (Ryan & Deci, 2017; Yu et al., 2018). According to SDT, the degree of satisfaction/frustration of autonomy has important socialization and well-being repercussions for *all* human beings, no matter their culture and underlying core values. As such, from the perspective of SDT, parental autonomy support should be beneficial to all humans because it satisfies a universal basic psychological need.

Parental AS and Youth Psychosocial Adjustment

Parental AS seems to represent a crucial social resource as it has been positively associated with child adaptive psychosocial functioning. Indeed, a meta-analysis (Vasquez et al., 2016) revealed that parental AS was associated with more internalized motivation, better psychological health, higher perceived sense of competence and life satisfaction, as well as greater academic performance. In addition, studies have shown positive associations between parental AS and child well-being (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001) as well as youth interest-based academic engagement (Roth et al., 2009), and youth emotional regulation skills (Roth et al., 2009). Parental AS seems to be essential from the earliest stages of life (Joussemet & Mageau, 2023) and through all developmental stages in youths (Joussemet & Mageau, 2023; Ryan & Deci, 2017). For instance, studies have shown that parental AS predicts toddlers' attachment security and executive functioning (Bernier et al., 2010; Bernier et al., 2014; Whipple et al.,

2011), as well as their rule internalization (Laurin & Joussemet, 2017) and cognitive development (Bindman et al., 2015). AS has also been shown to help adolescents internalize the values, norms, and behaviors put forward by parents (Kasser et al., 2004), as well as foster autonomous engagement and the endorsement of intrinsic life goals (Joussemet et al., 2004; Leves et al., 2010; Mageau et al., 2009). As such, parental AS seems to have a wide variety of benefits on child psychosocial adjustments, such as psychological well-being and autonomous behavioral self-regulation, thereby offering robust support to the claim that its benefits may be universal.

Though these results may have supported the idea that AS has universally beneficial effects, some authors nonetheless questioned this. Indeed, the conceptual demarcation between autonomy and independence or detachment is important to address, perhaps especially because some researchers have questioned the universality of the need for autonomy, suggesting that it is a construct specific to the West culture (Henrich et al., 2010; Iyengar & DeVoe, 2003). Cross-cultural psychology emphasizes the distinction between individualistic and collectivist cultures (Triandis, 2004). However, autonomy, as defined by the SDT, does not mean being free from all influence of the environment, nor breaking all emotional ties with those around them (Ryan et al., 2006a; Ryan & Deci, 2017; Soenens et al., 2007). Individuals with a higher level of autonomy can have important interdependent relationships with other individuals or social groups (Ryan, 2005). Whereas emotional detachment has been associated with negative child outcomes, such as anxiety and depressive symptoms (Lamborn & Steinberg, 1993; Ryan & Lynch, 1989), self-determination has instead been associated with psychological well-being, across numerous countries (Chen et al., 2005). When Van Petegem et al. (2013) examined

autonomy, as defined by SDT, as well as the constructs of individualism, independence, and detachment, only autonomy was found to predict well-being.

On one hand, some authors suggested that supporting children's autonomy in countries that are more hierarchical in their social relations may be detrimental to socialization goals, while the use of controlling parenting practices may be associated with better adjustment in these cultures (Dwairy, 2004; Rudy & Halgunseth, 2005). For instance, in Dwairy (2004)'s study, the expected negative link between an authoritarian parenting style and psychological adjustment was not found among Arab-Palestinian adolescents living in a highly hierarchical context. The researchers suggested that the influence of parenting styles on children's well-being would be culturally diverse rather than universal. Allowing children to make their own decisions could upset the social hierarchy and contradict the idea of relying on adult authority in hierarchical cultures (Helwig et al., 2003). On the other hand, among a similar sample of Jordanian adolescents, Ahmad and Soenens (2010) found that, as expected by SDT, maternal psychological control, which thwarts the need for autonomy, was associated with more self-criticism and depression among adolescents. From another perspective, Soenens et al. (2015) suggested that prototypical AS behaviors (i.e., choice, rationale, and acknowledgment of feelings) may not be perceived as autonomy-supportive in some cultures. This may be explained by the principle of universality without uniformity, leading to the idea that perceived autonomy-supportive parenting is universally beneficial to children, but that cultural differences may occur in children's appraisal of behaviors that are presented as autonomy-supportive theoretically.

Such divergent results raised the possibility that AS may not be universally beneficial, notably depending on the culture. The present study attempted to provide some answers to these issues by examining the potential moderating role of culture in the link between parental AS and

child psychosocial adjustment. To better understand the potential interplaying role of culture and AS in child psychosocial adjustment, we anchored our research in two relevant theoretical frameworks, namely SDT and Schwartz's model of universal cultural values.

Cultural Hierarchy

One framework that may help sort out these mixed findings was Schwartz' model (1999) of universal cultural values. The author has identified ten distinct values that are said to be crucial and present in all countries (1999). One of the great strengths of Schwartz's theory was that it quantifies these cultural values on dimensional constructs (based on a rating system validated in over 80 countries), thereby facilitating their empirical study and promoting a better understanding of the relations between culture and important societal phenomena (Schwartz, 1994, 1999, 2008). Specifically, Schwartz's model of universal cultural values discussed three bipolar cultural dimensions: integration vs. autonomy, mastery vs. harmony, and hierarchy vs. egalitarianism. Among these three dimensions, cultural hierarchy (CH) vs. egalitarianism was particularly useful to understand the role played by cultural beliefs in hierarchical relationships such as parent-child.

CH emphasizes the level of recognition and respect for authority and the extent to which individuals are socialized to comply with the obligations and rules attached to their roles (Schwartz, 1994). More hierarchical cultures see the unequal distribution of power, roles, and resources as legitimate and even desirable compared to less hierarchical ones. Values such as authority and social power are more highly valued in more hierarchical cultures (Hofstede, 2001), which also restrict the expression of individuals' personal desires and interests in favor of conformity to the social group or the community. In contrast, the values and norms of more egalitarian cultures support freedom to pursue goals related to personal satisfaction and interests.

Based on the underlying values, norms, and beliefs embedded by cultural hierarchy, one may expect that parent-child interactions in more hierarchical cultures are characterized by lower parental AS than those in more egalitarian cultures (Ferguson et al., 2011). In line with this, Russian students (higher CH) have been found to perceive their teachers as less autonomy-supportive, compared to American students (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001). Thus, one may expect parental AS to be less frequent in higher CH countries.

In addition, a child's appraisal of autonomy-supportive vs. controlling parenting behaviors may vary depending on a more or less authoritarian parenting context (Soenens et al., 2015). For instance, Chao and Aque (2009) showed that Asian immigrant adolescents (higher CH) reported less anger than European American adolescents (lower CH) when confronted with controlling statements. Using structured interviews (Helwig et al., 2014), Chinese children also presented more positive evaluations of potentially psychologically controlling practices (e.g., withdrawal of love) than Canadian children (lower CH). These differences in appraisals in turn have been proposed to account for the differential impact of controlling behaviors across contexts and cultures (Soenens et al., 2015). For example, while psychological control seems to be frequently associated with negative developmental outcomes (e.g., depression and withdrawal) among children in Western samples (Barber et al., 2005), findings with Asian samples have been more inconsistent (Cheah et al., 2019; Fung & Lau, 2012). In Fung and Lau (2012)' study, authors examined the relation between child behavior problems and parental psychological control (e.g., guilt induction, shaming, criticism) among European American (lower CH) and Chinese (higher CH) parents and found that it was related to parental rejection across both groups, but it was only associated with child behavior problems for European American children. As a result, scoring high on CH may attenuate the link between AS and

psychosocial adjustment, although the relation can be expected to remain positive for all, regardless of the CH level. The second main goal of the present investigation was to examine whether parents' cultural background (in terms of CH) moderated the association between parental AS and child psychosocial adjustment.

Regarding the direct associations between culture and mental health, a review conducted by Heim et al. (2019) identified four studies measuring Schwartz's CH among heterogeneous cultural groups of adults and found no consistent correlational pattern. To our knowledge, no author has used Schwartz's culture measures to explore these links among younger participants.

In sum, SDT postulated that the need for autonomy and the benefits of its support are universal, while other theories such as Schwartz's values model (1999) suggested that the correlates of autonomy may be culturally specific. Given the importance of the parent-child relationship and the potential benefits associated with parental AS, it seemed theoretically and practically important to examine whether and how the association between youth psychosocial adjustment and parental AS varied according to CH. From a practical perspective, if parental AS did not promote child adjustments in families where CH is higher, it would have been important to consider this and offer culturally-sensitive recommendations to parents. From a theoretical perspective, if parental AS was positively associated with psychosocial adjustment regardless of CH levels, it would have supported the idea that parental AS is universally beneficial.

Present Studies

We examined the associations between parental autonomy support, parental cultural emphasis on hierarchy, and youth psychosocial adjustment. Specifically, in addition to assessing the relation between these three variables, we aimed to examine whether CH moderated the relations between parental AS and child psychosocial adjustment. Child psychological

adjustment was operationalized as well-being, autonomous behavioral regulation, and the absence of psychological symptoms.

First, based on SDT, we hypothesized that parental AS would be positively related to child psychosocial adjustment. Second, based on prior studies (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001; Downie et al., 2007; Wu et al., 2002), we expected that parents born in higher CH countries would show less parental AS. Given past studies' mixed findings regarding the links between CH and child psychosocial adjustment, we did not have any specific hypothesis. Nonetheless, we did expect that CH would moderate the strength of the association between parental AS and youth psychosocial adjustment. More specifically, we predicted that parental AS would be positively related to psychosocial adjustment for all youths, but that the strengths of these links would be stronger in families where parents were born in more egalitarian countries (i.e., lower CH). According to Chirkov et al. (2010), a contrast between parental AS and valued practice/s and habits put forth in more hierarchical cultures could reduce or decrease the expected benefits of AS.

We pursued these goals in two studies with multicultural youth recruited from the public schools in the pluricultural city of Montreal. According to the 2011 National Household Survey (Canada, 2011), Montreal is the home to over 120 cultural communities from five continents. One out of three Montrealers are immigrants; 50% of the population is bilingual and 20% are trilingual. Participants of Study 1 were adolescents (14 to 22 years old) whereas school-aged children (5 to 12 years old) and their parents took part in Study 2. In both studies, we measured parental AS (child or parent reports), imputed family CH based on Schwartz's rating system (2008), and assessed relevant psychosocial adjustment indicators (i.e., subjective well-being, moral self-regulation, psychological symptoms). We also assessed relevant sociodemographic

and parenting variables, namely youth age and gender, parent gender, and parental structure, which is defined as the extent to which parental practices make the environment predictable for children through family rules, clear communication, and exercising authority (Bartley, 2016; Ryan & Deci, 2017). Parental structure helps children understand how their actions are related to outcomes, which contributes to their self-regulation and functioning (Grolnick et al., 2014). Structure was an important covariate to include in the present studies given the authority dimension that can also be found in the CH component.

Study 1

Method

Participants

The sample (52.7% female) consisted of 442 French-speaking high school (9th to 11th grade) and CEGEP students living with their parents in Montreal, Quebec.¹ Participants were part of a larger study on parenting and as such, also took part in Robichaud et al.'s study (2021). Students were aged between 14 and 22 years old ($M = 15.98$ years, $SD = 1.34$ years). Their parents came from a variety of cultural backgrounds: 40.1% of them were born in Canada, while others were born in various countries in Maghreb (15.1%), Europe (12.2%), Latin American countries (9.9%), or one of more than 30 other countries. In terms of education, approximately half of participants' parents had a university diploma (53.64%), 22.25% of parents had a post-secondary certification, and the remainders had a high school diploma as their highest certification (20.15%) or had not finished high school (3.96%).

¹ Quebec's education system is unique. It provides for a step between high school and university: CEGEP. "CEGEP" is a French acronym that stands for *Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel*, known in English as a general and vocational college.

Procedure

After obtaining ethics approval from the ethics committees of the Université de Montréal and participating high schools and CEGEPs, participants were recruited in their class by a research assistant. This first meeting explained the objectives and procedure of the study, and an information letter was sent to parents to inform them of their youth's participation in the study. Participants were met a second time in their class so that they could complete a questionnaire in a paper and pencil format on-site, without a time limit. Adolescents answered questions after specifying the parent with whom they interacted the most. There was no inclusion or exclusion criterion to participate.

Measures

Autonomy Support. Adolescents completed the Perceived Parental Autonomy Support Scale (Mageau et al., 2015). This validated questionnaire taps three aspects of AS: volition encouraged (within defined limits), rationales provided for rules, and validated emotions and perspective. An average of its 12 items was computed to obtain a global score of perceived parental AS. Its underlying reliability coefficient was excellent (i.e., "My parent wants me to make choices that match my interests and preferences, no matter what theirs are"; $\alpha = 0.93$). We do not focus on the subscales in this investigation.

Cultural Hierarchy. Adolescents reported on their parents' ethnicity by answering the following question: "What is your parent's ethnicity?". This information was used to code parent cultural hierarchy (CH), using Schwartz (1999, 2008)'s dimensional coding system, which provides CH scores for [80 different nations](#) around the globe.

First, CH scores were available from Schwartz's list for 61.1% of our sample (29 different nations). For the remaining ethnicity data, we developed a systematic procedure

allowing us to assess the CH of nations that had not yet been evaluated by Schwartz (36% of this sample; 30 different nations to assess). Based on Downie et al. (2004; 2007) and Wong et al. (2008), we assigned to these nations the score (or average of scores) that was the most similar to an already-coded similar nation(s), using the same criteria as those used in Schwartz's coding system (1994, 1999, 2008). These include geographical location, spoken language, and religious affiliation. Though Schwartz also uses a shared history criterion (i.e., history of colonization), we did not use this criterion because of its high redundancy with the language and religious ones. We provide detailed scoring examples in Table 1. All scores of assessed nations for the present study can be found in Supplemental materials.

When participants provided ethnicity information other than a country (e.g., "Arab", "Latino"), we computed an average score of nations thought to represent these characteristics (e.g., Arab nations, Latin American nations, respectively). To assess inter-rater reliability, a second coder assigned a CH score to 33.33% of the coded nations, following the same scoring procedure. Kappa/intra-class correlation revealed an excellent inter-rater reliability (IC = 0.92, 95% CI [0.68 to 0.98]; Koo & Li, 2016).

Positive and Negative Affect. We used a French translation (Gaudreau et al., 2006) of the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (Watson et al., 1988) to assess the affective component of subjective well-being (SWB). This questionnaire has already been validated with adolescents by Huebner and Dew (1995) and had good internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.90 / 0.85$) for positive and negative emotions, respectively in our study. Adolescents were invited to complete this adjective checklist, containing two subscales of 10 items designed to assess positive affect (i.e., determined, enthusiastic, inspired, etc.) and negative affect (i.e., afraid, ashamed, guilty,

etc.). Participants indicated the extent to which they felt each of the 20 emotion-related words, on a 1 (*Very slightly or not at all*) to 5 (*Extremely*) scale.

Satisfaction with Life. The cognitive component of the SWB was assessed with the French-Canadian version (Blais et al., 1989) of the Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener et al., 1985; e.g., “If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing”). Adolescents rated its five items ($\alpha = 0.86$) on a 7-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*).

Moral Self-Regulation. We measured autonomous and controlled motivation of adolescents with the Self-Regulation Questionnaire (Ryan & Connell, 1989) adapted to rule-breaking contexts by Soenens et al. (2009). This questionnaire measured the reasons why adolescents comply with rules when a disagreement with a parent arises. Adolescents indicated how often their reasons for complying are autonomous (5 items; e.g., “Because I understand why these rules are important”) or controlled (5 items; e.g., “Because I feel forced to do so”) on a 7-point Likert scale (ranging from 1 = *Almost never* to 7 = *Almost always*). These subscales’ internal consistency was good ($\alpha = 0.90/0.80$; Autonomous and controlled motivation, respectively).

Structure. We assessed parental structure using the Multidimensional Structure Scale (Ratelle et al., 2018), which is based on an exhaustive conceptualization of structure (Farkas & Grolnick, 2010). In this study, items from the Predictability, Clear and consistent rules, Opportunities to meet expectations, and Information feedback subscales were used for a total of 16 items (e.g., “My mother/father tells me when I don’t respect a family rule”). Participants rated how well each item represented their relationship with their parents using a 5-point Likert scale

ranging from 1 (*Never or almost never*) to 5 (*Always or almost always*). This scale was found to possess good internal consistency in this study ($\alpha = 0.87$).

Sociodemographic Information. Adolescents also provided basic socio-demographic information. They were asked to indicate their age and gender, as well as the highest level of education completed by their targeted parent.

Plan of Analysis

For our preliminary analyses, we examined descriptive statistics and zero-order correlations for all variables to examine predicted links and to identify covariates. We also verified the validity of our CH scoring process by comparing the relation between CH and parental AS among the entire sample with the relation among the subsample of participants whose parents had an ethnicity already rated by Schwartz (2008). Any potential covariate related to at least one of our outcomes was retained for our main analyses.

For our main analyses, we conducted SEM analyses (saturated model) with the Maximum Likelihood Robust (MLR) estimator to examine the role of parental AS and CH on youth psychosocial adjustment. In a first model, we assessed the role of parental AS and CH on youth subjective well-being. In a second model, we assessed the role of parental and CH on youth moral self-regulation. In each model, we first examined whether CH moderated the relation between parental AS and youth outcomes. When a significant interaction emerged, we examined the relation between parental AS and youth outcomes in families with higher and lower CH (i.e., scoring 1 SD above and below the mean). Provided the absence of a significant interaction, we intended to examine the independent relations between both parental AS and CH and youth outcomes.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Missing values were limited, with percentages ranging from 0 to 6.3% missing data per variable. The means, standard deviations, theoretical and observed intervals, as well as the number of participants providing data for each variable are presented in Table 2. CH scores, which includes scores derived from our scoring process, ranged from 1.60 (score assigned to Italy) to 3.49 (score assigned to China; $M = 2.22$, $SD = .40$).

Zero-order correlations between all variables are shown in Table 3. There were statistically significant positive associations between parental AS and all psychosocial adjustment indicators. As for CH, it was significantly (and negatively) associated with life satisfaction, but not with any other indicator.

As expected, parental AS was negatively associated with CH, both when examining all participants and when examining only the subsample of participants whose parents had an ethnicity previously rated by Schwartz (2008). Furthermore, the strength of the association was identical (both $r = -.20$, $p < .001$). Finally, youth age, gender and perceived parental structure were correlated with several outcomes and were thus included as covariates in our main analyses.

Main Analyses

Our main analyses first revealed no moderation effect of CH on the link between parental AS and well-being indicators, all $ps \geq .428$. Examining the independent relations between both parental AS and CH on well-being indicators revealed that youths who perceived their parents as more AS reported experiencing more positive affect, $\beta = .35$, $p < .001$, less negative affect, $\beta =$

-.22, $p < .001$, and a higher level of life satisfaction, $\beta = .39$, $p < .001$. There was no relation between CH and any of the well-being indicators, however, all $ps \geq .223$.

Regarding moral self-regulation, we found a significant interaction between CH and parental AS on autonomous motivation, $p = .002$ (see Figure 1). Unpacking this interaction revealed a positive association between parental AS and autonomous motivation for all youths, though the strength of the association was, as expected, stronger for youths whose parents' ethnicity obtained lower score on CH, $\beta = .67$, $p < .001$, compared to youths whose parents' ethnicity was higher in CH, $\beta = .47$, $p < .001$. There was no significant interaction on controlled motivation however, $p = .659$. Examining independent relations of both parental AS and CH on controlled motivation showed that parental AS was negatively related to adolescents' controlled motivation, $\beta = -.44$, $p < .001$, while CH was unrelated to it, $p = .101$.

Discussion

Our results offer support to the universally beneficial effects of parental AS. Indeed, parental AS is positively related to all indicators of youth psychosocial adjustment, independently of CH. Furthermore, CH only plays a moderating role in the relation between parental AS and one youth outcome, namely autonomous motivation. In addition, unpacking this interaction suggests that parental AS is positively related to autonomous motivation for all youths. Yet, this association is stronger when targeted parents have an ethnicity rated as less (vs. more) hierarchical, suggesting that parental AS may have a greater impact on youth's autonomous motivation with such ethnicities. It could be hypothesized that in more hierarchical countries with a strong emphasis on a hierarchical system of ascribed roles, less autonomy-supportive behaviors may be perceived as less controlling. Soenens et al. (2015) explain that behaviors that are perceived as not supporting autonomy in more authoritarian countries may

have no effects or no negatives effects, whereas perceived autonomy-supportive behaviors may have positive effects. However, it is conceivable that other factors could be associated with these results. When studying rule internalization, parents' ethnicity seems to be an interesting and perhaps important aspect to consider.

Our results also reveal that adolescents of parents with a lower CH score perceive them as being more autonomy-supportive (i.e., as providing more choices, more rationales, and as acknowledging their perspective to a greater extent). Regarding CH and youth psychosocial adjustment, only one (negative) significant association was found, with life satisfaction. All main effects obtained in Study 1 suggest that parental AS is significantly related to youth's psychosocial adjustment, whereas CH is not.

Study 2

Study 1 explored the way parental AS, cultural hierarchy, and youth psychosocial adjustment are related among adolescents. Study 2 expands this research by assessing school-aged children.

Method

Participants

For this second study, we made use of baseline data of parents participating in a larger study aiming to evaluate the impact of a parenting program on child well-being (Mageau et al., 2022). The inclusion criteria in this study were for parents to have at least one child between the ages of 5 and 12 attending one of the participating primary schools. The sole exclusion criterion was the inability to communicate in French. Parents who had more than one school-aged child were asked to select one of them for the scales they completed: either the child who was 8 years old or older or their child closest to 9 years old if they had many children meeting this criterion.

The sample consisted of 293 parents (80.2% mothers and 19.8% fathers). Their average age was 40.3 years ($SD = 5.76$). Regarding the level of education, almost three-quarters of parents had a university diploma (73.1%), 20.8% of parents had another post-secondary certification, and the remainders had a high school diploma as their highest qualification (3.4%) or had not finished high school (1%). In terms of cultural background, 55.8% of these parents considered themselves as Canadians whereas others named another ethnicity from Europe (11.4%), Africa (4.9%), Asia (4%), or one of more than 15 other nations (less than 3.1% per country).

Procedure

After having obtained ethical approval from the University's ethics committee and receiving authorization from school boards, recruitment took place in 15 grade schools. The present study used pre-intervention (baseline) data, which was collected prior to the randomization process aimed at testing the efficacy of the parenting program of interest. More specifically, parents attended an information session held in their local grade school and, after giving their consent, completed a baseline questionnaire in a paper and pencil format, on-site.

Measures

Autonomy Support. Parents' autonomy-supportive attitudes and behaviors were measured with the Parental Attitude Scale (PAS; Grolnick et al., 1997). Each of the ten items (e.g., "I encourage my child to give his/her opinion even if we might disagree") is rated on a 7-point Likert scale (1= *Strongly disagree* to 7= *Strongly agree*). This scale was found to possess acceptable internal consistency in the present study ($\alpha = 0.71$).

Cultural Hierarchy. Parents answered the following question "What is your ethnicity?". This information was used to code parents' CH, using Schwartz (1999, 2008)'s scores (70.6%;

22 different nations) as well as our systematic procedure for nations without an existing code, similarly as in Study 1 (25.6%; 10 nations coded in Study 1 and 12 new computed nation scores for the present sample).

Psychological Symptoms. Parents' perceptions of children's mental health problems were measured with the Internalizing and Externalizing subscales (I and E problems; $\alpha = 0.75$ and 0.66 , respectively) of the Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL; Achenbach & Rescorla, 2001). Internalizing problems refer to emotional difficulties such as anxiety, depression, and somatic complaints, whereas externalizing problems refer to aggressive, oppositional, and/or rule-breaking behaviors. Parents rated their child on a 3-point Likert scale ($0 = \textit{Not applicable}$ to $2 = \textit{Always or often true}$).

Structure. Parents also completed the Laxness Subscale of the Parenting Scale (Arnold et al., 1993) to measure their degree of parenting laxness vs. structure, which we coded such that higher scores represented parenting structure. Parents assessed how they usually behave towards their children using 9 bipolar items (structure vs. permissiveness; e.g., "I set limits on what my child can do" vs. "I let my child do whatever he or she wants"). This scale had acceptable internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.73$).

Sociodemographic Information. Parents were asked to indicate their age, gender, and their highest level of education completed. They also reported on the sex and age of their targeted child.

Plan of Analysis

The purpose of Study 2 was to examine the previously described associations, this time within a sample of grade school children's parents. The same analytical strategy as in Study 1 was thus used.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Missing values were limited, with percentages ranging from 0.7 to 3.8% missing data per variable. The means, standard deviations, theoretical and observed intervals, as well as the number of participants providing data for each variable are presented in Table 4. CH scores for this sample, which include the ones deriving from our scoring process, ranged from 1.60 (score assigned to Italy) to 3.49 (score assigned to China; $M = 2.07$, $SD = .33$).

Zero-order correlations between all variables are shown in Table 5. There were statistically significant negative associations between parental AS and psychological symptoms (I and E problems). As for CH, it was significantly (and negatively) associated with E problems, but not with I problems. As expected, and similarly to Study 1, parental AS was significantly negatively associated with CH, both when examining the entire sample and the subsample whose parents had an ethnicity previously assessed by Schwartz (2008). Furthermore, the strength of the association between parental AS and CH was similar ($r = -0.21$, $p < .01$). With regards to covariates, parental age, gender and structure were found to correlate significantly with I and E problems and were thus included as covariates in the main analyses.

Main Analyses

Concerning psychological symptoms, SEM results showed that CH did not moderate the link between parental AS and any type of symptoms, all $ps \geq .142$. Examining main effects revealed that parents who perceived themselves as more autonomy-supportive reported fewer I problems ($\beta = -.19$, $p < .001$) as well as fewer E problems ($\beta = -.23$, $p < .001$) in their children. Parents' CH was also negatively associated with child E problems $\beta = -.18$, $p = .002$, but not with I problems, $p = .179$.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to replicate the previous one with a sample of parents of school-aged children. Somewhat in line with findings from study 1, CH did not moderate the relation between parental AS and psychological symptoms. This result contrasts with previous studies. Indeed, Chirkov and Ryan (2001) found a lower level of well-being among Russian youth participants compared to their American counterparts, although greater parental AS predicted greater adolescent well-being in both samples. Donald et al. (2021), on the other hand, found no moderation of participants' geographic location for the relation between autonomy and prosocial outcomes. Replicating these findings seems warranted given the currently conflicting results.

The direction of the main effects was in line with findings from Study 1, whereas parental AS was related to parent-reported symptoms (both I and E problems). Regarding CH, it was unrelated to I problems, but was related with a negative association with lower child E problems. Finally, we once again found that the more parents' ethnicity is high in CH, the less they seem to be autonomy-supportive.

As was the case in Study 1, the interpretation of the results is limited by the cross-sectional design, preventing causal inferences about the observed relations and their directions. In addition, I and E problems were rated by parents, which is linked to a risk of illusory correlation with other parent-reported measures (Podsakoff et al., 2003).

General Discussion

Our studies paid special attention to the hierarchical dimension of cultures, as we aimed to examine the interplaying role of CH and parental AS in child psychosocial adjustment. Our main goal was to examine whether CH played a moderating role in the relation between parental

AS and child psychosocial adjustment. Our second objectives were to examine the independent relations between both predictors and child outcomes as well as their inter-relation. These goals were pursued among two samples of different age ranges and with a wide range of cultural variability.

Overall, our results provide additional empirical support for the universal benefits related to parental AS on child psychosocial adjustment, and across two different age groups. Indeed, when we examined whether the hierarchical-egalitarian dimension played a moderating role in the relation between parental AS and children's psychosocial adjustment, we found no moderation by CH in most tests, except for youth autonomous motivation (Study 1 only). Unpacking this moderation and examining main effects revealed relations between AS and all outcomes (positively with strengths, negatively with problems). The direction of the only but nonetheless significant moderation effect obtained in the present studies makes its interpretation more complex. Further studies are thus needed to see if the pattern can be replicated before we can conclude that parental AS has a stronger association with adolescents' autonomous motivation in lower HC families.

For now, the general lack of moderation suggests that the benefits related to AS could be universal. This proposition is consistent with some previous studies. For instance, Chen et al. (2015) found that basic psychological need satisfaction had a positive association with adolescent well-being and that this association did not vary across the four cultures sampled (United States, China, Peru, and Belgium). Similar results have been found in other multi-country studies, including countries as diverse as Brazil (Chirkov et al., 2005), Bulgaria (Deci et al., 2001), and Japan (Church et al., 2013).

A recent longitudinal study (Gao et al., 2021) conducted with Chinese children points to the role of children's interpretation of maternal AS, as children's perception can modulate the association between AS and child social functioning. Consistent with the views of many proponents of cognitive-behavioral theory, this may partly explain the other studies (Camras et al., 2017; Camras et al., 2012). The authors explain that when children perceived that their parent's lack of AS was derived from good intention and concern for them, this parenting component was more strongly related to children's sociability and assertive skills (Gao et al., 2021). In addition, Marbell-Pierre et al. (2019) showed that children with self-construals that are more *interdependent* (i.e., whose parents play an important role in their conception of themselves) may interpret parents' AS differently from children who have more independent self-construals. Considering the meanings of parenting practices from children's perspective seems particularly relevant. One way to address this could be to measure the extent to which children identify themselves with their parent's culture of origin and their host culture.

The various contradictions still present in the literature highlight the dialectical tensions between the generalization of psychological constructs and the importance of adopting a culturally sensitive approach. Taking cultural dimensions into account is particularly relevant in the current global socio-cultural context, where globalization and immigration are leading to several social reconfigurations in many countries.

Our results add to the mixed literature on the role of CH in child outcomes. Indeed, though CH was rarely linked with psychosocial adjustment measures, statistically significant results suggested both positive and negative relations with child psychosocial adjustment. Finally, the observed relations between CH and parental AS also offered some relevant insights into the way culture may shape parental beliefs and resulting practices. Indeed, the fact that

children of parents from a less hierarchical ethnicity perceived their parents as more autonomy-supportive across both samples points to the idea that parenting practices are related to culture. The variety of methods used by parents to teach children's values, beliefs, and behaviors seem indeed to differ according to cultural norms (Meléndez, 2005).

Limitations

Although the present studies contribute to the parental AS literature by integrating the cultural context, there are several limitations that need mentioning. First, we examined the CH of primary caregivers only, without considering, for example, the number of years parents and their children have lived in Canada, parents' country of birth (and immigrants' identification with their culture of origin and their host culture), nor did we consider the possibility of having multiple ethnic backgrounds. The ethnicity indicator has the advantage of allowing for comparisons between studies. It is certainly a useful ethnicity indicator, but it remains incomplete. Participants' understanding of the question on parental ethnicity appeared to vary. This variability constitutes a significant limitation regarding the objectivity of the measurement. In addition, assessing additional indicators in future studies, and considering both parents, would help provide a more nuanced picture and an even more sensitive understanding of the cultural dimension in a parenting context. Despite these limitations, we believe that it may be worth replicating the conducted analyses in subsequent studies.

Regarding the CH measurement, one of the strengths of the study is that we estimated the CH level of a significant number of nations that were not initially rated by Schwartz. Based on a variety of criteria, it was possible to retain all of our sample's participants, thereby increasing power and reflecting a wider range of ethnic backgrounds. In addition, it has been argued that treating cultural components as dimensional rather than categorical variables is theoretically and

empirically more useful (Hsu et al., 2013). Finally, one of the main strengths of the present studies is that they contribute to the growing literature on cultural sensitivity in the relations between parenting practices and child psychosocial adjustment.

Future Directions

One of the major research questions addressed in the present studies was whether parental AS is related to a better psychosocial adjustment in all children, regardless of the level of parents' CH. In order to gain a better understanding of the associations between these variables, it would be important to investigate the direction of observed effects and potential reciprocal relations. A longitudinal design with numerous time points could provide useful insights about the stability and change of parental AS, how CH relates to temporal patterns, and take into account some reciprocal effects (e.g., changes in children's psychosocial adjustment can both precede and follow autonomy-supportive parenting).

Future studies could also deepen our understanding of the potentially moderating role of CH across the different components of parental AS (i.e., empathy, rationale, choices, non-controlling language). Testing this model across the different components of optimal parenting more broadly, for example by examining warmly involved (vs. rejecting) and structuring (vs. permissive) practices in addition to autonomy-supportive (vs. controlling) ones in a single mode could also reveal some important nuances regarding the relations between parents' cultural background and parenting practices.

Regarding the sources of information, obtaining parents' observational measures of their parenting practices when adolescents and children report on their psychological well-being would also reduce the risk of illusory or amplified associations. Alternatively, youth could report on perceived parenting whereas parents could rate their children's psychological health. In

another measurement vein, future studies could replicate the moderation analyses conducted in the present studies within larger samples, using additional ethnicity indicators as mentioned above. Moreover, since the conceptual demarcation between self-determination and independence or detachment remain important to address in order to foster conceptual clarity, it would be relevant to examine other constructs often conflated with self-determination, such as individualism, independence, and detachment, as it was done by Van Petegem et al. (2013).

In conclusion, the present findings provide some insights into the role of cultural hierarchy in a parenting context. Parental AS was linked to psychosocial adjustment in all families, no matter parents' cultural background. Furthermore, the very occasional CH moderation obtained when the relation between parental AS and various indicators of children's psychosocial adjustment were studied foregrounds the idea that AS is a universally and inclusive beneficial parenting practice (Ryan & Deci, 2017). However, these studies also highlight the importance of paying close attention to cultural variables when studying psycho-societal phenomena, especially to the exact definition of our measured constructs (e.g., autonomy as volition or independence). Finally, if replicated, the knowledge gained may allow for better adaptation of parenting programs, emphasizing that supporting children's autonomy may be associated with better psychological and social adjustment and that this is applicable across diverse cultural settings while respecting each family's values and principles.

References

- Achenbach, T. M. (2001). Manual for ASEBA school-age forms & profiles. *University of Vermont, Research Center for Children, Youth & Families*.
- Ahmad, I., & Soenens, B. (2010). Perceived maternal parenting as a mediator of the intergenerational similarity of dependency and self-criticism: A study with Arab Jordanian adolescents and their mothers. *Journal of Family Psychology, 24*(6), 756.
- Arnold, D. S., O'leary, S. G., Wolff, L. S., & Acker, M. M. (1993). The Parenting Scale: a measure of dysfunctional parenting in discipline situations. *Psychological assessment, 5*(2), 137. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1040-3590.5.2.137>
- Barber, B. K., Stolz, H. E., Olsen, J. A., Collins, W. A., & Burchinal, M. (2005). Parental support, psychological control, and behavioral control: Assessing relevance across time, culture, and method. *Monographs of the society for research in child development, i*-147.
- Bartley, M. (2016). *Health inequality: an introduction to concepts, theories and methods*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Bernier, A., Carlson, S. M., & Whipple, N. (2010). From external regulation to self-regulation: Early parenting precursors of young children's executive functioning. *Child development, 81*(1), 326-339.
- Bernier, A., Matte-Gagné, C., Bélanger, M. È., & Whipple, N. (2014). Taking stock of two decades of attachment transmission gap: Broadening the assessment of maternal behavior. *Child development, 85*(5), 1852-1865.
- Bindman, S. W., Pomerantz, E. M., & Roisman, G. I. (2015). Do children's executive functions account for associations between early autonomy-supportive parenting and achievement through high school? *Journal of educational psychology, 107*(3), 756.

- Blais, M. R., Vallerand, R. J., Pelletier, L. G., & Brière, N. M. (1989). L'échelle de satisfaction de vie: Validation canadienne-française du "Satisfaction with Life Scale.". *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science/Revue canadienne des sciences du comportement*, 21(2), 210. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0079854>
- Bornstein, M. H., Rothenberg, W. A., & Lansford, J. E. (2021). Change over time in four domains of parenting in diverse international contexts: specificity and universality, country and culture, determinants, strengths, and limitations, future directions and implications. In *Parenting across cultures from childhood to adolescence* (pp. 227-263). Routledge.
- Camras, L. A., Sun, K., Fraumeni, B. R., & Li, Y. (2017). Interpretations of parenting by mainland Chinese and US American children. *Parenting*, 17(4), 262-280.
- Camras, L. A., Sun, K., Li, Y., & Wright, M. F. (2012). Do Chinese and American children's interpretations of parenting moderate links between perceived parenting and child adjustment? *Parenting*, 12(4), 306-327.
- Canada, S. (2011). National household survey. *Statistics Canada*.
- Chao, R. K., & Aque, C. (2009). Interpretations of parental control by Asian immigrant and European American youth. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 23(3), 342.
- Cheah, C. S., Yu, J., Liu, J., & Coplan, R. J. (2019). Children's cognitive appraisal moderates associations between psychologically controlling parenting and children's depressive symptoms. *Journal of Adolescence*, 76, 109-119.
- Chen, B., Vansteenkiste, M., Beyers, W., Boone, L., Deci, E. L., der Kaap-Deeder, V., Duriez, B., Lens, W., Matos, L., & Mouratidis, A. (2015). Basic psychological need satisfaction,

- need frustration, and need strength across four cultures. *Motivation and Emotion*, 39(2), 216-236.
- Chen, B., Vansteenkiste, M., Beyers, W., Boone, L., Deci, E. L., Van der Kaap-Deeder, J., Duriez, B., Lens, W., Matos, L., & Mouratidis, A. (2015). Basic psychological need satisfaction, need frustration, and need strength across four cultures. *Motivation and Emotion*, 39, 216-236.
- Chirkov, V., Ryan, R. M., Kim, Y., & Kaplan, U. (2003). Differentiating autonomy from individualism and independence: a self-determination theory perspective on internalization of cultural orientations and well-being. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 84(1), 97.
- Chirkov, V. I., Ryan, R., & Sheldon, K. M. (2010). *Human autonomy in cross-cultural context: Perspectives on the psychology of agency, freedom, and well-being* (Vol. 1). Springer Science & Business Media.
- Chirkov, V. I., & Ryan, R. M. (2001). Parent and teacher autonomy-support in Russian and US adolescents: Common effects on well-being and academic motivation. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32(5), 618-635.
- Chirkov, V. I., Ryan, R. M., & Willness, C. (2005). Cultural context and psychological needs in Canada and Brazil: Testing a self-determination approach to the internalization of cultural practices, identity, and well-being. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 36(4), 423-443.
- Church, A. T., Katigbak, M. S., Locke, K. D., Zhang, H., Shen, J., de Jesús Vargas-Flores, J., Ibáñez-Reyes, J., Tanaka-Matsumi, J., Curtis, G. J., & Cabrera, H. F. (2013). Need

- satisfaction and well-being: Testing self-determination theory in eight cultures. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 44(4), 507-534.
- Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (2000). The "what" and "why" of goal pursuits: Human needs and the self-determination of behavior. *Psychological inquiry*, 11(4), 227-268.
- Deci, E. L., Ryan, R. M., Gagné, M., Leone, D. R., Usunov, J., & Kornazheva, B. P. (2001). Need satisfaction, motivation, and well-being in the work organizations of a former eastern bloc country: A cross-cultural study of self-determination. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 27(8), 930-942.
- Diener, E., Emmons, R. A., Larsen, R. J., & Griffin, S. (1985). The satisfaction with life scale. *Journal of personality assessment*, 49(1), 71-75.
https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327752jpa4901_13
- Donald, J. N., Bradshaw, E. L., Conigrave, J. H., Parker, P. D., Byatt, L. L., Noetel, M., & Ryan, R. M. (2021). Paths to the light and dark sides of human nature: A meta-analytic review of the prosocial benefits of autonomy and the antisocial costs of control. *Psychological Bulletin*, 147(9), 921.
- Downie, M., Chua, S. N., Koestner, R., Barrios, M.-F., Rip, B., & M'Birkou, S. (2007). The relations of parental autonomy support to cultural internalization and well-being of immigrants and sojourners. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 13(3), 241.
- Dwairy, M. (2004). Parenting styles and mental health of Palestinian–Arab adolescents in Israel. *Transcultural psychiatry*, 41(2), 233-252.

- Ferguson, Y. L., Kasser, T., & Jahng, S. (2011). Differences in life satisfaction and school satisfaction among adolescents from three nations: The role of perceived autonomy support. *Journal of research on Adolescence, 21*(3), 649-661.
- Fung, J., & Lau, A. S. (2012). Tough love or hostile domination? Psychological control and relational induction in cultural context. *Journal of Family Psychology, 26*(6), 966.
- Gao, D., Liu, J., Bullock, A., & Chen, X. (2021). Children's interpretation moderates relations of maternal autonomy support with sociability and assertiveness in China. *Social Development, 30*(2), 449-462.
- Gaudreau, P., Sanchez, X., & Blondin, J.-P. (2006). Positive and negative affective states in a performance-related setting: Testing the factorial structure of the panas across two samples of french-canadian participants. *European Journal of Psychological Assessment, 22*(4), 240.
- Grolnick, W. S., Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (1997). Internalization within the family: The self-determination theory perspective. *Parenting and children's internalization of values: A handbook of contemporary theory, 135-161*.
- Grolnick, W. S., Raftery-Helmer, J. N., Marbell, K. N., Flamm, E. S., Cardemil, E. V., & Sanchez, M. (2014). Parental provision of structure: Implementation and correlates in three domains. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly (1982-), 60*(3), 355-384.
- Heim, E., Maercker, A., & Boer, D. (2019). Value orientations and mental health: a theoretical review. *Transcultural psychiatry, 56*(3), 449-470.
- Helwig, C. C., Arnold, M. L., Tan, D., & Boyd, D. (2003). Chinese adolescents' reasoning about democratic and authority-based decision making in peer, family, and school contexts. *Child development, 74*(3), 783-800.

- Helwig, C. C., To, S., Wang, Q., Liu, C., & Yang, S. (2014). Judgments and reasoning about parental discipline involving induction and psychological control in China and Canada. *Child development, 85*(3), 1150-1167.
- Henrich, J., Heine, S. J., & Norenzayan, A. (2010). Most people are not WEIRD. *Nature, 466*(7302), 29-29.
- Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions and organizations across nations*. Sage publications.
- Holte, A., Barry, M., Bekkhus, M., & Trommsdorff, G. (2014). Psychology of child well-being. In.
- Hsu, S.-Y., Woodside, A. G., & Marshall, R. (2013). Critical tests of multiple theories of cultures' consequences: Comparing the usefulness of models by Hofstede, Inglehart and Baker, Schwartz, Steenkamp, as well as GDP and distance for explaining overseas tourism behavior. *Journal of Travel Research, 52*(6), 679-704.
- Huebner, E. S., & Dew, T. (1995). Preliminary validation of the positive and negative affect schedule with adolescents. *Journal of Psychoeducational Assessment, 13*(3), 286-293.
- Iyengar, S. S., & DeVoe, S. E. (2003). Rethinking the value of choice: considering cultural mediators of intrinsic motivation.
- Joussemet, M., Koestner, R., Lekes, N., & Houliort, N. (2004). Introducing uninteresting tasks to children: A comparison of the effects of rewards and autonomy support. *Journal of personality, 72*(1), 139-166.
- Joussemet, M., & Mageau, G. A. (2023). Supporting children's autonomy early on: A review of studies examining parental autonomy support toward infants, toddlers, and preschoolers.

- Kasser, T., Ryan, R. M., Couchman, C. E., & Sheldon, K. M. (2004). Materialistic values: Their causes and consequences.
- Koestner, R., Ryan, R. M., Bernieri, F., & Holt, K. (1984). Setting limits on children's behavior: The differential effects of controlling vs. informational styles on intrinsic motivation and creativity. *Journal of personality, 52*(3), 233-248.
- Lamborn, S. D., & Steinberg, L. (1993). Emotional autonomy redux: revisiting Ryan and Lynch. *Child development, 64*(2), 483-499.
- Laurin, J. C., & Joussemet, M. (2017). Parental autonomy-supportive practices and toddlers' rule internalization: A prospective observational study. *Motivation and Emotion, 41*(5), 562-575.
- Lekes, N., Gingras, I., Philippe, F. L., Koestner, R., & Fang, J. (2010). Parental autonomy-support, intrinsic life goals, and well-being among adolescents in China and North America. *Journal of youth and adolescence, 39*, 858-869.
- Mageau, G. A., Joussemet, M., Paquin, C., & Grenier, F. (2022). How-to-Parenting-Program: Change in Parenting and Child Mental Health over One Year. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 31*(12), 3498-3513.
- Mageau, G. A., Ranger, F., Joussemet, M., Koestner, R., Moreau, E., & Forest, J. (2015). Validation of the perceived parental autonomy support scale (P-PASS). *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science/Revue canadienne des sciences du comportement, 47*(3), 251.
- Mageau, G. A., Vallerand, R. J., Charest, J., Salvy, S. J., Lacaille, N., Bouffard, T., & Koestner, R. (2009). On the development of harmonious and obsessive passion: The role of

- autonomy support, activity specialization, and identification with the activity. *Journal of personality*, 77(3), 601-646.
- Marbell-Pierre, K. N., Grolnick, W. S., Stewart, A. L., & Raftery-Helmer, J. N. (2019). Parental autonomy support in two cultures: The moderating effects of adolescents' self-construals. *Child development*, 90(3), 825-845.
- Masten, A. S., & Shaffer, A. (2006). How Families Matter in Child Development: Reflections from Research on Risk and Resilience. In *Families count: Effects on child and adolescent development*. (pp. 5-25). Cambridge University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511616259.002>
- Meléndez, L. (2005). Parental beliefs and practices around early self-regulation: The impact of culture and immigration. *Infants & Young Children*, 18(2), 136-146.
- Podsakoff, N., MacKenzie, S. B., Lee, J.-Y., & Podsakoff, N. P. (2003). Common method biases in behavioral research: A critical review of the literature and recommended remedies. *Journal of applied psychology*, 88(5), 879-903. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.88.5.879>
- Ratelle, C. F., Duchesne, S., Guay, F., & Chateauvert, G. B. (2018). Comparing the contribution of overall structure and its specific dimensions for competence-related constructs: A bifactor model. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, 54, 89-98.
- Robichaud, J.-M., Normandin, A.-L., & Mageau, G. A. (2021). The socializing role of the problem-constraint link: A multimethod investigation. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 73, 101260.
- Roth, G., Assor, A., Niemiec, C., Ryan, R., & Deci, E. (2009). The negative emotional and behavioral consequences of parental conditional regard: Comparing positive conditional

- regard, negative conditional regard, and autonomy support as parenting practices. *Developmental Psychology*, 45, 1119-1142.
- Rudy, D., & Halgunseth, L. C. (2005). Psychological control, maternal emotion and cognition, and child outcomes in individualist and collectivist groups. *Journal of Emotional Abuse*, 5(4), 237-264.
- Ryan, R., Deci, E., Grolnick, W., & La Guardia, J. (2006). The Significance of Autonomy and Autonomy Support in Psychological Development and Psychopathology, V in D. Cicchetti and D. Cohen (Eds.), *Developmental Psychopathology*, 1.
- Ryan, R. M. (1993). Agency and organization: intrinsic motivation, autonomy, and the self in psychological development.
- Ryan, R. M. (2005). The developmental line of autonomy in the etiology, dynamics, and treatment of borderline personality disorders. *Development and psychopathology*, 17(4), 987-1006.
- Ryan, R. M., & Connell, J. P. (1989). Perceived locus of causality and internalization: examining reasons for acting in two domains. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 57(5), 749.
- Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2017). *Self-determination theory: Basic psychological needs in motivation, development, and wellness*. Guilford Publications.
- Ryan, R. M., & Lynch, J. H. (1989). Emotional autonomy versus detachment: Revisiting the vicissitudes of adolescence and young adulthood. *Child development*, 340-356.
- Sarrazin, P., Pelletier, L., Deci, E., & Ryan, R. (2011). Nourrir une motivation autonome et des conséquences positives dans différents milieux de vie: les apports de la théorie de l'autodétermination. *Traité de psychologie positive*, 273-312.

- Schwartz, S. H. (1994). Are there universal aspects in the structure and contents of human values? *Journal of social issues*, 50(4), 19-45. [https://doi.org/0022-4537/94/1200-0019\\$03.00/1](https://doi.org/0022-4537/94/1200-0019$03.00/1)
- Schwartz, S. H. (1999). A theory of cultural values and some implications for work. *Applied psychology: an international review*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1464-0597.1999.tb00047.x>
- Schwartz, S. H. (2008). *The 7 Schwartz cultural value orientation scores for 80 countries*. <https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.1.3313.3040>
- Soenens, B., Vansteenkiste, M., Lens, W., Luyckx, K., Goossens, L., Beyers, W., & Ryan, R. M. (2007). Conceptualizing parental autonomy support: adolescent perceptions of promotion of independence versus promotion of volitional functioning. *Developmental Psychology*, 43(3), 633.
- Soenens, B., Vansteenkiste, M., & Niemiec, C. P. (2009). Should parental prohibition of adolescents' peer relationships be prohibited? *Personal relationships*, 16(4), 507-530.
- Soenens, B., Vansteenkiste, M., & Van Petegem, S. (2015). Let us not throw out the baby with the bathwater: Applying the principle of universalism without uniformity to autonomy-supportive and controlling parenting. *Child development perspectives*, 9(1), 44-49. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdep.12103>
- Triandis, H. C. (2004). The many dimensions of culture. *Academy of Management Perspectives*, 18(1), 88-93.
- Van Petegem, S., Vansteenkiste, M., & Beyers, W. (2013). The jingle–jangle fallacy in adolescent autonomy in the family: In search of an underlying structure. *Journal of youth and adolescence*, 42(7), 994-1014.

- Vasquez, A. C., Patall, E. A., Fong, C. J., Corrigan, A. S., & Pine, L. (2016). Parent autonomy support, academic achievement, and psychosocial functioning: A meta-analysis of research. *Educational Psychology Review, 28*(3), 605-644.
- Watson, D., Clark, L. A., & Tellegen, A. (1988). Development and validation of brief measures of positive and negative affect: the PANAS scales. *Journal of personality and social psychology, 54*(6), 1063. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.54.6.1063>
- Whipple, N., Bernier, A., & Mageau, G. A. (2011). Broadening the study of infant security of attachment: Maternal autonomy-support in the context of infant exploration. *Social Development, 20*(1), 17-32.
- Wong, S., Bond, M. H., & Rodriguez Mosquera, P. M. (2008). The influence of cultural value orientations on self-reported emotional expression across cultures. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 39*(2), 224-229. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022107313866>
- Wu, P., Robinson, C. C., Yang, C., Hart, C. H., Olsen, S. F., Porter, C. L., Jin, S., Wo, J., & Wu, X. (2002). Similarities and differences in mothers' parenting of preschoolers in China and the United States. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 26*(6), 481-491.
- Yu, S., Levesque-Bristol, C., & Maeda, Y. (2018). General need for autonomy and subjective well-being: A meta-analysis of studies in the US and East Asia. *Journal of Happiness Studies, 19*(6), 1863-1882.

Table 1*Examples of the Cultural Hierarchy Scoring Process*

| Nation to assess | Moldova | Burkina Faso | Cambodia |
|--|---|--|--|
| Criterion 1 : Geographical Location | Geographically close to Romania (2.0) and Ukraine (2.56). <i>M</i> score = 2.28 | Geographically close to Ghana (2.68) and Nigeria (2.72). <i>M</i> score = 2.70 | Geographically close to Thailand (3.23), Malaysia (2.25), Singapore (2.82) and Indonesia (2.56). <i>M</i> score = 2.72 |
| Criterion 2 : Spoken Language | - Moldovan as official language (no other nation listed by Schwartz speaks this language). - Romanian (Romania 2.0) - Russian (2.72) <i>M</i> score = 2.36 | - French as official language (2.21) - Several other non-official languages that have not been rated by Schwartz. <i>M</i> score = 2.21 | About 20 languages spoken - Khmer (official): Austronesian languages - Austronesian speaking nations listed by Schwartz: Thailand (3.23) and India (3.05). - French (2.21) <i>M</i> score = 2.83 |
| Criterion 3 : Religious Affiliation | Mainly Orthodox population: Majority in Russia (2.72), Ukraine (2.56), Georgia (2.46). The Orthodox are also often present in South-Eastern Europe: Bulgaria (2.68), Serbia (1.61), Bosnia and Herzegovina (1.73), Romania (2.0), Greece (1.83) and Cyprus (1.96). <i>M</i> score = 2.17 | Presence of various religions, but Sunni Islam accounts for the largest proportion (25%). African nations rated by Schwartz practicing this religion: Egypt (2.20), Senegal (2.63), and Nigeria (2.72). <i>M</i> score = 2.52 | Mainly Buddhist population. Other nations practicing Buddhism: India (3.05), China (3.49), South Korea (2.9), Japan (2.65), and Thailand (3.23). <i>M</i> score = 3.06 |
| Total Score Calculation (<i>Mean Score</i>) | <i>M</i> geographical location (2.28) + <i>M</i> spoken language (2.36) + <i>M</i> religious affiliation (2.17) / 3 criteria = 2.27 | <i>M</i> geographical location (2.70) + <i>M</i> spoken language (2.21) + <i>M</i> religious affiliation (2.52) / 3 criteria = 2.48 | <i>M</i> geographical location (2.72) + <i>M</i> spoken language (2.83) + <i>M</i> religious affiliation (3.06) / 3 criteria = 2.87 |

Table 2*Descriptive Statistics of Measures for Adolescents*

| Continuous variable | <i>n</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | Interval | |
|------------------------|----------|----------|-----------|-------------|---------------|
| | | | | Theoretical | Observed |
| Age | 431 | 15.98 | 1.34 | – | 14.00 – 22.00 |
| Structure | 414 | 5.07 | 0.99 | 1.00 – 7.00 | 2.27 – 7.00 |
| Cultural hierarchy | 428 | 2.22 | 0.40 | 1.60 – 3.49 | 1.60 – 3.49 |
| Perceived parental AS | 429 | 4.55 | 1.41 | 1.00 – 7.00 | 1.00 – 7.00 |
| Positive affect | 427 | 2.99 | 1.23 | 1.00 – 7.00 | 1.00 – 7.00 |
| Negative affect | 427 | 3.06 | 1.18 | 1.00 – 7.00 | 1.00 – 7.00 |
| Satisfaction with life | 412 | 4.82 | 1.31 | 1.00 – 7.00 | 1.00 – 7.00 |
| Autonomous motivation | 427 | 4.24 | 1.66 | 1.00 – 7.00 | 1.00 – 7.00 |
| Controlled motivation | 426 | 3.94 | 1.69 | 1.00 – 7.00 | 1.00 – 7.00 |
| <hr/> | | | | | |
| Categorical variable | <i>n</i> | % | | | |
| <hr/> | | | | | |
| Gender | | | | | |
| Male | 204 | 46.2 | | | |
| Female | 233 | 52.7 | | | |

Table 3*Correlations Between Variables in Adolescents*

| Variables | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|---------------------------|--------|------------------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|----|
| 1. Gender ^a | - | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. Age | -.06 | - | | | | | | | | |
| 3. Structure | -.00 | -.02 | - | | | | | | | |
| 4. Cultural hierarchy | .11* | -.17** | -.07 | - | | | | | | |
| 5. Perceived parental AS | .06 | .09 [†] | .58** | -.20** | - | | | | | |
| 6. Positive affect | .06 | .17** | .30** | -.04 | .41** | - | | | | |
| 7. Negative affect | -.17** | -.06 | -.08 | -.00 | -.20** | -.04 | - | | | |
| 8. Satisfaction with life | .05 | .03 | .45** | -.11* | .52** | .28** | -.20** | - | | |
| 9. Autonomous motivation | .07 | .05 | .42** | .07 | .60** | .47** | -.08 | .41** | - | |
| 10. Controlled motivation | -.01 | -.14** | -.12* | .02 | -.36** | -.20** | .37** | -.16** | -.39** | - |

Note. $N = 442$. AS = Autonomy support.

^a Gender: 0 = female, 1 = male.

[†] $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 4*Descriptive Statistics of Measures for School-Aged Children*

| Continuous variables | <i>n</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | Intervals | |
|------------------------|----------|----------|-----------|-------------|--------------|
| | | | | Theoretical | Observed |
| Child age | 291 | 7.60 | 1.92 | – | 3.00 – 12.00 |
| Structure | 290 | 3.46 | 0.94 | 1.00 – 9.00 | 1.22 – 6.56 |
| Cultural hierarchy | 282 | 2.07 | 0.33 | 1.60 – 3.49 | 1.60 – 3.49 |
| Parental AS | 289 | 5.49 | 0.72 | 1.00 – 7.00 | 2.60 – 7.00 |
| Internalizing problems | 289 | 0.28 | 0.23 | 0.00 – 2.00 | 0.00 – 1.43 |
| Externalizing problems | 290 | 0.29 | 0.21 | 0.00 – 2.00 | 0.00 – 1.42 |
| Categorical variables | <i>n</i> | % | | | |
| Gender of parent | | | | | |
| Male | 58 | 19.8 | | | |
| Female | 235 | 80.2 | | | |

Table 5*Correlations Between Variables in School-Aged Children*

| Variables | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---------------------------|------|--------|-------|--------|--------|-------|---|
| 1. Child sex ^a | - | | | | | | |
| 2. Structure | .02 | - | | | | | |
| 3. Child age | -.01 | .02 | - | | | | |
| 4. Cultural hierarchy | .00 | .20** | .06 | - | | | |
| 5. Parental AS | -.07 | -.19** | -.01 | -.21** | - | | |
| 6. Internalizing problems | -.05 | .02 | .05 | -.05 | -.17** | - | |
| 7. Externalizing problems | .02 | -.02 | -.17* | -.15* | -.18** | .51** | - |

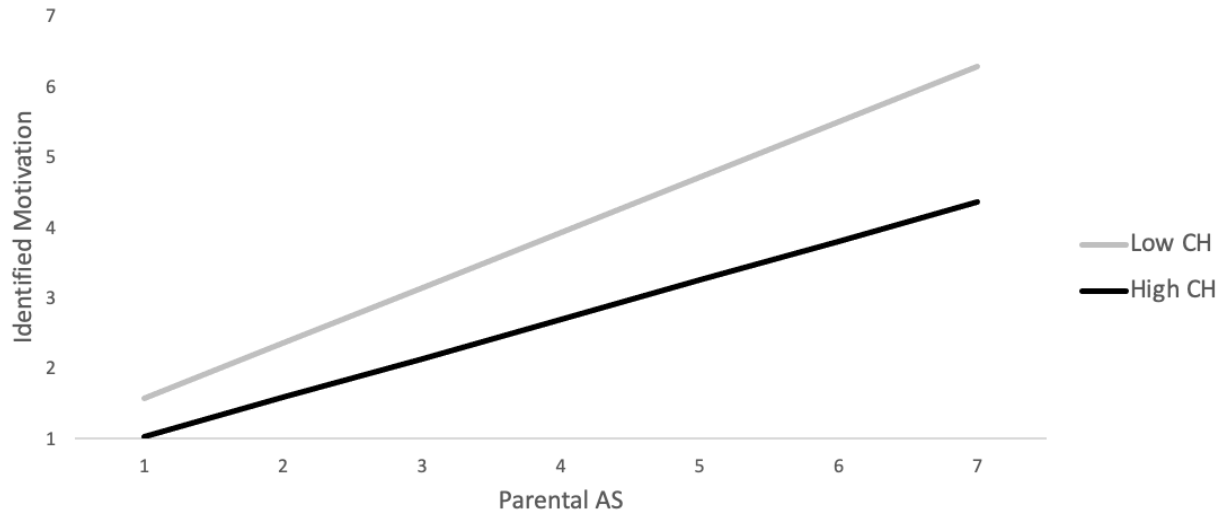
Note. $N = 293$ parents. AS = Autonomy support.

^a Gender: 0 = female, 1 = male.

† $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Figure 1

Moderation Effect of Cultural Hierarchy on the Relation Between Parental AS and Adolescents' Autonomous Motivation



Note. CH = Cultural hierarchy; AS = Autonomy support. Covariates are parental structure, adolescent age, and gender.

Supplemental Table 1*Coded Cultural Hierarchy Scores of Nations Absent in Schwartz's (2008) List*

| Nations | Attributed scores |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| African | 2.58 |
| Albania | 2.19 |
| Algeria | 2.24 |
| Amazigh | 2.29 |
| Arab | 2.28 |
| Bangladesh | 2.65 |
| Bengal | 2.90 |
| Burkina Faso | 2.48 |
| Burundi | 2.67 |
| Cambodia | 2.87 |
| Congo Republic | 2.49 |
| Cuba | 2.38 |
| Djibouti | 2.31 |
| Dominican Republic | 2.21 |
| Ecuador | 2.56 |
| El Salvador | 2.11 |
| European | 2.03 |
| Guatemala | 2.14 |
| Guyana | 2.64 |
| Haiti | 2.42 |
| Honduras | 2.20 |
| Ivory Coast | 2.60 |
| Jamaica | 2.44 |
| Kabyle | 2.24 |
| Lebanon | 2.46 |
| Madagascar | 2.51 |
| Maghreb | 2.29 |
| Maldives | 2.47 |
| Mauritius | 2.65 |
| Moldova | 2.27 |
| Morocco | 2.24 |
| Nicaragua | 2.23 |
| Niger | 2.41 |
| Palestine | 2.35 |
| Rwanda | 2.43 |
| Scotland | 2.21 |
| Seychelles | 2.44 |
| South Asia | 2.76 |
| Sri Lanka | 2.92 |
| Togo | 2.58 |
| Tunisia | 2.39 |

Note. Full coding process available upon request.

Article 2

Are the How-to Parenting Program's Effects Moderated by Culture? A Look at Cultural Hierarchy

Authors' contributions:

Naïla Saïb: literature review, conceptualization of the study, methodology, data curation, interpretation of the results, writing of the manuscript

Mireille Joussemet: funding acquisition, conceptualization of the study, data collection, interpretation of the results, revision of the manuscript, supervision

Jean-Michel Robichaud: statistical analyses, interpretation of the results, revision of the manuscript

Anna Cavenaghi: methodology, data curation

Geneviève A. Mageau: funding acquisition, data collection, revision of the manuscript

Richard Koestner: funding acquisition, revision of the manuscript

Are the How-to Parenting Program's Effects Moderated by Culture? A Look at Cultural

Hierarchy

Naïla Saïb¹, Mireille Joussemet¹, Jean-Michel Robichaud², Anna Cavenaghi¹, Geneviève A.

Mageau¹, Richard Koestner³

¹Département de psychologie, Université de Montréal, Canada

²Département de psychologie, Université de Moncton, Canada

³Department of Psychology, McGill University, Canada

Author Note

A grant from the *Canadian Institutes of Health Research* (CIHR) and a grant from the *Fonds de recherche du Québec - Société et culture* (FRQ-SC) were provided to the second, fifth, and sixth authors. This research was also supported by doctoral scholarships from the Université de Montréal and FRQSC to the first author. Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Naïla Saïb, C/O Mireille Joussemet, Ph.D., Département de psychologie, Université de Montréal, C.P. 6128, Succursale Centre-Ville, Montréal (Qc), H3C 3J7.

Abstract

Unlike most parenting programs that mostly focus on structure and affiliation, the How-to Parenting Program stands out for also promoting autonomy support. The effects of the How-to Parenting Program on parenting and child well-being have been studied, but information on the extent to which families similarly benefit from this program remains scarce. Of particular importance, research has yet to examine whether this program impacts families differently based on their cultural heritage. We investigated whether the cultural hierarchy of parents' ethnicity moderates the effects (or lack thereof) of the How-to Parenting Program on parenting and child mental health. To do so, we conducted multilevel analyses on a randomized controlled trial's dataset (293 parents, ethnicities from 44 different nations), using Schwartz's dimensional coding system to rate cultural hierarchy. At pre- and post-intervention as well as at 6 and 12-month follow-ups, parents reported their autonomy support, affiliation, and structure as well as their child's externalizing and internalizing symptoms. Children (if aged 8 or older; $N = 112$) rated their participating parent's autonomy support and affiliation, as well as their well-being. Overall, the How-to Parenting Program's effects (and lack thereof) were similar across levels of cultural hierarchy (with one exception), suggesting a generally undifferentiated impact. Implications for this program's outreach are discussed.

Keywords: cultural hierarchy, How-to Parenting Program, child mental health, parenting, Self-Determination Theory

Résumé

Contrairement à la plupart des ateliers parentaux qui se concentrent principalement sur le cadre et l'affiliation, l'atelier *How-to* se distingue par sa promotion du soutien à l'autonomie (SA). Les effets de l'atelier sur les pratiques parentales et la santé mentale des enfants ont été étudiés, mais à quel point les familles en bénéficient de manière similaire est encore peu connu. Il est particulièrement important de noter que la recherche n'a pas encore examiné si cet atelier a un impact différentiel sur les familles en fonction de leur bagage culturel. Cette étude visait à étudier si le niveau de hiérarchie culturelle, basé sur l'origine ethnique des parents, modère les effets (ou l'absence d'effets) de l'atelier sur les pratiques parentales et la santé mentale des enfants. Pour ce faire, nous avons réalisé des analyses multiniveaux sur les données d'un essai contrôlé randomisé (293 parents, origines ethniques provenant de 44 nations différentes), en utilisant le système de codage dimensionnel de Schwartz pour évaluer la hiérarchie culturelle. Lors des évaluations pré- et post-intervention, ainsi que lors des suivis à 6 et 12 mois, les parents ont rapporté leur SA, leur affiliation et leur cadre, ainsi que les symptômes extériorisés et intériorisés de leur enfant. Les enfants (s'ils avaient 8 ans ou plus ; $N = 112$) ont évalué le SA, et l'affiliation de leur parent participant, ainsi que leur propre santé mentale. Globalement, les effets (ou l'absence d'effets) de l'atelier étaient similaires quel que soit le niveau de HC (à une exception près), ce qui suggère un impact généralement indifférencié de l'atelier. Les implications pour la diffusion de cet atelier sont discutées.

Mots-clés : hiérarchie culturelle, atelier *How-to*, santé mentale des enfants, pratiques parentales, théorie de l'autodétermination

Introduction

A large body of research identified parenting as one of the most important environmental predictors of child mental health (Holte et al., 2014; Masten & Shaffer, 2006). Parenting plays a central role in the development of children, as children's interactions with and adaptation to their environment are largely regulated by their parents (Bornstein, 2005, 2006; Luby, 2020). It may thus not be surprising to learn that parenting programs were often seen as the most successful early intervention strategy for promoting child mental health (Bornstein, 2005, 2013; Scott & Gardner, 2015).

How-To Parenting Program

Among the various parenting programs available, one that is particularly popular and easily accessible is "How to Talk so Kids will Listen & Listen so Kids will Talk" (Faber & Mazlish, 2010; How-to Parenting Program herein). Based on Haim Ginott's teachings (Ginott, 1965), a humanistic child psychologist, Faber and Mazlish (1980) developed a program that shares 30 concrete communication skills and facilitates learning through concrete exercises (e.g., role-playing). This program is accessible to parents of the general population with no specific inclusion or exclusion criteria. As such, it can be considered a primary prevention program for child mental health, capable of not only preventing symptoms but also promoting well-being (Mageau et al., 2022).

The How-to Parenting Program has been argued to foster three core dimensions of parenting, namely autonomy support (AS), structure, and affiliation, and coherently, to promote children's mental health (Joussemet et al., 2014; Joussemet et al., 2018; Mageau et al., 2022). Parental AS refers to parental consideration for children's emotions and ideas as well as the promotion of initiatives (Grolnick et al., 1997; Ryan et al., 2006a; Ryan & Deci, 2017).

Affiliation represents a caring involvement, where parents show interest in their children and accept them as they are (Grolnick, 2002; Grolnick & Ryan, 1989), while structure implies the presence of clear and consistent expectations as well as predictable, logical, realistic, and consistent consequences (Grolnick, 2002). Though most parenting programs focus on the latter two parenting dimensions, the How-to Parenting Program stands out because of its inclusion of the AS dimension (Bunting, 2004; Mageau et al., 2022).

Efficacy

Millions of parents have been familiarized with the How-to material since its creation in the 1980s (its book has been translated into more than 30 languages and is still a best-selling parenting book). However, its empirical evaluation has only recently begun (Joussemet et al., 2014, 2018; Mageau et al., 2022). In a first pre-post assessment of this program's impact on parenting and child mental health with 93 French-speaking parents of school-aged children, Joussemet et al. (2014) found that parents and children reported increases in parental AS and affiliation (but not in structure) as well as child mental health improvements from pre- to post-intervention. In this study and the following ones, mental health was measured holistically by including indicators of well-being (i.e., life satisfaction, positive affect, and self-esteem) alongside indicators of problems (i.e., externalizing problems such as aggressive, oppositional, and rule-breaking behaviors, and internalizing problems such as anxiety, depression, and somatic complaints (Achenbach, 1998). In 2022, Mageau et al. showed that these effects remained stable over a 12-month period.

In a second program evaluation, a randomized controlled trial (RCT) was conducted with 293 parents of school-aged children, with parents in the experimental condition receiving the How-to Parenting Program and parents in the control condition staying on a 1-year waitlist

(Joussemet et al., 2018; Mageau et al., 2022). Main effects on the same outcomes as those observed in the first assessment revealed that the program positively impacted parent reports of AS and child externalizing problems (no other main effects were detected on the aforementioned variables). All differences (and lack thereof) between conditions remained stable over a 12-month period. Secondary analyses revealed that parents with lower (but not higher) baseline affiliation and structure reported progress on these variables at post-intervention, and that younger (but not older) children whose parents were assigned to the How-to condition improved on indicators of well-being at post-intervention.

Overall, these results suggested that the How-to parenting program has positive effects on parenting and on children's mental health. Though these results are promising, they are limited in that they did not provide information on the extent to which families from different cultural backgrounds similarly benefit from the program. This limit was crucial to address given the prominent globalization and immigration rates (e.g., in Canada, 37.9% of children are born or have at least one parent born in another country as of 2021; Statistics Canada, 2022a; 2022b) as well as the key role that culture plays in family dynamics.

Considering Families' Cultural Context

Indeed, although parenting plays a central role in the development and health of all children, parenting is not isolated from other contextual factors, a notable one being culture. Parent-child relationships emerge within nested contexts that encompass both proximal and more distal social contexts characterized by belief systems, values, and laws of a specific culture (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2007). There is broad consensus that culture consists of common elements that provide the norms for perceiving, thinking, evaluating, communicating, and acting among those who share a language, historical period, and geographic location (Triandis, 1996).

The influence of culture on individuals relates not only to the assimilation of conferred roles, relationships, and identities, but also to everyday practices, including parenting practices (Chirkov et al., 2010).

It has been suggested that parents' and children's expectations and behaviors in their relationships were influenced by their cultural norms and beliefs. Parent-child relationships were seen as shaped, in part, by what parents and children observe others doing in their communities (Rogoff, 2003). As such, one may argue that it is morally imperative to consider the potential influence that culture may play in the effects of parenting programs on parenting and on children's mental health, as the impact of any program could greatly vary across cultural groups. For example, similar parenting practices could be interpreted very differently from one culture to the next, with possibly differential impacts. It is thus crucial to document the cross-cultural generalization of parenting and mental health benefits when delivering parenting programs. To take in consideration the influence that culture may play in the How-to Parenting Program's efficacy, we turned to Schwartz's model of universal cultural values and, more specifically, to differences in parents' cultural hierarchy.

Cultural Hierarchy

Schwartz's model of universal cultural values is a quantitative and empirical model based on a rating system validated in over 80 countries that presents three bipolar and dimensional constructs that may prove useful to understand cultural differences (i.e., integration vs. autonomy, mastery vs. harmony, and hierarchy vs. egalitarianism). Of these dimensions, one that appears particularly relevant to consider when looking at the moderating role of culture in parenting program's efficacy is the dimension that opposes cultural value of hierarchy to egalitarianism. According to Schwartz (1994), cultural hierarchy (CH) refers to the idea that

individuals are socialized, from an early age, to recognize and respect authority and abide by the rules and obligations associated with their roles. In more hierarchical cultures, unequal power distribution, roles, and resources are considered legitimate and even desirable. The importance of values such as authority, humility, self-control, and social power is also highly emphasized in more hierarchical cultures (Hofstede, 2001), where parents expect their children to respect their authority to a greater extent. In contrast, cultural egalitarianism considers individuals as equal, no matter their social rank. More egalitarian cultures tend to encourage freedom to pursue goals that are relevant to one's personal interests and satisfaction (Schwartz, 1994, 2008).

Turning back to parenting, one can make a strong parallel between one's reluctance toward CH and one's favorable attitude towards parental autonomy support. Indeed, a more egalitarian culture is likely to promote AS to a greater extent than a more hierarchical culture. With its strong emphasis on AS, such differences in cultural values could modulate the How-to Parenting Program's effects. On one hand, parents from more egalitarian cultures might present more openness to autonomy-supportive ideas, making it easier to internalize the skills taught in this parenting program. Yet on the other hand, one may argue that there will be greater change among parents from more hierarchical cultures, as the program's autonomy-supportive skills may be more novel. Finally, one could argue that the program's autonomy-supportive philosophy creates a respectful climate in which all parents, regardless of their CH level, will be able to internalize the program's skills. Thus, given the central importance of AS in the How-to Parenting Program and the seemingly contradiction between CH and AS, examining the potentially moderating role of CH on the program's effects seemed particularly relevant.

Present Study

Objectives

The present study's goal was to examine whether parents' level of CH moderated the effects (or lack thereof) of the How-to Parenting Program on parenting and on children's mental health. Specifically, we aimed to test whether the CH of parents' ethnicity modified the How-to Parenting Program's effects, both short-term (i.e., immediately post-intervention) and long-term (over a 12-month period). We pursued these goals by reanalyzing data from the RCT sample described above (Joussemet et al., 2018; Mageau et al., 2022), recruited in the pluricultural city of Montreal, which regroups over 120 cultural communities from five continents, where immigrants make up the largest share of the population in over 150 years and continue to shape the country (Statistics Canada, 2022). Thus, prior to assessing the programs' efficacy across cultures by replicating trials in distinct geographic locations (e.g., Keown et al., 2018; Sumargi et al., 2015), we examined the moderating effects of CH within a single yet culturally diverse location.

Hypotheses

First, Chirkov et al. (2010) suggested that a contrast between valued practices and habits put forth in more hierarchical cultures could limit the impact of interventions aiming to support children's autonomy, presumably because participants would be less familiar with their proposed skills. Favoring Chirkov et al. (2010)'s proposition, we expected that the AS improvement previously documented on parent-reports would be greater among parents born in lower CH countries, whereas there will be a smaller improvement among parents' ethnicity presenting higher level of CH.

While there was no main effect of the program on AS when it was reported by children, we expected that a positive program impact may have taken place, but only for parents born in more egalitarian countries. Since the other two parenting components, affiliation and structure, are not as conceptually close to CH as AS, we did not expect that CH would moderate the general lack of the program's main effect on these outcomes, reported either by parents or children. Regarding the stability of the program's effects or lack of impact, we did not expect CH to play a moderating role on the program's impact, expecting it to be an effect modifier solely when the program was delivered to participants in the How-to condition.

Secondly, concerning the How-to Parenting Program's impact on children's mental health, we expected that CH would reduce the benefits of the How-to Parenting Program, as a contrast between its autonomy-supportive skills and the practices put forth in more hierarchical cultures could make these practices more at odds with parents' ideas and beliefs, thus limit the child mental health benefits that could be derived from parental exposure to the program. We thus expected that the main effect on decreased externalizing problems would be greater among children whose parents were born in lower CH countries whereas there would be a smaller decrease among children whose parents were born in higher CH countries. While there was no main effect of the program on children's internalizing problems, nor on child-reported positive and negative affect, life satisfaction, or self-esteem, we expected that a positive program's impact may have taken place, but only for children whose parents' ethnicity is linked to a higher level of egalitarianism. We expected that these benefits would be sustained over 1 year.

Method

Participants

To conduct this study, we reanalyzed a dataset comprising responses from parents and children participating in a larger study evaluating the impact of the How-to Parenting Program on parenting and child mental health (Joussemet et al., 2018). Table 1 presents the sample's sociodemographic characteristics. This RCT was conducted with 293 parents and one of their children, organized into 30 groups (15 were offered the program within a month of recruitment [$N = 147$ parents; experimental, How-to condition] and 15 were offered the program 14 months later [$N = 146$ parents; control, waitlist control condition]). Each group of parents included between 5 and 14 parents ($M = 9.77$, $SD = 3.00$) whose participating children were enrolled in the same grade school but whose ages varied. Regarding children, approximately a third of them ($N_{T1} = 112$) were aged 8 years and older and could be invited to fill out self-report questionnaires at each assessment time; they were required to have parental consent and assented verbally to participate. Among participating parents, one out of five were fathers (19.8%), while half of the targeted children were girls (50.0%). Parents' mean age was 40.3 years ($SD = 5.76$) at the beginning of the study, whereas the mean age of the targeted children was 7.6 years ($SD = 1.92$). Regarding parents' education level, almost three-quarters of parents had a university diploma (73.1%), 20.8% of parents had another post-secondary certification, and the remainder had a high school diploma as their highest qualification (3.4%) or had not finished high school (1%). In terms of cultural background, 55.8% of these parents identified themselves as Canadian, whereas others named another ethnicity from Europe (11.4%), Africa (4.9%), Asia (4%), or one of more than 15 other nations (less than 3.1% per nation).

Study Design and Procedure

This RCT was conducted in 15 elementary schools located in Montreal. The detailed method for this RCT can be found in Mageau et al. (2022). After obtaining ethical approval and receiving permission from school boards, the How-to project was presented to all parents of elementary schools interested in participating in the study, through a flyer. The recruitment of school participants took place over 3 yearly waves (Fall 2013, 2015 and 2016; 4 to 6 participating schools/year). The inclusion criteria in this study were for parents to have at least one child between the ages of 5 and 12 attending one of the participating grade schools. The sole exclusion criterion was the inability to communicate in French given that the program was delivered in that language. For parents with multiple school-aged children, they were asked to target one of them (i.e., their child who was at least 8 years old, or the one closest to age 9 if they had several children over age 8).

In each school, an information session took place and interested parents provided their informed consent and completed the pre-intervention assessment (T1; paper-pencil). Next, within each school, parents were randomly assigned to either the experimental condition (How-to Parenting Program within a month of T1 assessment) or the 1-year waitlist control condition. The seven weekly 2.5-hour meetings with parents were held at children's elementary schools. The How-to Parenting Program was delivered by two trained facilitators. No specific qualification was required to be a facilitator, but all took part in a 3-day training. Regarding the different assessment times, all parents were asked to complete the T2 questionnaire one week after the program was fully delivered to parents in the experimental condition (online or in paper-and-pencil format, based on parents' preference). They were also all invited to complete follow-up questionnaires, 6 and 12 months later (T3 and T4, in preferred format). Participating

children of age 8 or more were also invited to complete questionnaires at all of these measurement times (at their school, in paper-and-pencil format, in the presence of a research assistant).

Intervention and Content of the Parenting Skills Training

Based on Faber and Mazlish (1980)'s book, the How-To Parenting Program is a 7-week manualized parenting program that was delivered in French by dyads of trained facilitators, using the French workshop manual (Faber & Mazlish, 2001). The French version of the book (Faber & Mazlish, 2012) for the weekly readings were provided to each parent, along with a workbook for exercises to be completed during sessions and for homework (Faber & Mazlish, 2013).

In the first session, the rules of conduct (e.g., non-judgment and confidentiality) were introduced. In sessions one to six, an activity intended to increase parent understanding of what children are experiencing when they hear common, but suboptimal statements, was used to introduce the main theme of the current session. Thirty concrete parenting skills were taught throughout the six topical sessions ($M = 5$ per week; see Joussemet et al., 2018 for the main themes and skills). For example, one of the skills learned during the first session was to name the child's feelings (i.e., "That can feel scary"). In the 3rd session, parents learned for instance to state their expectations without attacking character (i.e., "I expect eating to take place in the kitchen"), while the 6th session was in part used to develop the ability to notice counter role behavior from the child (for example for a child that could be labelled as a "sore loser", say: "You shook the winner's hand"). The skills were presented, along with their illustrations (comic strips featuring parents and children interacting in contrasting ways) before various exercises were introduced, which provided parents opportunities to practice them (in dyads, small groups or individually). Homework was introduced by facilitators at the end of each of these topical

sessions. At the beginning of all sessions, except the first one, the homework from the previous week was discussed thoroughly to highlight the importance of skill implementation. The last session engaged parents in reflecting together on challenging situations to identify which skills could be helpful for their specific needs. Upon completing the program, participants received a certificate as well as a summary of the skills taught.

Measures

In addition to the measures of parenting and child mental health indicators, we coded family CH based on Schwartz's rating system (2008). We also included, as covariates, relevant sociodemographic measures, namely parents' as well as children's age and gender, and the family's annual income.

Cultural Hierarchy

Parents self-reported their ethnicity by answering the following question: "What is your ethnicity?". Next, using (Schwartz, 1999, 2008)'s dimensional coding system, which provided CH scores for [80 different nations](#), we coded parents' cultural hierarchy (CH). The scoring used in this article is similar to the one we used in a previous study, conducted with the RCT's baseline data (Mageau et al., 2022).

For 70.6% of this sample of parents, representing 22 different nations, we could use CH scores, as they were already available from Schwartz's list (2008). For the remaining parents who reported new nations that had not already been assessed by Schwartz (2008; an additional 22 nations), we rated them using a coding system inspired by Schwartz et al. (1994, 1999, 2008), which was among others successfully used in Downie et al. (2007), Downie et al. (2004), and Wong et al. (2008). In line with Downie et al. (Downie et al., 2007; Downie et al., 2004) and Wong et al. (2008)'s similar procedure, a score (or average of scores) was assigned to each

nation, reflecting the most similar score of one (or multiple) already-coded nation(s), using geographical location, spoken language, and religious affiliation (Schwartz, 1994, 1999, 2008).

Parenting

Parental Autonomy Support (AS).

Parental Use of How-to Parenting Skills (Parent Report). The *Autonomy-supportive Parenting Skill Scale* was originally designed by Joussemet et al. (2014) for the preliminary evaluation of the How-to Parenting Program. In the present RCT, all parents were asked, at each assessment time (T1 to T4) to read 12 parent-child situations and rate how they tend to respond to each of them, using a 9-point bipolar scale (Joussemet et al., 2014). Of the two poles, one presented an autonomy-supportive response taught in the How-to Parenting Program and the other depicted a more usual but suboptimal response (e.g., saying “You left the milk on the table *again*”). Higher scores on this scale reflect that parents reported a greater frequency of use of the skills learned in the program. A weak internal consistency was found at T1 ($\alpha = 0.63$), but it was good from T2 to T4 (α ranging from = 0.83 to 0.85).

Parental Attitude Toward AS (Parent Report). At each assessment time, parents reported their beliefs about AS and more controlling parenting approaches with the French version of the *Parental Attitude Scale* (PAS; Gurland & Grolnick, 2005). Using a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *Do not agree at all* to 7 = *Strongly agree*, parents assessed their level of agreement with 10 items about child-rearing behaviors and attitudes (e.g., “I encourage my child to give his/her opinion even if we might disagree”). Higher scores indicate a more positive attitude towards AS (vs. a controlling stance). This scale was found to possess acceptable internal consistency in the present study (α ranging from 0.70 to 0.75).

Perceived Parental Autonomy Support (AS; Child Report). At each assessment time, children completed the French version of the Perceived Parental Autonomy Support Scale (P-PASS; Mageau et al., 2015) to report the extent to which their parent participating in the study behaves in a manner that supports their autonomy. This validated questionnaire captures three aspects of AS with 12 items: providing choice (within defined limits), rationales for rules, and validation of emotions and perspectives. A 4-point Likert scale was used, ranging from 1 (*Almost never true*) to 4 (*Almost always true*). An average of its 12 items was computed to obtain a global score of perceived parental AS (i.e., “My parent wants me to make choices that match my interests and preferences, no matter what theirs are”). Internal consistency coefficients were satisfactory at all assessment times (α ranging from 0.74 to 0.81).

Parental Affiliation (Parent and Child Reports).

At each assessment time, parents and children were asked to report on the levels of parental care and warm involvement, as compared with rejection and indifference, using 10 items of the *Care* subscale of the French version of the Parental Bonding Instrument (Parker et al., 1979). Parents reported the extent to which they are caring and involved toward their child (e.g., “I often smile at my child”) using a 7- point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (*Almost never*) to 7 (*Almost always*). The scale of the parent reports showed satisfactory internal consistency (α ranging from 0.81 to 0.84). For their part, children rated their parent’s care and warm involvement using a 4-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (*Almost never true*) to 4 (*Almost always true*; e.g., “My parent does not speak a lot with me”; reversed item). Internal consistency coefficients for child reports were acceptable (α ranging from 0.75 to 0.86).

Parental Structure (Parent Report). At each assessment, parents completed the Laxness Subscale of the Parenting Scale (Arnold et al., 1993) to assess the degree of structure vs.

laxness of their parenting, higher scores indicating more structured parenting as opposed to permissiveness (e.g., “I set limits on what my child can do” vs. “I let my child do whatever he or she wants”). This scale had acceptable internal consistency for parents (α ranging from 0.72 to 0.80) but was inadequate for children (α ranging from 0.27 to 0.48). Therefore, we excluded the CR of parental structure from all analyses (Mageau et al., 2022).

Child Mental Health

Psychological Symptoms (Parent Report). Parental perception of their targeted child’s mental health problems was assessed using the Internalizing and Externalizing subscales (I and E problems) of the Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL, 6-18; Achenbach et al., 2001). Internalizing problems involve emotional difficulties such as anxiety, depression, and somatic complaints, whereas externalizing problems refer to aggressive, oppositional, and/or rule-breaking behaviors. Although these two types of problems form two distinct factors, several studies within normative samples have shown a positive association between E and I problems (Matos et al., 2017). The presence of such problems has been associated with interpersonal and academic difficulties, as well as psychopathology and employability problems in adulthood (Narusyte et al., 2017; Ormel et al., 2005). For each item, parents rated their child on a 3-point Likert scale (0 = *Not true* to 2 = *Very true or Often true*). Externalizing and internalizing subscales showed excellent reliability at all assessments (α ranging from 0.90 to 0.91 and from 0.88 to 0.91, respectively).

Positive and Negative Affect (Child Report). At each assessment, children reported their positive and negative affect using a translated and simplified version (Savard et al., 2013) of the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) for children (Laurent et al., 1999). Children were asked to rate each of the 20 emotion-related words (e.g., “enthusiastic”, “careful”, “afraid”, “nervous”), indicating the extent to which they felt each emotion on a 1 (*Almost never*)

to 4 (*Almost always*) scale. The questionnaire showed good internal consistency for positive (α ranging from 0.85 to 0.93) and negative emotions (α ranging from 0.86 to 0.89).

Life Satisfaction (Child Report). Children evaluated their life satisfaction at each assessment, using four items from the French version (Blais et al., 1989) of the Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener et al., 1985). Using a 4-point Likert scale (1= *Not true at all* to 4= *Very true*), they indicated how true each item was for them (α ranging from 0.86 to 0.94; e.g., “In general, I am happy with my life”).

Self-Esteem (Child Report). The French version (Vallieres & Vallerand, 1990) of the Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1989) was administered to children at each assessment, where they measured their positive attitude toward themselves. Using a 4-point Likert scale (1= *Not true at all* to 4 = *Very true*), they indicated how true each item was for them (α ranging from 0.80 to 0.90; e.g., “On the whole, I am satisfied with myself”).

Sociodemographic Information. Parents were asked at T1 to indicate their age, gender, and family’s annual income. They also reported on the sex and age of their targeted child.

Plan of Analysis

For the preliminary analyses, we first brought all outliers to a score no further than 3.29 standard deviations above/below the mean. We then determined which variables were unbalanced between conditions and should thus be included as covariates in the main analyses. An imbalance of these variables could indeed influence the program’s impact on parenting practices and child mental health directly or indirectly. To do so, we used the preliminary analyses’ results from a previous article that had examined the randomization success (for more information, see Mageau et al., 2022). Mageau et al. assessed whether parents’ and children’s baseline levels of the dependent variables, as well as socio-demographic characteristics, were

unbalanced across the experimental and control conditions. Only four unbalanced covariables between conditions were identified, namely familial income, parental age, parental autonomy-support (parent reports; PR) and controlling parenting (child reports; CR). These variables were thus integrated into our main analyses. Variables showing a significant difference between conditions at $p \leq 0.10$ on the multivariate level were included as a covariates in our primary analyses. This adjustment aimed to account for observed pre-intervention disparities between conditions.

For the main analyses, we explored whether parents' level of CH moderated the impact (or lack thereof) of the How-to Parenting Program and its stability over time on indicators of parenting (i.e., AS skills [PR], AS [PR and CR], affiliation [PR and CR], and structure [PR]) and indicators of child mental health (i.e., psychological symptoms [PR], positive and negative affect [CR], life satisfaction [CR], and self-esteem [CR]). For theoretical considerations, we examined parenting and child mental health outcomes separately. For statistical consideration, we examined child and parent reports separately. This resulted in four distinct models, each examining one respondent's report of either parenting or child mental health.

To run these models, we used multilevel analyses with the MLR estimator on MPlus (Muthén & Muthen, 2017). Multi-level analyses were chosen due to their ability to examine condition differences while accounting for the non-independence of the multiple data points nested within each participant. As an added benefit, multilevel analyses with MLR estimation can also accommodate non-normal and handle missing data (Hox et al., 2010). Thus, regardless of attrition rate, all participants were included in the analyses and had their missing data handled with Full Information Maximum Likelihood (Larsen, 2011).

To examine whether CH is an effect modifier of the How-to Parenting Program in the short-term (from T1 to T2) and in the long-term (over the following year), we treated all post-intervention data points (T2 to T4) as repeated measures. In each model, we (a) entered all retained covariates as fixed factors, (b) estimated the slopes of outcomes at the within-person level so that their intercepts would represent participant post-intervention (T2) ratings, and (c) regressed these T2 intercepts and slopes (T2-T4) on all independent variables and covariates as well as on the interaction term between CH and the condition variable (all of which were centered at their grand mean).

Provided that a significant interaction occurred with the intercept (T2) or the slope (T2-T4) of an outcome, we intended to examine the impact of the How-to Parenting Program on that outcome at one standard deviation above and below the mean of CH. If no interaction occurred on the intercept and/or slope of an outcome, we removed the non-significant interaction term prior to interpretation.

Results

Does CH Modify the Impact of the Program on Parenting?

Autonomy Support (AS; PR and CR)

Firstly, we explored whether parents' level of CH would moderate the How-to Parenting Program's effects and their stability over time on parenting indicators, including autonomy-supportive skills (PR) and perceived AS (PR and CR). We did not find evidence of an interaction between condition and parents' level of CH on PR autonomy-supportive skills at T2, $p = 0.885$, nor in predicting how much AS skills changed over the next 12 months, $p = .887$. Similarly, we did not find any interaction between condition and parents' level of CH on parent-reported

attitude toward AS at T2 ($p = .598$), nor in predicting how their AS attitude (PR) changed over the next 12 months, $p = .132$.

However, there was a statistically significant interaction between the condition and parents' level of CH on parental AS at T2, $p = .047$, when reported by children. As shown in Figure 1, there was no significant difference between conditions in child-rated AS at T2, $p = .602$ for children whose parents' ethnicity had a higher level of CH (i.e., CH level at least 1 SD over the mean). In contrast, for children whose parents had a lower level of CH (i.e., at least 1 SD below the mean), AS scores at T2 were higher among parents assigned to the How-to condition ($\beta = .27, p = .010$) than those whose parents were on the waitlist.

A significant interaction was also found between CH and conditions when predicting how child-rated AS evolved over the following year ($p = .037$). As shown in Figure 2, among families of higher CH, conditions had no impact on the way child-rated AS evolved from T2 to T4; AS remained stable in both conditions (all $ps \geq .111$). In contrast, among families where participating parents' ethnicity was coded as lower on CH, the way child-rated AS evolved over time differed across conditions ($p = .016$). While children whose parents were on the waitlist reported an increase in parental AS from T2 to T4, $\beta = .02, p = .007$, children whose parents were in the How-to condition reported no change of parental AS during that period, $p = .562$.

Affiliation (PR and CR)

Multilevel analyses indicated no significant interaction between parents' level of CH and conditions on parent-rated affiliation at T2 ($p = .669$), nor in predicting the change in parental affiliation over the next 12 months, $p = .369$. A similar pattern emerged when affiliation was rated by children. CH did not interact with the condition when predicting this variable at T2, $p = .144$, nor when predicting its evolution over the following year ($p = .911$).

Structure (PR)

We did not find evidence of an interaction between parental ethnicity's CH and conditions on PR structure at T2, $p = .567$. Similarly, we did not find any interaction between CH and conditions to predict parental structure change over the next 12 months, $p = .961$.

Does CH Modify the Impact of the Program on Child Mental Health?

Psychological Symptoms (PR)

When exploring whether parents' level of CH would moderate the impact of the condition on child's Internalizing and Externalizing Problems (PR), no statistically significant interaction emerged at T2, all $ps \geq .825$. Similarly, CH did not moderate the level of Internalizing and Externalizing problems changes over 12 months following the experimental manipulation, all $ps \geq .113$.

Positive and Negative Affect, Life Satisfaction, and Self-Esteem (CR)

No significant interaction was found between parents' level of CH and condition on CR indicators, namely positive affect, negative affect, life satisfaction and self-esteem at T2 (all $ps \geq .232$). Similarly, CH did not moderate the level of change in these CR indicators over a 12-months period following the experimental manipulation, with all $ps \geq .287$.

Discussion

This study aimed to examine whether CH modulates previously documented short- and long-term effects of the How-to Parenting Program's on parenting and children's mental health (Mageau et al., 2022). As a reminder, three main effects of the program were previously observed, all parent-reported: higher parental AS skills and parental attitude toward AS, as well as lower child externalizing problems. No other main effect was detected and all short-term

differences (and lack thereof) between the experimental and waitlist conditions remained stable the following year.

Regarding parenting effects, results revealed that CH moderated none of the program's previously documented effects (or lack thereof), albeit one exception discussed further below. First, we found no significant interaction between the experimental manipulation and parents' level of CH when predicting structure and affiliation, whether these parenting dimensions were reported by parents or children (affiliation only). Thus, no structure or affiliation effect was restricted to a subsample based on CH. Regarding AS, main effects on parent-reported usage of AS skills and attitude toward AS were also similar across CH levels, suggesting that all parents benefited similarly from the program, regardless of their level of CH. CH did not moderate these parenting benefits when measured at post-test nor later, the rest of the following year.

However, we found that parents' CH affected the How-to Parenting Program's effects on children's perceptions of parental AS. Among children whose parents' ethnicities were coded higher in HC, there was no perceived AS difference between the How-to and waitlist conditions at post-test. There was thus no impact of the How-to Parenting Program on child-reported AS in these families. However, for children whose parents' ethnicities had a lower CH (i.e., those who identified with more egalitarian nations), the How-to Parenting Program did have a positive impact on their perceptions of parental AS at post-intervention (T2).

CH also moderated the evolution of the program's impact over time on child-reported AS. While the program's lack of effect on child reported AS remained stable for children of higher CH parents, a different pattern emerged for children whose parents' ethnicities were lower in CH. Specifically, among them, children whose parents were on the *waitlist* perceived an *improvement* in parental AS from post-intervention to the 12-month FU, whereas children in the

How-to condition did not perceive any improvement nor degradation that year. Different explanations may be offered for this pattern of results. First, the initial short-term AS progress that occurred for parents of more egalitarian ethnicities in the How-to condition may have limited the extent to which more progress was possible during the following year (i.e., a possible ceiling effect). Second, the seemingly surprising waitlist parents' progress in AS could perhaps be due to the phenomenon of regression towards the mean, as, at T1, children in the waitlist condition gave a lower score to their parents.

Regarding mental health indicators, we found no evidence that the program had differential effects based on CH. Thus, previously observed null effects on children's internalized problems and well-being were not attributable to masked differences in parents' ethnicities. Similarly, the positive effects of the program on externalizing problems was deemed similar across CH levels.

In general, results suggest that the hierarchical-egalitarian dimension rarely modified the effects of the How-to Parenting Program. Previously reported main effects (greater parent-reported AS increases in AS and externalizing problems decreases) and lack of main effects (internalizing problems, structure, affiliation) did not vary according to parents' CH, except for children's report of parental AS. This is consistent with a growing body of evidence which supports some parenting programs' international applicability with only minor adaptations (Pidano & Allen, 2015; Sumargi et al., 2015; Turner et al., 2020). The present study supports the idea that the How-to Parenting Program can also be similarly efficacious across different cultures.

Alternative explanations are worth considering for the lack of interaction effects. First, the sample size may have precluded us from detecting significant effects of smaller sizes

(Preacher et al., 2016). The general lack of moderation by culture suggested by the present results may thus only apply to interactions of moderate size. It is necessary to further examine whether significant small interactive effects could be detected with larger samples.

In another vein, the differential moderating effects of the How-to Parenting Program on AS according to the respondent must be addressed. First, from pre- to post-intervention, according to children old enough to rate their parents' practices, parents of more egalitarian ethnicities benefitted to a greater extent from the program than parents of more hierarchical ethnicities. The former seems to have greater ease in increasing their autonomy-supportive practices than the latter.

Surprisingly, this significant interaction was only found when AS was reported by children, not parents themselves, and despite a weaker statistical power in this subsample of children old enough to complete questionnaires. Changes may be either more easily integrated by parents of more egalitarian ethnicities, and/or more easily noticed by their children. These changes perceived by children do not inform us precisely about the nature of those changes (Benito-Gomez et al., 2020; Deater-Deckard et al., 2011). Specifically, we do not know whether the perceived changes indicate that parents identifying with a more egalitarian ethnicity had more ease making progress compared to parents whose ethnicity has a higher CH score, or whether it is rather children who found it easier or harder to perceive changes. A potential explanation may rest on the notion that children from less authoritarian families might be more attuned to changes, readily perceiving variations in parental behavior. Their prior experience with less rigid parent-child relationships could make adjustments more visible or meaningful to them (Cheng et al., 2006). Future research may explore intercultural differences in children's sensitivity to such family dynamics.

Moreover, the previous results may be due to the fact that autonomy-supportive parenting practices may be more in line with the cultural landmark of parents with more egalitarian cultural backgrounds. As the autonomy-supportive practices taught initially correspond more closely to their culture of origin, self-concordance with their belief and value system may make the skills easier to integrate, as this may reduce resistance to new learning (Sheldon & Elliot, 1999). A behavior is self-concordant when it is based on one's interests and values rather than something compelled by external or internal pressure (Sheldon & Elliot, 1999). There is evidence that self-concordance is related to increased effort and behavioral change that is consistent with one's values and principles, by connecting these behaviors to goals that are deemed important (Sheldon & Elliot, 1999). Thus, parents may have had more ease to implement AS successfully, that is in a way that is noticed by children. On the other hand, it is also possible that children, who tend to assimilate the culture of a given country better than parents, might have been more sensitive to changes in their parents' AS (Canada representing a low level of CH).

Next, reflecting on the differential impact of the How-to Parenting Program during the year following the intervention, children's perceived improvement of parents in the control condition could also be linked to a practice effect through the completion of questionnaires at multiple measurement times (Donovan & Radosevich, 1999). Indeed, to measure autonomy-supportive parenting practices, one scale presented 12 illustrated skills. Presenting them repeatedly through a repeated-measure design thus represents a partial exposure to the intervention content, which may potentially contribute to an improvement in parenting practices. Moreover, some parents on the waitlist reported reading some of the How-to book, presumably motivated by a desire to improve their parenting practices by using the material.

When Mageau et al. (2022) tested the moderation of the How-to Parenting Program's effects on parenting by children's age and sex, as well as parents' gender and their pre-intervention parenting ratings, the sole significant interaction found was on the affiliation outcomes. The program led to higher affiliation among younger children, and among parents initially lower on affiliation. Rather than pointing to AS increases only among participants with more room for improvement (ceiling effect), the present CH moderation points to AS increases only among parents with seemingly less room for improvement. Value compatibility for parents of a more egalitarian ethnicity may have facilitated vs. hindered AS learning.

Strengths, Limitations and Future Directions

To our knowledge, no study had tested whether CH alters the impact of the How-to Parenting Program. Having done so in a sample living in a city with as much multicultural variability as Montreal is a strength. The added value of the CH measure (as opposed to more traditional cultural approaches that seek, for example, to differentiate between individualism and collectivism) comes from its focus on the relative importance of respecting the hierarchy of roles, particularly between a parent and child. By using Schwartz's model of cultural value orientation (1999, 2008), it was possible to measure CH as a dimensional rather than a categorical variable. Rather than measuring culture dichotomously, a dimensional variable provides a more nuanced measure of this highly relevant cultural component when studying parent-child relationships.

In addition, the use of a longitudinal design with multiple informants also provided some insight into the 1-year duration of the differential effects (or lack thereof) of the program as moderated by CH. According to parents, the How-to parenting Program seems to have led to progress in AS across CH levels, yet only for children of parents born in more egalitarian

countries reported such an impact. It seems valuable to further examine these differences in future studies.

Despite having explored in a novel way the potentially moderating role that culture can play on the effects of a parenting program on mental health and parenting quality, the present study's results must be interpreted within the scope of its methodological limitations and strengths. Given the limitations of the present study, many further future directions can be suggested. First, although we conducted a large number of tests and significant interactions rarely emerged, small-size interactions could still be present but were not detected with the current sample size. Child-reported data were reported by a smaller number of children ($N_{TI} = 112$) and thus the interaction that emerged on AS could lack stability. Replicating these analyses with a larger sample could extend the present findings and provide greater support for the idea that the How-to Parenting Program's effects remain generally similar across CH levels. Future studies could also examine whether CH influences parents' attendance, responsiveness, and engagement with the program's skills. It would also be interesting to explore how CH relates to attendance according to each session's content, as it may vary according to their concordance with parents' cultural beliefs.

Second, when all data is reported by a single informant (in this case, parent-reported data), it is associated with a risk of illusory correlation (Podsakoff et al., 2003). Another limitation is that the socio-demographic characteristics of the sample do not adequately represent the general population (e.g., relatively high income), thereby limiting the results' generalizability. Next, some important measures were lacking, such as how long parents and children have lived in Canada, the ethnicity of their children, the extent to which immigrant participants identify with their culture of heritage and their host culture, and the possibility of

multiple ethnicities. Future studies with larger samples would do well to include these additional variables and consider both parents to better assess the cultural dimension of parenting within each family.

In sum, increasing knowledge about parenting with a cultural perspective has led to several important questions (Bornstein, 2001). The almost complete lack of differential effects found in this study assessing whether CH alters the effects of the How-to Parenting Program on children's mental health and parenting opens the door to the idea that this program has a similar effect across cultures. A main strength of this study is that it addresses an important question about a parenting program promoting AS and the cultural dimension of hierarchy vs. egalitarianism, contributing to the ongoing debate on the generalizability of parenting programs' effects on child mental health. The present results suggest that the effects of the How-to Parenting Program, which includes parental AS, rarely vary based on CH. This general lack of moderation by CH is in line with the general premise of Self-Determination Theory regarding the universality of the fundamental, psychological need for autonomy (herein defined as volition, not independence; Ryan, 2017). Based on the universality without uniformity principle (Soenens et al., 2015), it seems possible to present this program to parents of culturally diverse backgrounds while remaining culturally-sensitive, as this program focuses on core and common principles of socialization that parents can then apply to their own belief systems. This program could thus not only offer a common language and understanding to parents but also a learning space where they can improve their parenting practices and support one another, with the common goal of enhancing their children's mental health.

References

- Achenbach, T. M. (1998). Diagnosis, assessment, taxonomy, and case formulations. In *Handbook of child psychopathology* (pp. 63-87). Springer.
- <http://ovidsp.ovid.com/ovidweb.cgi?T=JS&CSC=Y&NEWS=N&PAGE=fulltext&D=psy c3&AN=1997-36746-003>
- Achenbach, T. M. (2001). Manual for ASEBA school-age forms & profiles. *University of Vermont, Research Center for Children, Youth & Families*.
- Achenbach, T. M., Dumenci, L., & Rescorla, L. A. (2001). Ratings of relations between DSM-IV diagnostic categories and items of the CBCL/6-18, TRF, and YSR. *Burlington, VT: University of Vermont*, 1-9.
- Adamopoulos, J., & Lonner, W. (1997). Culture as antecedent to behavior. *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology: Theory and method*.
- Ahmad, I., & Soenens, B. (2010). Perceived maternal parenting as a mediator of the intergenerational similarity of dependency and self-criticism: A study with Arab Jordanian adolescents and their mothers. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 24(6), 756.
- Ainsworth, M. D. S. (1977). Social development in the first year of life: Maternal influences on infant-mother attachment. *Developments in Psychiatric Research*. London: Tavistock.
- Ainsworth, M. D. S., Blehar, M. C., Waters, E., & Wall, S. N. (2015). *Patterns of attachment: A psychological study of the strange situation*. Psychology press.
- Arnett, J. J. (2016). The neglected 95%: why American psychology needs to become less American.

- Arnold, D. S., O'leary, S. G., Wolff, L. S., & Acker, M. M. (1993). The Parenting Scale: a measure of dysfunctional parenting in discipline situations. *Psychological assessment*, 5(2), 137. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1040-3590.5.2.137>
- Barber, B. K., Stolz, H. E., Olsen, J. A., Collins, W. A., & Burchinal, M. (2005). Parental support, psychological control, and behavioral control: Assessing relevance across time, culture, and method. *Monographs of the society for research in child development*, i-147.
- Bartley, M. (2016). *Health inequality: an introduction to concepts, theories and methods*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (2017). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Interpersonal development*, 57-89.
- Bayer, J. K., Rapee, R. M., Hiscock, H., Ukoumunne, O. C., Mihalopoulos, C., & Wake, M. (2011). Translational research to prevent internalizing problems early in childhood. *Depression and anxiety*, 28(1), 50-57.
- Ben-Zur, H. (2003). Happy adolescents: The link between subjective well-being, internal resources, and parental factors. *Journal of youth and adolescence*, 32(2), 67-79.
- Benito-Gomez, M., Williams, K. N., McCurdy, A., & Fletcher, A. C. (2020). Autonomy-supportive parenting in adolescence: Cultural variability in the contemporary United States. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 12(1), 7-26.
- Bernier, A., Carlson, S. M., & Whipple, N. (2010). From external regulation to self-regulation: Early parenting precursors of young children's executive functioning. *Child development*, 81(1), 326-339.

- Bernier, A., Matte-Gagné, C., Bélanger, M. È., & Whipple, N. (2014). Taking stock of two decades of attachment transmission gap: Broadening the assessment of maternal behavior. *Child development*, 85(5), 1852-1865.
- Beyers, W., Goossens, L., Vansant, I., & Moors, E. (2003). A structural model of autonomy in middle and late adolescence: Connectedness, separation, detachment, and agency. *Journal of youth and adolescence*, 32(5), 351-365.
- Bindman, S. W., Pomerantz, E. M., & Roisman, G. I. (2015). Do children's executive functions account for associations between early autonomy-supportive parenting and achievement through high school? *Journal of educational psychology*, 107(3), 756.
- Blais, M. R., Vallerand, R. J., Pelletier, L. G., & Brière, N. M. (1989). L'échelle de satisfaction de vie: Validation canadienne-française du "Satisfaction with Life Scale.". *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science/Revue canadienne des sciences du comportement*, 21(2), 210. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0079854>
- Bornstein, M. (2001). Some questions for a science of "culture and parenting" (... but certainly not all). *International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development Newsletter*, 1, 1-4.
- Bornstein, M. H. (2005). *Handbook of parenting: Volume I: Children and parenting*. Psychology Press.
- Bornstein, M. H. (2006). *Handbook of child psychology: Vol. 4. Child psychology in practice*. In: Wiley New York, NY.
- Bornstein, M. H. (2013). Parenting and child mental health: a cross-cultural perspective. *World Psychiatry*, 12(3), 258-265. <https://doi.org/10.1002/wps.20071>

- Bornstein, M. H., & Cote, L. R. (2006). *Acculturation and parent-child relationships: Measurement and development*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Bornstein, M. H., Rothenberg, W. A., & Lansford, J. E. (2021). Change over time in four domains of parenting in diverse international contexts: specificity and universality, country and culture, determinants, strengths, and limitations, future directions and implications. In *Parenting across cultures from childhood to adolescence* (pp. 227-263). Routledge.
- Brislin, R. (2000). Some methodological concerns in intercultural and cross-cultural research. *Understanding culture's influence on behaviour*, 2, 349-411.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Harvard university press.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (2005). *Making human beings human: Bioecological perspectives on human development*. sage.
- Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. (2007). The bioecological model of human development. *Handbook of child psychology*, 1.
- Camras, L. A., Sun, K., Fraumeni, B. R., & Li, Y. (2017). Interpretations of parenting by mainland Chinese and US American children. *Parenting*, 17(4), 262-280.
- Camras, L. A., Sun, K., Li, Y., & Wright, M. F. (2012). Do Chinese and American children's interpretations of parenting moderate links between perceived parenting and child adjustment? *Parenting*, 12(4), 306-327.
- Canada, S. (2011). National household survey. *Statistics Canada*.

- Chao, R. K. (1994). Beyond parental control and authoritarian parenting style: Understanding Chinese parenting through the cultural notion of training. *Child development, 65*(4), 1111-1119.
- Chao, R. K. (2001). Extending research on the consequences of parenting style for Chinese Americans and European Americans. *Child development, 72*(6), 1832-1843.
- Chao, R. K., & Aque, C. (2009). Interpretations of parental control by Asian immigrant and European American youth. *Journal of Family Psychology, 23*(3), 342.
- Cheah, C. S., Yu, J., Liu, J., & Coplan, R. J. (2019). Children's cognitive appraisal moderates associations between psychologically controlling parenting and children's depressive symptoms. *Journal of Adolescence, 76*, 109-119.
- Chen, B., Vansteenkiste, M., Beyers, W., Boone, L., Deci, E. L., der Kaap-Deeder, V., Duriez, B., Lens, W., Matos, L., & Mouratidis, A. (2015). Basic psychological need satisfaction, need frustration, and need strength across four cultures. *Motivation and Emotion, 39*(2), 216-236.
- Chen, B., Vansteenkiste, M., Beyers, W., Boone, L., Deci, E. L., Van der Kaap-Deeder, J., Duriez, B., Lens, W., Matos, L., & Mouratidis, A. (2015). Basic psychological need satisfaction, need frustration, and need strength across four cultures. *Motivation and Emotion, 39*, 216-236.
- Cheng, C.-Y., Lee, F., & Benet-Martínez, V. (2006). Assimilation and contrast effects in cultural frame switching: Bicultural identity integration and valence of cultural cues. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 37*(6), 742-760.
- Chirkov, V., Ryan, R. M., Kim, Y., & Kaplan, U. (2003). Differentiating autonomy from individualism and independence: a self-determination theory perspective on

- internalization of cultural orientations and well-being. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 84(1), 97.
- Chirkov, V. I., Ryan, R., & Sheldon, K. M. (2010). *Human autonomy in cross-cultural context: Perspectives on the psychology of agency, freedom, and well-being* (Vol. 1). Springer Science & Business Media. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-90-481-9667-8>
- Chirkov, V. I., & Ryan, R. M. (2001). Parent and teacher autonomy-support in Russian and US adolescents: Common effects on well-being and academic motivation. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32(5), 618-635.
- Chirkov, V. I., Ryan, R. M., & Willness, C. (2005). Cultural context and psychological needs in Canada and Brazil: Testing a self-determination approach to the internalization of cultural practices, identity, and well-being. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 36(4), 423-443.
- Chorot, P., Valiente, R. M., Magaz, A. M., Santed, M. A., & Sandin, B. (2017). Perceived parental child rearing and attachment as predictors of anxiety and depressive disorder symptoms in children: The mediational role of attachment. *Psychiatry research*, 253, 287-295.
- Church, A. T., Katigbak, M. S., Locke, K. D., Zhang, H., Shen, J., de Jesús Vargas-Flores, J., Ibáñez-Reyes, J., Tanaka-Matsumi, J., Curtis, G. J., & Cabrera, H. F. (2013). Need satisfaction and well-being: Testing self-determination theory in eight cultures. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 44(4), 507-534.
- Conger, R. D., Conger, K. J., & Martin, M. J. (2010). Socioeconomic status, family processes, and individual development. *Journal of marriage and family*, 72(3), 685-704.

- Deater-Deckard, K., Lansford, J. E., Malone, P. S., Alampay, L. P., Sorbring, E., Bacchini, D., Bombi, A. S., Bornstein, M. H., Chang, L., & Di Giunta, L. (2011). The association between parental warmth and control in thirteen cultural groups. *Journal of Family Psychology, 25*(5), 790.
- Deci, E. (1975). Intrinsic motivation. new york, ny, us. In: Plenum Press. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4613-4446-9>.
- Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (1995). Human autonomy: The basis for true self-esteem. *Efficacy, agency, and self-esteem*, 31-49.
- Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (2000). The " what" and " why" of goal pursuits: Human needs and the self-determination of behavior. *Psychological inquiry, 11*(4), 227-268.
- Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (2008). Self-determination theory: A macrotheory of human motivation, development, and health. *Canadian psychology/Psychologie canadienne, 49*(3), 182.
- Deci, E. L., Ryan, R. M., Gagné, M., Leone, D. R., Usunov, J., & Kornazheva, B. P. (2001). Need satisfaction, motivation, and well-being in the work organizations of a former eastern bloc country: A cross-cultural study of self-determination. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 27*(8), 930-942.
- Diener, E. (2000). Subjective well-being: The science of happiness and a proposal for a national index. *American psychologist, 55*(1), 34.
- Diener, E., Emmons, R. A., Larsen, R. J., & Griffin, S. (1985). The satisfaction with life scale. *Journal of personality assessment, 49*(1), 71-75.
- https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327752jpa4901_13

- Diener, E., Lucas, R. E., & Oishi, S. (2002). Subjective well-being: The science of happiness and life satisfaction. *Handbook of positive psychology*, 2, 63-73.
- Donald, J. N., Bradshaw, E. L., Conigrave, J. H., Parker, P. D., Byatt, L. L., Noetel, M., & Ryan, R. M. (2021). Paths to the light and dark sides of human nature: A meta-analytic review of the prosocial benefits of autonomy and the antisocial costs of control. *Psychological Bulletin*, 147(9), 921.
- Donovan, J. J., & Radosevich, D. J. (1999). A meta-analytic review of the distribution of practice effect: Now you see it, now you don't. *Journal of applied psychology*, 84(5), 795.
- Downie, M., Chua, S. N., Koestner, R., Barrios, M.-F., Rip, B., & M'Birkou, S. (2007). The relations of parental autonomy support to cultural internalization and well-being of immigrants and sojourners. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 13(3), 241. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.13.3.241>
- Downie, M., Koestner, R., ElGeledi, S., & Cree, K. (2004). The impact of cultural internalization and integration on well-being among tricultural individuals. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 30(3), 305-314. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167203261298>
- Dumas, J. E. (2013). *Psychopathologie de l'enfant et de l'adolescent*. De Boeck Supérieur.
- Dwairy, M. (2004). Parenting styles and mental health of Palestinian–Arab adolescents in Israel. *Transcultural psychiatry*, 41(2), 233-252.
- Eisenberg, N., Cumberland, A., Spinrad, T. L., Fabes, R. A., Shepard, S. A., Reiser, M., Murphy, B. C., Losoya, S. H., & Guthrie, I. K. (2001). The relations of regulation and emotionality to children's externalizing and internalizing problem behavior. *Child development*, 72(4), 1112-1134.

- Faber, A., & Mazlish, E. (1980). How to talk so kids will listen and listen so kids will talk. New York, NY: Rawson. In: Wade Publishers.
- Faber, A., & Mazlish, E. (2000). How to talk so kids will listen & listen so kids will talk (updated ed.). *New York: Perennial Currents*.
- Ferguson, Y. L., Kasser, T., & Jahng, S. (2011). Differences in life satisfaction and school satisfaction among adolescents from three nations: The role of perceived autonomy support. *Journal of research on Adolescence, 21*(3), 649-661.
- Frodi, A., Grolnick, W., & Bridges, L. (1985). Maternal correlates of stability and change in infant-mother attachment. *Infant Mental Health Journal, 6*(2), 60-67.
- Fung, J., & Lau, A. S. (2012). Tough love or hostile domination? Psychological control and relational induction in cultural context. *Journal of Family Psychology, 26*(6), 966.
- Gagné, M., & Deci, E. L. (2005). Self-determination theory and work motivation. *Journal of Organizational behavior, 26*(4), 331-362.
- Gao, D., Liu, J., Bullock, A., & Chen, X. (2021). Children's interpretation moderates relations of maternal autonomy support with sociability and assertiveness in China. *Social Development, 30*(2), 449-462.
- Gaudreau, P., Sanchez, X., & Blondin, J.-P. (2006). Positive and negative affective states in a performance-related setting: Testing the factorial structure of the panas across two samples of french-canadian participants. *European Journal of Psychological Assessment, 22*(4), 240.
- Ginott, H. G. (1965). Between parent and child: New solutions to old problems.
- Gray, M. R., & Steinberg, L. (1999). Unpacking authoritative parenting: Reassessing a multidimensional construct. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 57*4-587.

- Greenfield, P. M. (2000). Three approaches to the psychology of culture: Where do they come from? Where can they go? *Asian journal of social psychology*, 3(3), 223-240.
- Grolnick, W. S. (2002). *The psychology of parental control: How well-meant parenting backfires*. Psychology Press.
- Grolnick, W. S., Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (1997). Internalization within the family: The self-determination theory perspective. *Parenting and children's internalization of values: A handbook of contemporary theory*, 135-161.
- Grolnick, W. S., Raftery-Helmer, J. N., Marbell, K. N., Flamm, E. S., Cardemil, E. V., & Sanchez, M. (2014). Parental provision of structure: Implementation and correlates in three domains. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly (1982-)*, 60(3), 355-384.
- Grolnick, W. S., & Ryan, R. M. (1989). Parent styles associated with children's self-regulation and competence in school. *Journal of educational psychology*, 81(2), 143.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0663.81.2.143>
- Grolnick, W. S., & Slowiaczek, M. L. (1994). Parents' involvement in children's schooling: A multidimensional conceptualization and motivational model. *Child development*, 65(1), 237-252.
- Gurland, S. T., & Grolnick, W. S. (2005). Perceived threat, controlling parenting, and children's achievement orientations. *Motivation and Emotion*, 29(2), 103-121.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11031-005-7956-2>
- Hall, P. A., & Lamont, M. (2013). *Social resilience in the neoliberal era*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hayden, E. P., & Mash, E. J. (2014). *Child psychopathology: A developmental-systems perspective*. The Guilford Press.

- Heim, E., Maercker, A., & Boer, D. (2019). Value orientations and mental health: a theoretical review. *Transcultural psychiatry*, 56(3), 449-470.
- Heine, S. J., Lehman, D. R., Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1999). Is there a universal need for positive self-regard? *Psychological review*, 106(4), 766.
- Helwig, C. C., Arnold, M. L., Tan, D., & Boyd, D. (2003). Chinese adolescents' reasoning about democratic and authority-based decision making in peer, family, and school contexts. *Child development*, 74(3), 783-800.
- Helwig, C. C., To, S., Wang, Q., Liu, C., & Yang, S. (2014). Judgments and reasoning about parental discipline involving induction and psychological control in China and Canada. *Child development*, 85(3), 1150-1167.
- Henrich, J., Heine, S. J., & Norenzayan, A. (2010). Most people are not WEIRD. *Nature*, 466(7302), 29-29.
- Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions and organizations across nations*. Sage publications.
- Holte, A., Barry, M., Bekkhus, M., & Trommsdorff, G. (2014). Psychology of child well-being. In.
- Hox, J. J., Maas, C. J., & Brinkhuis, M. J. (2010). The effect of estimation method and sample size in multilevel structural equation modeling. *Statistica neerlandica*, 64(2), 157-170.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9574.2009.00445.x>
- Hsu, S.-Y., Woodside, A. G., & Marshall, R. (2013). Critical tests of multiple theories of cultures' consequences: Comparing the usefulness of models by Hofstede, Inglehart and Baker, Schwartz, Steenkamp, as well as GDP and distance for explaining overseas tourism behavior. *Journal of Travel Research*, 52(6), 679-704.

- Hu, T., Zhang, D., Wang, J., Mistry, R., Ran, G., & Wang, X. (2014). Relation between emotion regulation and mental health: a meta-analysis review. *Psychological reports, 114*(2), 341-362.
- Huebner, E. S., & Dew, T. (1995). Preliminary validation of the positive and negative affect schedule with adolescents. *Journal of Psychoeducational Assessment, 13*(3), 286-293.
- Hui, E. K., Sun, R. C., Chow, S. S. Y., & Chu, M. H. T. (2011). Explaining Chinese students' academic motivation: filial piety and self-determination. *Educational Psychology, 31*(3), 377-392.
- Inglehart, R. (2005). *Christian Welzel Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy The Human Development Sequence*. Cambridge: Cambridge university press.
- Iyengar, S. S., & DeVoe, S. E. (2003). Rethinking the value of choice: considering cultural mediators of intrinsic motivation.
- Iyengar, S. S., & Lepper, M. R. (1999). Rethinking the value of choice: a cultural perspective on intrinsic motivation. *Journal of personality and social psychology, 76*(3), 349.
- Joussemet, M., & Grolnick, W. S. (2022). Parental consideration of children's experiences: A critical review of parenting constructs. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*.
- Joussemet, M., Koestner, R., Lekes, N., & Houliort, N. (2004). Introducing uninteresting tasks to children: A comparison of the effects of rewards and autonomy support. *Journal of personality, 72*(1), 139-166.
- Joussemet, M., & Mageau, G. A. (2023). Supporting children's autonomy early on: A review of studies examining parental autonomy support toward infants, toddlers, and preschoolers.
- Joussemet, M., Mageau, G. A., & Koestner, R. (2014). Promoting optimal parenting and children's mental health: A preliminary evaluation of the how-to parenting program.

Journal of Child and Family Studies, 23(6), 949-964. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-013-9751-0>

- Joussemet, M., Mageau, G. A., Larose, M.-P., Briand, M., & Vitaro, F. (2018). How to talk so kids will listen & listen so kids will talk: A randomized controlled trial evaluating the efficacy of the how-to parenting program on children's mental health compared to a wait-list control group. *BMC pediatrics*, 18(1), 1-16. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12887-018-1227-3>
- Kaasa, A., Vadi, M., & Varblane, U. (2014). Regional cultural differences within European countries: Evidence from multi-country surveys. *Management International Review*, 54, 825-852.
- Kasser, T., Ryan, R. M., Couchman, C. E., & Sheldon, K. M. (2004). Materialistic values: Their causes and consequences.
- Keown, L. J., Sanders, M. R., Franke, N., & Shepherd, M. (2018). Te Whānau Pou Toru: A randomized controlled trial (RCT) of a culturally adapted low-intensity variant of the Triple P-Positive Parenting Program for indigenous Māori families in New Zealand. *Prevention Science*, 19(7), 954-965. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11121-018-0886-5>
- Koestner, R., Ryan, R. M., Bernieri, F., & Holt, K. (1984). Setting limits on children's behavior: The differential effects of controlling vs. informational styles on intrinsic motivation and creativity. *Journal of personality*, 52(3), 233-248.
- La Guardia, J. G., Ryan, R. M., Couchman, C. E., & Deci, E. L. (2000). Within-person variation in security of attachment: a self-determination theory perspective on attachment, need fulfillment, and well-being. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 79(3), 367.

- Lamborn, S. D., & Steinberg, L. (1993). Emotional autonomy redux: revisiting Ryan and Lynch. *Child development*, 64(2), 483-499.
- Larsen, R. (2011). Missing data imputation versus full information maximum likelihood with second-level dependencies. *Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, 18(4), 649-662.
- Larson, K., Russ, S. A., Kahn, R. S., & Halfon, N. (2011). Patterns of comorbidity, functioning, and service use for US children with ADHD, 2007. *Pediatrics*, 127(3), 462-470.
- Laukkanen, E., Shemeikka, S., Notkola, I.-L., Koivumaa-Honkanen, H., & Nissinen, A. (2002). Externalizing and internalizing problems at school as signs of health-damaging behaviour and incipient marginalization. *Health promotion international*, 17(2), 139-146.
- Laurent, J., Catanzaro, S. J., Joiner Jr, T. E., Rudolph, K. D., Potter, K. I., Lambert, S., Osborne, L., & Gathright, T. (1999). A measure of positive and negative affect for children: scale development and preliminary validation. *Psychological assessment*, 11(3), 326.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/1040-3590.11.3.326>
- Laurin, J. C., & Joussemet, M. (2017). Parental autonomy-supportive practices and toddlers' rule internalization: A prospective observational study. *Motivation and Emotion*, 41(5), 562-575.
- Lehman, D. R., Chiu, C.-y., & Schaller, M. (2004). Psychology and culture. *Annu. Rev. Psychol.*, 55, 689-714.
- Lekes, N., Gingras, I., Philippe, F. L., Koestner, R., & Fang, J. (2010). Parental autonomy-support, intrinsic life goals, and well-being among adolescents in China and North America. *Journal of youth and adolescence*, 39, 858-869.
- Luby, J. L. (2020). The primacy of parenting. In (Vol. 61, pp. 399-400): Wiley Online Library.

- Mageau, G. A., Joussemet, M., Paquin, C., & Grenier, F. (2022). How-to-Parenting-Program: Change in Parenting and Child Mental Health over One Year. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 31(12), 3498-3513.
- Mageau, G. A., Ranger, F., Joussemet, M., Koestner, R., Moreau, E., & Forest, J. (2015). Validation of the perceived parental autonomy support scale (P-PASS). *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science/Revue canadienne des sciences du comportement*, 47(3), 251.
- Mageau, G. A., Vallerand, R. J., Charest, J., Salvy, S. J., Lacaille, N., Bouffard, T., & Koestner, R. (2009). On the development of harmonious and obsessive passion: The role of autonomy support, activity specialization, and identification with the activity. *Journal of personality*, 77(3), 601-646.
- Marbell-Pierre, K. N., Grolnick, W. S., Stewart, A. L., & Raftery-Helmer, J. N. (2019). Parental autonomy support in two cultures: The moderating effects of adolescents' self-construals. *Child development*, 90(3), 825-845.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (2003). Culture, self, and the reality of the social. *Psychological inquiry*, 14(3-4), 277-283.
- Markus, H. R., Kitayama, S., & Heiman, R. J. (1996). Culture and "basic" psychological principles.
- Masten, A. S., & Shaffer, A. (2006). How Families Matter in Child Development: Reflections from Research on Risk and Resilience. In *Families count: Effects on child and adolescent development*. (pp. 5-25). Cambridge University Press.
- <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511616259.002>

- Matos, A., Salvador, M., Costa, J., Pinheiro, R., Arnarson, E., & Craighead, W. (2017). The relationship between internalizing and externalizing problems in adolescence: does gender make a difference? *Canadian International Journal of Social Science and Education*(8), 45-63. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/151539139.pdf>
- McDevitt, T. M., Ormrod, J. E., Cupit, G., Chandler, M., & Aloa, V. (2010). *Child development and education*. Merrill Upper Saddle River, NJ.
- Meléndez, L. (2005). Parental beliefs and practices around early self-regulation: The impact of culture and immigration. *Infants & Young Children, 18*(2), 136-146.
- Miller, J. G. (1997). Cultural conceptions of duty. *Motivation and culture*, 178-192.
- Muthén, L. K., & Muthen, B. (2017). *Mplus user's guide: Statistical analysis with latent variables, user's guide*. Muthén & Muthén.
- Narusyte, J., Ropponen, A., Alexanderson, K., & Svedberg, P. (2017). Internalizing and externalizing problems in childhood and adolescence as predictors of work incapacity in young adulthood. *Social psychiatry and psychiatric epidemiology, 52*(9), 1159-1168. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00127-017-1409-6>
- Ng, J. Y., Ntoumanis, N., Thøgersen-Ntoumani, C., Deci, E. L., Ryan, R. M., Duda, J. L., & Williams, G. C. (2012). Self-determination theory applied to health contexts: A meta-analysis. *Perspectives on psychological science, 7*(4), 325-340.
- Nielsen, M., Haun, D., Kärtner, J., & Legare, C. H. (2017). The persistent sampling bias in developmental psychology: A call to action. *Journal of Experimental Child Psychology, 162*, 31-38. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jecp.2017.04.017>
- Oishi, S. (2000). Goal as Cornerstones of Subjective Well-Being: Linking Individuals and Cultures. *Culture and subjective well-being*.

- Ormel, J., Oldehinkel, A., Ferdinand, R., Hartman, C., De Winter, A., Veenstra, R., Vollebergh, W., Minderaa, R., Buitelaar, J., & Verhulst, F. (2005). Internalizing and externalizing problems in adolescence: general and dimension-specific effects of familial loadings and preadolescent temperament traits. *Psychological medicine*, 35(12), 1825-1835.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0033291705005829>
- Parker, G., Tupling, H., & Brown, L. B. (1979). A parental bonding instrument. *British journal of medical psychology*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8341.1979.tb02487.x>
- Pidano, A. E., & Allen, A. R. (2015). The Incredible Years series: A review of the independent research base. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 24(7), 1898-1916.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-014-9991-7>
- Podsakoff, N., MacKenzie, S. B., Lee, J.-Y., & Podsakoff, N. P. (2003). Common method biases in behavioral research: A critical review of the literature and recommended remedies. *Journal of applied psychology*, 88(5), 879-903. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.88.5.879>
- Preacher, K. J., Zhang, Z., & Zyphur, M. J. (2016). Multilevel structural equation models for assessing moderation within and across levels of analysis. *Psychological methods*, 21(2), 189.
- Ratelle, C. F., Duchesne, S., Guay, F., & Chateauvert, G. B. (2018). Comparing the contribution of overall structure and its specific dimensions for competence-related constructs: A bifactor model. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, 54, 89-98.
- Robichaud, J.-M., Normandin, A.-L., & Mageau, G. A. (2021). The socializing role of the problem-constraint link: A multimethod investigation. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 73, 101260.

- Rogoff, B. (2003). *The cultural nature of human development*. Oxford university press.
- Rosenberg, M. (1989). Society and the adolescent self-image. Revised edition. In: Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.
- Rosenberg, M., Schooler, C., & Schoenbach, C. (1989). Self-esteem and adolescent problems: Modeling reciprocal effects. *American sociological review*, 1004-1018.
- Roth, G., Assor, A., Niemiec, C., Ryan, R., & Deci, E. (2009). The negative emotional and behavioral consequences of parental conditional regard: Comparing positive conditional regard, negative conditional regard, and autonomy support as parenting practices. *Developmental Psychology*, 45, 1119-1142.
- Rothbaum, F., & Trommsdorff, G. (2007). *Do Roots and Wings Complement or Oppose One Another?: The Socialization of Relatedness and Autonomy in Cultural Context*. The Guilford Press.
- Rudy, D., & Halgunseth, L. C. (2005). Psychological control, maternal emotion and cognition, and child outcomes in individualist and collectivist groups. *Journal of Emotional Abuse*, 5(4), 237-264.
- Ryan, R., Deci, E., Grolnick, W., & La Guardia, J. (2006a). The Significance of Autonomy and Autonomy Support in Psychological Development and Psychopathology, V in D. Cicchetti and D. Cohen (Eds.), *Developmental Psychopathology*, 1.
- Ryan, R., Deci, E., Grolnick, W., & La Guardia, J. (2006b). VThe Significance of Autonomy and Autonomy Support in Psychological Development and Psychopathology, V in D. Cicchetti and D. Cohen (Eds.), *Developmental Psychopathology*, 1.
- Ryan, R., O'Farrelly, C., & Ramchandani, P. (2017). Parenting and child mental health. *London journal of primary care*, 9(6), 86-94. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17571472.2017.1361630>

- Ryan, R. M. (1993). Agency and organization: intrinsic motivation, autonomy, and the self in psychological development.
- Ryan, R. M. (2005). The developmental line of autonomy in the etiology, dynamics, and treatment of borderline personality disorders. *Development and psychopathology*, 17(4), 987-1006.
- Ryan, R. M., & Connell, J. P. (1989). Perceived locus of causality and internalization: examining reasons for acting in two domains. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 57(5), 749.
- Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2017). *Self-determination theory: Basic psychological needs in motivation, development, and wellness*. Guilford Publications.
- Ryan, R. M., Deci, E. L., & Vansteenkiste, M. (2016). Autonomy and autonomy disturbances in self-development and psychopathology: Research on motivation, attachment, and clinical process. *Developmental psychopathology*, 1, 385-438.
- Ryan, R. M., & Lynch, J. H. (1989). Emotional autonomy versus detachment: Revisiting the vicissitudes of adolescence and young adulthood. *Child development*, 340-356.
- Sarrazin, P., Pelletier, L., Deci, E., & Ryan, R. (2011). Nourrir une motivation autonome et des conséquences positives dans différents milieux de vie: les apports de la théorie de l'autodétermination. *Traité de psychologie positive*, 273-312.
- Savard, A., Joussemet, M., Emond Pelletier, J., & Mageau, G. A. (2013). The benefits of autonomy support for adolescents with severe emotional and behavioral problems. *Motivation and Emotion*, 37(4), 688-700. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11031-013-9351-8>

- Schwartz, S. H. (1994). Are there universal aspects in the structure and contents of human values? *Journal of social issues*, 50(4), 19-45. [https://doi.org/0022-4537/94/1200-0019\\$03.00/1](https://doi.org/0022-4537/94/1200-0019$03.00/1)
- Schwartz, S. H. (1999). A theory of cultural values and some implications for work. *Applied psychology: an international review*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1464-0597.1999.tb00047.x>
- Schwartz, S. H. (2008). *The 7 Schwartz cultural value orientation scores for 80 countries*. <https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.1.3313.3040>
- Schwartz, S. H., & Bardi, A. (1997). Influences of adaptation to communist rule on value priorities in Eastern Europe. *Political psychology*, 18(2), 385-410.
- Scott, S., & Gardner, F. (2015). Parenting programs. *Rutter's child and adolescent psychiatry*, 483-495. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118381953.ch37>
- Sheldon, K. M., Abad, N., & Omoile, J. (2009). Testing self-determination theory via Nigerian and Indian adolescents. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 33(5), 451-459.
- Sheldon, K. M., & Elliot, A. J. (1999). Goal striving, need satisfaction, and longitudinal well-being: the self-concordance model. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 76(3), 482. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.76.3.482>
- Sheldon, K. M., Elliot, A. J., Kim, Y., & Kasser, T. (2001). What is satisfying about satisfying events? Testing 10 candidate psychological needs. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 80(2), 325.
- Sheldon, K. M., Elliot, A. J., Ryan, R. M., Chirkov, V., Kim, Y., Wu, C., Demir, M., & Sun, Z. (2004). Self-concordance and subjective well-being in four cultures. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 35(2), 209-223.

- Sheldon, K. M., & Niemiec, C. P. (2006). It's not just the amount that counts: balanced need satisfaction also affects well-being. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *91*(2), 331.
- Shweder, R. A., LeVine, R. A., & Economiste, R. A. L. (1984). *Culture theory: Essays on mind, self and emotion*. Cambridge University Press.
- Soenens, B., & Vansteenkiste, M. (2010). A theoretical upgrade of the concept of parental psychological control: Proposing new insights on the basis of self-determination theory. *Developmental Review*, *30*(1), 74-99.
- Soenens, B., Vansteenkiste, M., Lens, W., Luyckx, K., Goossens, L., Beyers, W., & Ryan, R. M. (2007). Conceptualizing parental autonomy support: adolescent perceptions of promotion of independence versus promotion of volitional functioning. *Developmental Psychology*, *43*(3), 633.
- Soenens, B., Vansteenkiste, M., & Niemiec, C. P. (2009). Should parental prohibition of adolescents' peer relationships be prohibited? *Personal relationships*, *16*(4), 507-530.
- Soenens, B., Vansteenkiste, M., & Van Petegem, S. (2015). Let us not throw out the baby with the bathwater: Applying the principle of universalism without uniformity to autonomy-supportive and controlling parenting. *Child development perspectives*, *9*(1), 44-49.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/cdep.12103>
- Steinberg, L., Silk, J., & Bornstein, M. (2002). Handbook of parenting: Vol. 1. Children and parenting. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, *1*, 103-133.
- Stewart, S. M., & Bond, M. H. (2002). A critical look at parenting research from the mainstream: Problems uncovered while adapting Western research to non-Western cultures. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology*, *20*(3), 379-392.

- Suárez-Orozco, C., & Suárez-Orozco, M. M. (2001). *Children of immigration*. Harvard University Press.
- Sumargi, A., Sofronoff, K., & Morawska, A. (2015). A randomized-controlled trial of the triple p-positive parenting program seminar series with Indonesian parents. *Child Psychiatry & Human Development*, 46(5), 749-761. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10578-014-0517-8>
- Tang, M., Wang, D., & Guerrien, A. (2020). A systematic review and meta-analysis on basic psychological need satisfaction, motivation, and well-being in later life: Contributions of self-determination theory. *PsyCh journal*, 9(1), 5-33.
- Triandis, H. C. (1993). Collectivism and individualism as cultural syndromes. *Cross-cultural research*, 27(3-4), 155-180.
- Triandis, H. C. (1995). New directions in social psychology: Individualism and collectivism. In: Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Triandis, H. C. (1996). The psychological measurement of cultural syndromes. *American psychologist*, 51(4), 407. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.51.4.407>
- Triandis, H. C. (2004). The many dimensions of culture. *Academy of Management Perspectives*, 18(1), 88-93.
- Triandis, H. C., & Gelfand, M. J. (1998). Converging measurement of horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 74(1), 118.
- Turner, K. M., Singhal, M., McIlduff, C., Singh, S., & Sanders, M. R. (2020). Evidence-based parenting support across cultures: the Triple P—Positive Parenting Program experience. In *Cross-cultural family research and practice* (pp. 603-644). Elsevier. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-815493-9.00019-3>

- Vallieres, E. F., & Vallerand, R. J. (1990). Traduction et validation canadienne-française de l'échelle de l'estime de soi de Rosenberg. *International journal of psychology*, 25(2), 305-316. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00207599008247865>
- Van Petegem, S., Vansteenkiste, M., & Beyers, W. (2013). The jingle–jangle fallacy in adolescent autonomy in the family: In search of an underlying structure. *Journal of youth and adolescence*, 42(7), 994-1014.
- Vansteenkiste, M., & Ryan, R. M. (2013). On psychological growth and vulnerability: basic psychological need satisfaction and need frustration as a unifying principle. *Journal of psychotherapy integration*, 23(3), 263.
- Vasquez, A. C., Patall, E. A., Fong, C. J., Corrigan, A. S., & Pine, L. (2016). Parent autonomy support, academic achievement, and psychosocial functioning: A meta-analysis of research. *Educational Psychology Review*, 28(3), 605-644.
- Vitaro, F., & Gagnon, C. (2000). *Prévention des Problèmes d'Adaptation Chez les Enfants et les Adolescents-Tome 2: Les Problèmes Externalisés* (Vol. 2). PUQ.
- Watanabe, S. E., Phillips, D. A., Morrissey, T. W., McCartney, K., & Bub, K. (2011). Double jeopardy: Poorer social-emotional outcomes for children in the NICHD SECCYD experiencing home and child-care environments that confer risk. *Child development*, 82(1), 48-65.
- Watson, D., Clark, L. A., & Tellegen, A. (1988). Development and validation of brief measures of positive and negative affect: the PANAS scales. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 54(6), 1063. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.54.6.1063>

- Weinstein, N., & Ryan, R. M. (2010). When helping helps: autonomous motivation for prosocial behavior and its influence on well-being for the helper and recipient. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 98(2), 222.
- Whipple, N., Bernier, A., & Mageau, G. A. (2011). Broadening the study of infant security of attachment: Maternal autonomy-support in the context of infant exploration. *Social Development*, 20(1), 17-32.
- Winnicott, D., W. (1958). The capacity to be alone. *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, 39, 416-420.
- Wong, S., Bond, M. H., & Rodriguez Mosquera, P. M. (2008). The influence of cultural value orientations on self-reported emotional expression across cultures. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 39(2), 224-229. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022107313866>
- Wu, P., Robinson, C. C., Yang, C., Hart, C. H., Olsen, S. F., Porter, C. L., Jin, S., Wo, J., & Wu, X. (2002). Similarities and differences in mothers' parenting of preschoolers in China and the United States. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 26(6), 481-491.
- Yu, S., Levesque-Bristol, C., & Maeda, Y. (2018). General need for autonomy and subjective well-being: A meta-analysis of studies in the US and East Asia. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 19(6), 1863-1882.
- Zimmer-Gembeck, M., Collins, W., & Adams, G. (2003). Blackwell handbook of adolescence.

Table 1*Sample's Sociodemographic Characteristics by Conditions, at Pre-Intervention (T1)*

| | Full sample | Conditions | |
|--|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| | | Experimental (How-to) | Control (Waitlist) |
| Child | | | |
| Sex (% boys) | 145 (50.0%) <i>N</i> = 290 | 75 (51.4%) <i>N</i> = 146 | 70 (48.6%) <i>N</i> = 144 |
| Mean age (SD) | 7.6 (1.92) <i>N</i> = 291 | 7.69 (1.91) <i>N</i> = 147 | 7.51 (1.94) <i>N</i> = 144 |
| Parent | | | |
| Gender (% men) | 58 (19.8%) | 34 (23.1%) | 24 (16.4%) |
| Mean age (SD) | 40.26 (5.76) <i>N</i> = 285 | 39.39 (5.74) <i>N</i> = 142 | 41.13 (5.66) <i>N</i> = 143 |
| Income (\$CAD) | | | |
| Less than 15,000\$ | 38 (13.3%) | 25 (17.2%) | 13 (9.3%) |
| Between 15,000 and 30,000 | 36 (12.6%) | 20 (13.8%) | 16 (11.4%) |
| Between 30,000 and 50,000 | 56 (19.6%) | 30 (20.7%) | 26 (18.6%) |
| Between 50,000 and 75,000 | 55 (19.3%) | 19 (13.1%) | 36 (25.7%) |
| Between 75,000 and 100,000 | 100 (35.1%) <i>N</i> = 285 | 51 (35.2%) <i>N</i> = 145 | 49 (35.0%) <i>N</i> = 140 |
| Highest education level attained | | | |
| High school or less | 13 (4.5%) | 6 (4.2%) | 7 (4.9%) |
| Grade 12 and 13 or professional training | 61 (21.2%) | 33 (22.9%) | 28 (19.4%) |
| Undergraduate university diploma | 125 (43.4%) | 62 (43.1%) | 63 (43.8%) |
| Graduate university diploma | 89 (30.9%) <i>N</i> = 288 | 43 (29.9%) <i>N</i> = 144 | 46 (31.9%) <i>N</i> = 144 |

Table 2*Means, Standard Deviations, Theoretical Intervals, and Correlations Between All Variables at Pre-Intervention (T1)*

| Variable | M (SD) | Interval ^a | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|------|-------|-------|------------------|--------|------------------|--------|-------|-------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Child sex ^b | 0.50 (0.50) | 0 – 1 | - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. Child age | 7.60 (1.92) | – | -.01 | - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3. Parental gender ^b | 0.20 (0.40) | 0 – 1 | -.01 | -.03 | - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4. Parental age | 40.26 (5.76) | – | .02 | .30** | .17** | - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5. Familial income | 4.47 (1.55) | 1 – 6 | -.02 | .01 | .06 | .12 [†] | - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6. Parent's education level | 4.00 (0.87) | 1 – 5 | .04 | .09 | -.14* | .03 | .17** | - | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7. Cultural hierarchy (PR) | 2.07 (0.33) | 1.6 – 3.5 | .00 | .06 | .12* | -.05 | -.40** | .13* | - | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8. Use of AS skills (PR) | 5.07 (1.00) | 1 – 9 | .01 | -.04 | .02 | .01 | .04 | .10 | -.02 | - | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 9. Attitude toward AS (PR) | 5.49 (0.72) | 1 – 7 | -.07 | -.01 | -.12* | .04 | .19** | .11 [†] | -.21** | .37** | - | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10. Parental AS (CR) | 3.22 (0.54) | 1 – 4 | .04 | .13 | -.09 | .14 | .10 | .38** | -.05 | .19* | .23** | - | | | | | | | | | |

Note. $N = 293$ parents; 112 children. AS = Autonomy support; PR = parent report; CR = child report. [†] $p < .10$ * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

^aTheoretical intervals. ^bGender: 0 = female, 1 = male.

Table 2*(continued)*

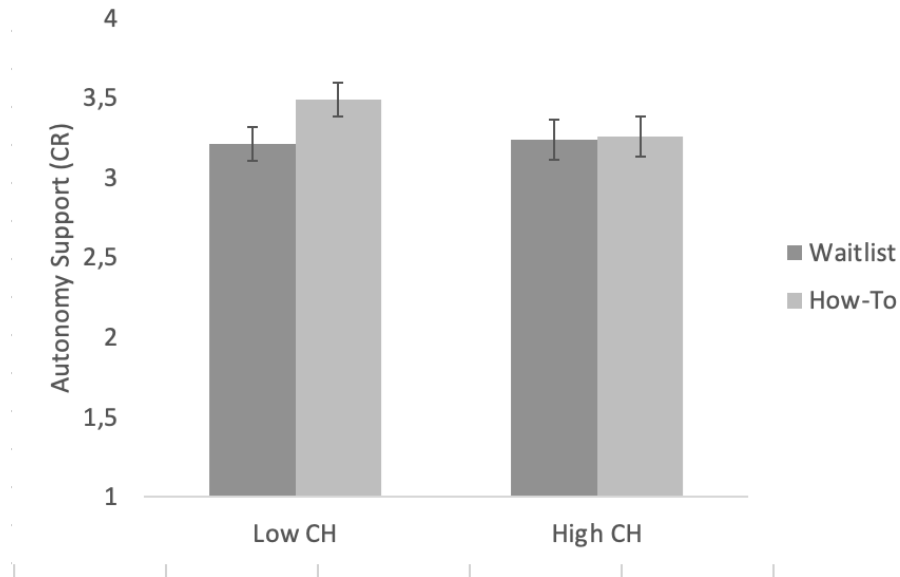
| Variable | M (SD) | Interval ^a | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 |
|---------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|------|--------|--------|------|------------------|-------|-------|--------|------------------|------------------|--------|--------|------|--------|-------|--------|--------|-------|----|
| 11. Affiliation (PR) | 5.76 (0.67) | 1 – 7 | .07 | -.05 | -.24** | .00 | .10 [†] | .01 | -.08 | .22** | .31** | .25* | - | | | | | | | | |
| 12. Affiliation (CR) | 3.44 (0.48) | 1 – 4 | .05 | -.14 | -.14 | -.02 | -.06 | .14 | .01 | .12 | .16 [†] | .54** | .22* | - | | | | | | | |
| 13. Structure (PR) | 3.46 (0.94) | 1 – 9 | .02 | .02 | .03 | .03 | -.21** | -.03 | .20** | -.16** | -.20** | -.04 | -.19** | -.01 | - | | | | | | |
| 14. Int. problems (PR) | 0.28 (0.23) | 0 – 2 | -.05 | .05 | -.03 | .03 | .07 | -.03 | -.05 | -.16** | -.17** | -.06 | -.19** | -.12 | .02 | - | | | | | |
| 15. Ext. problems (PR) | 0.29 (0.21) | 0 – 2 | .02 | -.17** | .04 | -.07 | .07 | -.04 | -.15* | -.07 | -.18** | -.22* | -.22** | -.15 | -.02 | .51** | - | | | | |
| 16. Positive affect (CR) | 3.52 (0.44) | 1 – 4 | -.01 | -.15 | -.05 | -.00 | .04 | .00 | .02 | .03 | .10 | .13 | .03 | .30** | -.10 | -.18 | -.04 | - | | | |
| 17. Negative affect (CR) | 2.07 (0.67) | 1 – 4 | -.06 | -.07 | .02 | .14 | .14 | -.20* | -.10 | -.05 | .05 | -.13 | .16 | -.33** | -.06 | .14 | .09 | -.33** | - | | |
| 18. Satisfaction with life (CR) | 3.57 (0.56) | 1 – 4 | .09 | -.01 | -.00 | -.09 | -.20* | -.07 | -.00 | .15 | .02 | .19 [†] | .13 | .29** | .05 | -.28** | -.24* | .54** | -.44** | - | |
| 19. Self-esteem (CR) | 3.49 (0.50) | 1 – 4 | .08 | -.06 | -.04 | -.10 | -.02 | -.09 | -.17 | .20* | .02 | .15 | .09 | .29** | .03 | -.33** | -.14 | .58** | -.36** | .68** | - |

Note. $N = 293$ parents; 112 children. AS = Autonomy support; PR = parent report; CR = child report. [†] $p < .10$ * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

^aTheoretical intervals. ^bGender: 0 = female, 1 = male.

Figure 1

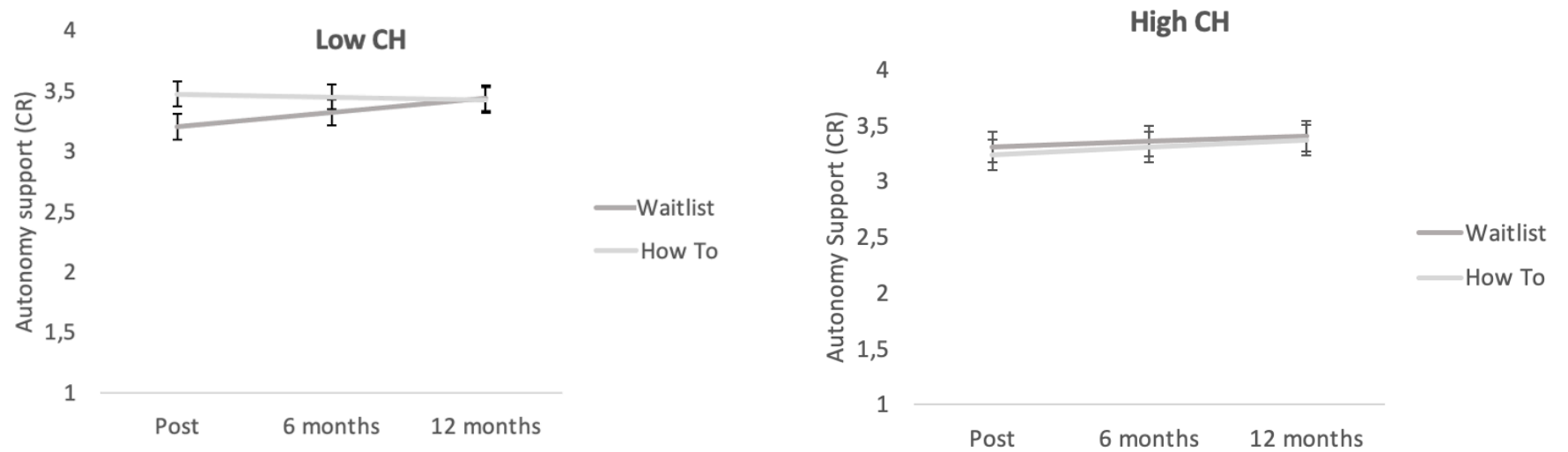
Impact of the How-to Parenting Program on Post-Intervention Parental Autonomy Support (Child-Rated) Moderated by Cultural Hierarchy



Note. CH = cultural hierarchy of parents' ethnicity; CR = child-report.

Figure 2

Longer-Term Impact of the How-to Parenting Program on Parental Autonomy Support (Child-Rated) Moderated by Cultural Hierarchy



Note. CH = cultural hierarchy of parents' ethnicity; CR = child-report.

Discussion générale

L'objectif de cette thèse est de contribuer à la littérature grandissante portant sur la généralisation interculturelle des bénéfices possibles des pratiques parentales de soutien à l'autonomie (SA) en explorant le rôle potentiellement modérateur de la hiérarchie culturelle dans la relation entre le SA et divers indicateurs d'ajustement psychosocial des enfants et des adolescents, ainsi que dans les effets (ou l'absence d'effets) d'un atelier visant l'apprentissage des pratiques parentales soutenant l'autonomie des enfants.

Résumé des résultats

Article 1. Les liens entre la hiérarchie culturelle (HC), le SA parental et l'ajustement psychosocial ont été examinés dans le cadre de deux études transversales. D'abord, tel qu'attendu, plus la HC des parents était faible, plus leur SA était élevé. L'association est cependant caractérisée par une magnitude limitée. Ensuite, le SA parental était systématiquement associé à une meilleure adaptation psychosociale des jeunes (plus hauts niveaux d'affect positif, de satisfaction de vie, de motivation autonome et plus faibles niveaux d'affect négatif, de motivation contrôlée et de symptômes psychologiques). Les relations entre le SA et les indicateurs d'ajustement psychosocial semblent présenter une magnitude plus significative. Pour sa part, la HC n'était généralement pas liée à l'ajustement psychosocial des jeunes.

En ce qui concerne la question de recherche principale, les résultats de ces deux premières études n'ont révélé aucun effet de modulation de la HC sur la relation entre le SA parental et l'ajustement psychosocial des enfants et des adolescents, à l'exception de la relation entre le SA parental et la motivation autonome des adolescents. L'analyse de cette interaction suggère que le SA parental était positivement lié à la motivation autonome chez tous les jeunes. Cependant, cette association était plus forte lorsque l'origine ethnique des parents était

considérée comme plus égalitaire, ce qui suggère que le SA parental peut avoir un impact plus important sur la motivation autonome chez ces jeunes. Lorsque l'on étudie l'intériorisation des règles, l'origine ethnique des parents semble donc être un aspect intéressant dont il est peut-être important de tenir compte. Au total, six variables dépendantes ont été examinées et le lien avec seulement l'une d'entre elles a été modulé par la HC.

Article 2. Les résultats du deuxième article ont montré que dans l'ensemble, les effets (et l'absence d'effets) de l'atelier *How to talk so kids will listen & listen so kids will talk* étaient similaires à tous les niveaux de HC, à une exception près. Ces résultats suggèrent un impact généralement indifférencié sur les pratiques parentales et sur la santé mentale des enfants, et ce, en ayant réalisé une multitude de tests (12 variables dépendantes en tout). Les effets précédemment documentés de l'atelier ne sont donc généralement pas différents selon la HC de l'identité ethnique des parents. Parmi l'ensemble des tests, la seule exception concerne l'incidence du niveau de HC sur le SA perçu par les enfants. En effet, au sein des familles dont les parents avaient une ethnicité plus hiérarchique, l'atelier parental n'a pas eu d'impact à court-terme sur le SA tel que perçu par les enfants. En revanche, pour les enfants dont les parents avaient une ethnicité plus égalitaire, l'atelier a eu un impact positif sur leur perception de SA parental.

En somme, les deux études ont examiné le rôle potentiellement modérateur de la HC dans la relation entre les pratiques parentales soutenant l'autonomie et divers indicateurs de santé mentale chez les jeunes. En général, les enfants et les adolescents dont les parents adoptent davantage de pratiques parentales soutenant leur autonomie ont généralement de meilleurs niveaux d'ajustement psychosocial et ce, indépendamment du niveau de hiérarchie culturelle de l'ethnicité de leurs parents. De plus, il a été constaté que l'atelier parental How-to a un impact

généralement similaire sur les pratiques parentales et la santé mentale des enfants, peu importe l'ethnicité des parents y ayant participé.

Même si une approche multi-informateurs permet une évaluation approfondie, elle peut également aboutir à des résultats contradictoires. La divergence observée dans les résultats entre les perspectives des enfants et celles des adultes à travers les deux articles de cette thèse souligne la complexité inhérente à l'interprétation de telles différences. Bien qu'expliquer précisément les raisons de ces divergences perceptuelles représente un défi, la littérature existante sur l'ajustement psychosocial des enfants met de avant l'importance de considérer les perspectives subjectives des enfants. En effet, celles-ci peuvent ne pas être pleinement saisies à travers le prisme de la perception adulte, en particulier lors de l'évaluation des problèmes intériorisés (Hope et al., 1999).

Limites des études et pistes de recherches futures

Il importe de mentionner les limites relatives à la méthodologie utilisée dans la présente thèse, qui devraient être prises en compte dans des recherches futures. Tout d'abord, l'origine ethnique d'une seule figure parentale est examinée dans le cadre de la présente thèse, sans considérer, par exemple, l'origine ethnique de l'autre parent, le nombre d'années que les parents et leurs enfants ont vécu au Canada, le pays de naissance de l'enfant, le statut d'immigration de la famille, le degré d'identification des immigrants à leur culture d'origine et à leur culture d'accueil, ou la possibilité d'avoir plusieurs origines ethniques. En raison des diverses subtilités et complexités de mesurer l'ethnicité, il aurait été intéressant d'offrir une perspective plus complète sur la manière dont l'origine ethnique peut être reliée aux relations parent-enfant, aux pratiques parentales et à l'ajustement psychosocial des enfants. Par ailleurs, le critère d'exclusion basé sur la maîtrise de la langue en ce qui concerne l'échantillon des parents d'enfants d'âge

scolaire constitue également une limite. En effet, restreindre la participation aux individus maîtrisant bien le français pourrait potentiellement avoir conduit à l'exclusion de ceux qui ont un héritage culturel différent des cultures francophones, telles que celle de leur culture d'accueil.

En ce qui concerne la seconde étude, le taux de présence des parents à l'atelier au cours des sept semaines n'a pas été pris en compte. Il aurait été intéressant d'examiner si le taux de participation est relié au niveau de HC des participants. De plus, la mise en pratique des habiletés enseignées au cours de l'atelier n'a pas été mesurée. Il serait pertinent d'explorer si l'ethnicité des participants est liée à leur niveau d'engagement et à la mise en pratique des habiletés enseignées, compte tenu de la possibilité que différentes cultures ou groupes ethniques aient des valeurs, des attentes et des motivations différentes vis-à-vis de l'atelier. Cela pourrait fournir des informations supplémentaires sur les facteurs influençant la participation et l'application des compétences acquises.

De plus, la plupart des mesures utilisées dans les deux études étaient des questionnaires. Ainsi, il n'est pas possible de déterminer dans quelle mesure les réponses, souvent auto-rapportées, reflètent réellement les pratiques des parents ou les problèmes d'ajustement psychosocial des enfants. Des recherches futures avec des mesures d'observation pourraient aider à vérifier la fiabilité des perceptions des participants.

Par ailleurs, une autre limite est la faible variabilité en termes de statut socio-économique (SSE) des échantillons des deux études. Celles-ci ont été menées auprès de populations relativement homogènes au niveau du SSE, relativement élevé. Des études rapportent que les parents de SSE plus faibles ont moins de ressources et d'accès aux services de soutien et vivent plus de stress, nuisant à la capacité de fournir un environnement familial favorable au soutien de l'autonomie et de la santé mentale des enfants (Conger et al., 2010). De plus, le niveau

d'éducation des parents est souvent relié à leurs pratiques parentales et à leurs attitudes en matière de santé mentale. Par exemple, les parents qui ont un niveau d'éducation plus élevé sont plus enclins à utiliser des méthodes éducatives favorisant l'autonomie (Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994) et à chercher de l'aide (Larson et al., 2011) en cas de problèmes de santé mentale chez leurs enfants. Bref, le manque de variabilité en SSE limite la généralisation des résultats des études de la thèse. Les répliquer au sein d'échantillons présentant une plus grande hétérogénéité socio-économique serait important.

En ce qui concerne le concept de HC de Schwartz (Schwartz, 1994, 2008), celui-ci comporte également certaines limites. Tout d'abord, les cotes de HC pour les 80 nations provenant du système de cotation dimensionnelle de Schwartz n'ont pas été révisées depuis leur sortie en 1994. Les valeurs culturelles au sein d'une nation n'étant pas statiques, il est possible qu'elles aient changé au fil du temps, en raison de l'évolution des normes sociales, d'événements historiques ou de facteurs économiques (Inglehart, 2005). Par exemple, des mouvements sociaux de même que des événements historiques tels que les guerres, les migrations ou les révolutions peuvent contribuer à changer les normes sociales et les attitudes collectives. Les changements économiques tels que la mondialisation ou la croissance économique peuvent également être sources d'influence (Hofstede, 2001). Ainsi, on peut se questionner sur la possibilité que certaines nations aient vu leur niveau de HC changer depuis 1994. Par exemple, le Japon est considéré comme ayant une HC élevée en raison de sa longue tradition de respect de l'autorité. Cependant, le Japon a connu des changements sociaux importants au cours des dernières décennies, notamment en matière d'égalité des genres et de droits des minorités (Hall & Lamont, 2013). Ces changements ont entraîné une évolution de la culture japonaise, avec une plus grande

prise en compte de l'individualisme et de la diversité, ainsi qu'une réduction de l'importance accordée à la hiérarchie (Hall & Lamont, 2013).

De surcroît, l'utilisation de la mesure de HC peut conduire à une généralisation culturelle. Par exemple, il est possible de considérer qu'une nation est relativement plus égalitaire ou hiérarchique sans tenir compte des nuances et des différences possibles au sein de cette même nation. D'autres composantes seraient ainsi pertinentes à considérer, comme par exemple les différences entre les régions rurales et urbaines (Kaasa et al., 2014). Par ailleurs, dans le cadre de la présente thèse, l'identification ethnoculturelle est associée à des relations plus ou moins hiérarchiques entre les parents et les enfants. Néanmoins, les différences individuelles ainsi que la diversité intraculturelle au sein des attitudes et des valeurs parentales ne sont pas prises en compte. Malgré ces limites, la HC demeure une variable utile, bien qu'incomplète, pour mesurer une composante de la culture et d'examiner la direction et la force de ses liens avec les pratiques parentales et leurs effets.

Dans un autre ordre d'idées, des recherches futures pourraient contribuer à compléter les connaissances issues de la présente thèse. Une voie de recherche prometteuse consisterait à étudier les pratiques parentales soutenant l'autonomie au sein des familles migrantes. La migration peut être une expérience complexe et bouleversante pour les parents, faisant face à de nouveaux environnements, cultures, normes et défis socio-économiques. Il est possible de supposer que ces changements peuvent influencer leur perception du rôle parental, leurs attentes et leurs comportements envers leurs enfants (Bornstein & Cote, 2006; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Cette approche permettrait d'examiner comment les pratiques parentales évoluent en fonction du processus migratoire et de l'adaptation à une nouvelle culture, par exemple quand le niveau de CH du pays d'origine est plus élevé que celui du pays d'accueil. Il pourrait être

intéressant de voir si des parents migrants encouragent progressivement davantage ou non l'autonomie de leurs enfants au fil du temps, dans la culture d'accueil. Il serait également intéressant d'étudier les effets de changements de pratiques sur la santé mentale des enfants, en examinant leur évolution (que ce soit en suivant des familles issues d'une nation plus hiérarchique et ayant immigré dans une nation plus égalitaire, ou l'inverse). Une autre approche serait de comparer les pratiques parentales des familles qui vivent un processus migratoire à celles qui demeurent dans le même pays d'origine, tout en évaluant l'impact sur la santé mentale des enfants. Ces investigations permettraient d'élargir notre compréhension des liens entre la culture, les pratiques parentales et le bien-être des enfants, sans présumer que l'acte de migrer lui-même entraîne des changements dans les attitudes ou les pratiques parentales.

Par ailleurs, des recherches futures pourraient également adopter une méthodologie mixte afin d'intégrer des mesures qualitatives dans l'étude des expériences des parents issus de minorités culturelles. En s'intéressant à ces expériences de manière exploratoire, nous pourrions trouver des pistes de réflexion afin d'identifier les croyances et les attitudes culturelles qui peuvent influencer la résistance des parents à l'égard des pratiques parentales visant à soutenir l'autonomie des enfants. L'ajout de mesures qualitatives aux mesures quantitatives permettrait de recueillir des données plus intimes et plus contextualisées, permettant d'en apprendre davantage sur les variables en jeu et de dresser un portrait plus complet et plus nuancé des perspectives culturelles. En utilisant des entrevues, des groupes de discussion ou quelques questions ouvertes, il serait possible d'explorer des facteurs socioculturels pouvant être reliés aux croyances, émotions et conduites des parents issus de minorités culturelles. Cette approche contribuerait à une meilleure compréhension des enjeux culturels importants et favoriserait une prise de décision

plus éclairée dans l'élaboration et l'implantation d'ateliers offerts à des parents d'origines variées.

Forces des études

Nonobstant les limites des études précédemment mentionnées, il convient de souligner leurs forces. La présente thèse contribue à l'avancement des connaissances sur la généralisation interculturelle du SA parental et des effets d'un atelier d'enrichissement visant à le promouvoir.

Par ailleurs, la présente thèse s'est penchée sur la HC, un aspect de l'origine ethnique des participants qui est mesuré de façon dimensionnelle plutôt que catégorielle. Cette approche a permis une exploration nuancée de l'ethnicité en évitant des catégorisations, souvent réductrices. Au lieu de mesurer la culture de manière dichotomique, une variable dimensionnelle offre une mesure plus nuancée de ce composant culturel hautement pertinent lors de l'étude des relations parent-enfant. La valeur ajoutée de la mesure de HC (par opposition aux approches culturelles plus traditionnelles qui cherchent, par exemple, à différencier l'individualisme et le collectivisme) réside également dans son accent sur l'importance relative du respect de la hiérarchie des rôles, en particulier entre un parent et un enfant.

De plus, les deux échantillons utilisés dans cette thèse présentaient une large variabilité culturelle. Cette caractéristique contribue à la validité externe des résultats en permettant une exploration des différences culturelles qui existent même au sein d'un même contexte géographique. Les recherches antérieures sur l'évaluation de l'universalité du SA semblent principalement s'être limitées à des comparaisons entre des individus résidant dans des contextes culturels distincts, tels que les États-Unis, la Corée du Sud, la Russie, la Belgique et le Pérou. Dans le cadre de la présente thèse, une analyse est entreprise pour examiner l'hétérogénéité culturelle au sein d'échantillons de parents résidant dans une seule et même ville.

En ce qui concerne la mesure de HC, une force principale de la thèse est la cotation du niveau de HC d'un nombre important de nations qui n'avaient pas été initialement évaluées par Schwartz. En utilisant une variété de critères identifiés par Schwartz (c.-à-d., localisation géographique, langue(s) officielle(s) et religion(s) reconnue(s) par l'État), il a été possible de conserver tous les participants de nos échantillons, ce qui augmentait la puissance statistique et reflétait une plus large gamme d'origines ethniques. De plus, les scores des nations évaluées dans le cadre de cette thèse seront dorénavant accessibles pour les autres chercheurs, ce qui constitue une contribution substantielle.

Enfin, le devis expérimental de la seconde étude et ses nombreux répondants ont également permis d'obtenir des informations intéressantes sur la modulation des effets (ou leur absence) d'un atelier par le niveau de HC des participants. Finalement, une autre force de la présente thèse est l'intégration de plusieurs variables contrôle dans les analyses, à savoir l'âge et le sexe des enfants, l'âge et le genre des parents, le niveau d'éducation et le revenu annuel des parents, ainsi que le niveau de cadre qu'ils rapportent prodiguer.

Implications théoriques et pratiques

Universalité du besoin d'autonomie.

Postulats généraux. Les résultats de la présente thèse ont plusieurs implications théoriques et pratiques. Premièrement, les résultats des deux études soutiennent le postulat général de la TAD selon lequel le besoin psychologique fondamental d'autonomie serait universel (Ryan et al., 2006a; Ryan et al., 2017).

En effet, ces résultats sont cohérents avec le principe d'universalité sans uniformité, tel que souligné par Soenens et al. (2015). Cela signifie que bien que le besoin d'autonomie soit universel, ce principe suggère que les comportements SA prototypiques (c'est-à-dire le choix, le

rationnel et la reconnaissance des émotions) peuvent ne pas être perçus comme favorables à l'autonomie dans toutes les cultures, modifiant ainsi leur impact potentiel ou leur lien avec la santé mentale. Les résultats des deux études soutiennent l'idée que le besoin psychologique fondamental d'autonomie est universel, étant donné que le SA est presque systématiquement associé à plus de bien-être et à moins de problèmes psychologiques chez les enfants qui vivent dans une culture égalitaire, et ce, sans égard à la culture d'héritage de leurs parents.

Soutien empirique. Un nombre substantiel d'études réalisées au cours des dernières années met en évidence l'universalité du besoin d'autonomie. Cette abondance de recherches soutient l'idée selon laquelle le besoin d'autonomie est une composante intrinsèque et fondamentale de la nature humaine, présent dans diverses populations et à différentes étapes du développement. En effet, les recherches montrent que les comportements d'autonomie émergent dès la petite enfance et sont observés dans toutes les cultures (Chen et al., 2015; La Guardia et al., 2000). Les auteurs suggèrent que les enfants ont intrinsèquement le besoin d'explorer leur environnement, de prendre des décisions et de se développer. De plus, la satisfaction du besoin d'autonomie a été associée à des résultats positifs dans de nombreuses cultures et à travers différents âges, comme l'ont révélé des méta-analyses faites avec des jeunes, des adultes et des aînés (Ng et al., 2012; Tang et al., 2020). Les bienfaits du SA incluent une plus grande motivation intrinsèque, un meilleur bien-être psychologique et de meilleures performances scolaires (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Vansteenkiste et al., 2009). Les études de la thèse abondent dans le sens de ces études qui mettent en exergue toute l'importance la satisfaction du besoin d'autonomie dans le développement humain, soulignant ainsi son caractère universel. Bref, la thèse soutient l'idée que le besoin d'autonomie n'est pas qu'une construction socioculturelle, mais plutôt une caractéristique universelle de l'être humain.

Bienfaits personnels et collectifs. Satisfaire le besoin d'autonomie des êtres humains tout au long de leur vie semble entraîner des bienfaits à la fois personnels et collectifs. Sur le plan personnel, la satisfaction du besoin d'autonomie est associée à plusieurs résultats positifs. D'une part, elle est liée positivement à la motivation intrinsèque, qui est associée à un plus grand engagement et à une meilleure performance (Ryan et al., 2017). D'autre part, elle est également liée positivement à l'estime de soi, en renforçant le sentiment de compétence et de maîtrise de sa vie (Deci & Ryan, 1995, 2000). Enfin, la satisfaction du besoin d'autonomie contribue à améliorer la qualité de vie de l'individu dans différents domaines (Sheldon & Niemiec, 2006).

Sur le plan collectif, satisfaire le besoin d'autonomie favoriserait aussi la formation de citoyens responsables et engagés dans leur communauté (Gagné & Deci, 2005). En se sentant plus autodéterminés, les individus sont plus susceptibles de prendre des initiatives et de contribuer activement au mieux-être de leur société (Deci & Ryan, 2008). Le SA serait également associé positivement à des comportements altruistes et prosociaux (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Weinstein & Ryan, 2010). Ainsi, le SA présenterait des avantages à la fois individuels et collectifs, en favorisant le développement des individus et de leurs communautés. Ainsi, contrairement à l'idée reçue selon laquelle le SA serait individualiste, ces nombreuses recherches suggèrent plutôt que bénéficier du SA ne mènerait pas au mieux-être individuel au détriment du mieux-être collectif.

Autres attitudes parentales universelles. Il convient de noter qu'il existe d'autres dimensions parentales qui peuvent varier dans leur manifestation culturelle, mais dont l'importance pour le développement des enfants peut elle aussi demeurer constante (Steinberg et al., 2002). Tout d'abord, la sensibilité parentale est une qualité (semblable au SA) qui se réfère à la capacité des parents à détecter les signaux émis par leur enfant, à y répondre de manière

appropriée et à adapter leur comportement en fonction des besoins de leur enfant (Ainsworth, 1977; Ainsworth et al., 2015). Des études telles que celle menée par Bornstein (2001) ont montré que la sensibilité parentale est associée à un développement socio-affectif positif chez l'enfant et ce, indépendamment de la culture dans laquelle il évolue. De plus, la cohérence éducative (semblable au cadre) est une autre attitude parentale cruciale qui se réfère à la capacité des parents à établir des règles et des limites claires pour leur enfant, tout en étant cohérents dans leur application. Des recherches, telles que celles menées par Barber et al. (2005), ont souligné l'importance de cette cohérence éducative pour le bien-être et l'adaptation des enfants, quel que soit leur contexte culturel. Bref, ces composantes parentales sont aussi des facteurs essentiels qui semblent promouvoir le développement optimal de l'enfant de façon universelle.

Cadre et affiliation. La présente thèse a accordé une attention particulière au SA parental. Cependant, les résultats de la deuxième étude révèlent également l'absence de modération de la HC dans les liens entre l'ajustement psychologique des enfants et les deux autres dimensions du style parental optimal, à savoir le cadre et l'affiliation. Tout comme le SA, ces composantes sembleraient elles aussi favorables pour tous, indépendamment de l'ethnicité. Ainsi, des recherches futures axées sur ces autres dimensions parentales pourraient tester la modération par la culturelle et répliquer les tests de la présente thèse.

Sensibilité culturelle dans l'étude de la relation parent-enfant.

Le lien parent-enfant dans son contexte culturel. L'universalité du besoin d'autonomie est une idée largement discutée dans la présente thèse. Cependant, il est également crucial de faire preuve de sensibilité culturelle. Le modèle de Bronfenbrenner (1979), qui met en évidence l'importance des contextes culturels dans les relations parent-enfant, offre un éclairage pertinent. Selon ce modèle, l'enfant évolue au sein d'un environnement complexe composé de différents

cercles d'influence tels que la famille, l'école, la communauté et la société dans son ensemble (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 2005). Chaque cercle d'influence possède sa propre culture, et celle-ci peut avoir des répercussions significatives sur les interactions parent-enfant et le développement des enfants. Se montrer sensible culturellement dans l'étude des pratiques parentales aide à mieux comprendre les valeurs et les repères culturels propres à chaque groupe. Ceci favorise le dialogue, permettant d'accueillir des possibles résistances culturelles envers les pratiques soutenant l'autonomie des enfants. Par exemple, dans la littérature interculturelle, les enfants d'Asie de l'Est sont souvent dépeints comme étant diligents et obéissants, une orientation qui est influencée par la philosophie confucéenne et la culture familiale (Li, 2005). Selon cette perspective, les enfants asiatiques sont socialisés pour respecter et suivre les conseils parentaux afin de démontrer leur piété filiale. En conséquence, les enfants sont plus susceptibles de faire preuve d'obéissance sans questionnement. Devant de telles hiérarchies familiales, les pratiques soutenant l'autonomie des enfants pourraient être perçues comme une remise en question de cette hiérarchie établie et soulever des résistances. En reconnaissant et respectant les différences culturelles, il devient alors possible de promouvoir des pratiques parentales respectueuses de l'autonomie des enfants tout en veillant au besoin d'autonomie des parents eux-mêmes dans le choix de leurs pratiques.

Appréciation des pratiques vs. santé psychologique. Il importe de distinguer le bien-être psychologique des enfants de ce qu'ils pensent des pratiques de leurs parents. En effet, des études intéressantes ont mis en lumière que des pratiques parentales potentiellement contrôlantes peuvent être évaluées différemment par les enfants, selon leur contexte culturel. Par exemple, Cheng et al. (2006) ont révélé que comparativement aux adolescents américains d'origine européenne, les adolescents immigrants asiatiques étaient moins enclins à ressentir de la colère

face à des pratiques parentales considérées théoriquement comme des formes de contrôle psychologique. De même, en comparaison aux enfants canadiens, des enfants chinois ont eu tendance à évaluer de manière plus positive les pratiques potentiellement contrôlantes, telles que le retrait de l'amour et l'humiliation (« shaming »; Soenens et al., 2015). Toutefois, malgré ces différences culturelles dans l'évaluation des comportements parentaux, ces pratiques parentales perçues étaient liées à moins de bien-être et à davantage de problèmes d'ajustement chez les enfants, et ce, indépendamment de leur culture. Ces résultats soulignent l'importance de considérer à la fois les différences culturelles dans l'acceptabilité des pratiques parentales et les répercussions possibles de ces pratiques sur la santé psychologique des enfants.

Le regard des parents. Le concept d'orientation à la hiérarchie (Triandis, 1993; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998) facilite la réflexion à propos des attentes culturelles face au respect de l'autorité. Ces attentes peuvent s'appliquer à la relation parent-enfant, influençant la socialisation des enfants et leur développement. Tout comme Schwartz, Triandis rapporte que certaines cultures sont plus orientées vers la hiérarchie (cultures verticales; p. ex., la Chine), tandis que d'autres sont plus orientées vers l'égalité (cultures horizontales, p. ex., la Belgique). Dans les cultures plus horizontales, les attentes parentales peuvent être davantage centrées sur la négociation que sur l'imposition du pouvoir. Les parents valoriseraient les échanges et l'ouverture dans la communication, ainsi que l'encouragement de l'expression de leur enfant. La relation parent-enfant serait caractérisée par une plus grande égalité et un dialogue ouvert, où les parents chercheraient à guider et à soutenir leurs enfants de façon plus souple plutôt que de leur imposer des directives strictes. En revanche, dans les cultures plus verticales, qui ont tendance à valoriser la hiérarchie et les pratiques autoritaires, les parents sont souvent perçus comme devant être obéis aveuglément par les enfants. De ce fait, les parents peuvent encourager la conformité

de façon plus rigide, en leur donnant des directives et en s'attendant à de l'obéissance sans explication ou discussion. Des études supplémentaires pourraient se pencher sur l'influence des attentes relatives aux rapports de force et à l'autorité sur la socialisation des enfants et leur bien-être psychologique.

Le regard des enfants. Il est également pertinent de se questionner sur le rôle des croyances et des attentes des enfants au sujet de leur propre rapport à l'autorité, selon leur bagage culturel. Par exemple, une étude de Hui et al. (2011) a porté sur la piété filiale et la motivation académique des élèves des écoles secondaires chinoises de Hong Kong. La piété filiale y était définie comme une valeur traditionnelle qui encourage les enfants à être respectueux, obéissants et dévoués envers leurs parents et leurs aînés. Les auteurs expliquent que cette valeur peut avoir un impact sur la motivation académique des étudiants, ces derniers pouvant être motivés à réussir académiquement pour faire honneur à leurs parents et pour obtenir leur approbation. Les résultats de l'étude ont montré que les étudiants ayant des niveaux plus élevés de piété filiale étaient plus motivés à *réussir* académiquement. Par ailleurs, les étudiants plus autodéterminés étaient plus motivés à *apprendre* et à développer leurs compétences. Cette étude met en exergue l'idée selon laquelle certaines dimensions culturelles liées à la hiérarchie, telle que la piété filiale, peuvent teinter la vie des jeunes, par exemple par le type de buts qu'ils poursuivent (buts de maîtrise et de performance; Dweck, 1986).

Positionnement envers le SA. Tel que présenté dans l'introduction de la présente thèse, des critiques ont été formulées concernant le SA parental. Il est possible que les réticences vis-à-vis du SA puissent découler d'idées erronées, peut-être exacerbées par le filtre de certains contextes culturels. Par exemple, si l'autonomie rime avec indépendance pour plusieurs, une erreur répandue (Henrich et al., 2010; Iyengar & DeVoe, 2003; Markus et al., 1996), le SA peut

sembler être de la permissivité, un rejet de l'autorité ou même la négligence. Il est important de souligner que le cadre parental et le SA ne sont pas opposés d'une même dimension, mais plutôt deux facteurs protecteurs importants qui sont distincts et complémentaires. En effet, tous deux contribuent, ensemble, à favoriser le développement de l'enfant au sein de la relation parent-enfant (Grolnick et al., 2014). Il est donc essentiel d'approfondir notre compréhension de la façon dont le cadre peut être prodigué tout en soutenant l'autonomie des enfants, et de continuer à étudier comment le SA peut être perçu et interprété selon diverses perspectives culturelles.

Mot de la fin

En conclusion, les pratiques parentales occupent une position centrale dans la promotion de la santé mentale des enfants. Ainsi, le souhait à l'origine de la présente thèse est de contribuer à l'amélioration de la compréhension du rôle de la hiérarchie culturelle dans les liens entre les pratiques parentales et l'ajustement psychosocial des enfants. Les résultats de la thèse s'inscrivent dans le courant de pensée selon lequel répondre au besoin universel d'autonomie contribue à favoriser le bien-être et la santé mentale de tous les enfants, sans craindre que ce soit contre-indiqué pour certains. Étant donné l'augmentation de la globalisation et du multiculturalisme au sein de nos sociétés, il semble opportun d'étudier la question, qui mérite d'être scrutée davantage. Dans la mesure où les enfants se sentent plus autodéterminés grâce aux pratiques de leurs parents, cela peut favoriser leur intégration des règles et des valeurs de leur société tout en promouvant leur santé mentale, leur intégration sociale, et peut-être même contribuer, à très long-terme, à un transfert intergénérationnel vertueux.

« Ce n'est pas facile d'apprendre une nouvelle langue, vous la parlerez toujours avec un accent.

Mais, dans le cas de vos enfants, ce sera leur langue maternelle! »

- Haim Ginott, dans Faber & Mazlish (2002)

Références citées dans l'introduction et la discussion générales

- Achenbach, T. M. (1998). Diagnosis, assessment, taxonomy, and case formulations. In *Handbook of child psychopathology* (pp. 63-87). Springer.
<http://ovidsp.ovid.com/ovidweb.cgi?T=JS&CSC=Y&NEWS=N&PAGE=fulltext&D=psy c3&AN=1997-36746-003>
- Achenbach, T. M. (2001). Manual for ASEBA school-age forms & profiles. *University of Vermont, Research Center for Children, Youth & Families*.
- Achenbach, T. M., Dumenci, L., & Rescorla, L. A. (2001). Ratings of relations between DSM-IV diagnostic categories and items of the CBCL/6-18, TRF, and YSR. *Burlington, VT: University of Vermont*, 1-9.
- Adamopoulos, J., & Lonner, W. (1997). Culture as antecedent to behavior. *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology: Theory and method*.
- Ahmad, I., & Soenens, B. (2010). Perceived maternal parenting as a mediator of the intergenerational similarity of dependency and self-criticism: A study with Arab Jordanian adolescents and their mothers. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 24(6), 756.
- Ainsworth, M. D. S. (1977). Social development in the first year of life: Maternal influences on infant-mother attachment. *Developments in Psychiatric Research*. London: Tavistock.
- Ainsworth, M. D. S., Blehar, M. C., Waters, E., & Wall, S. N. (2015). *Patterns of attachment: A psychological study of the strange situation*. Psychology press.
- Arnett, J. J. (2016). The neglected 95%: why American psychology needs to become less American.

- Arnold, D. S., O'leary, S. G., Wolff, L. S., & Acker, M. M. (1993). The Parenting Scale: a measure of dysfunctional parenting in discipline situations. *Psychological assessment*, 5(2), 137. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1040-3590.5.2.137>
- Barber, B. K., Stolz, H. E., Olsen, J. A., Collins, W. A., & Burchinal, M. (2005). Parental support, psychological control, and behavioral control: Assessing relevance across time, culture, and method. *Monographs of the society for research in child development*, i-147.
- Bartley, M. (2016). *Health inequality: an introduction to concepts, theories and methods*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (2017). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Interpersonal development*, 57-89.
- Bayer, J. K., Rapee, R. M., Hiscock, H., Ukoumunne, O. C., Mihalopoulos, C., & Wake, M. (2011). Translational research to prevent internalizing problems early in childhood. *Depression and anxiety*, 28(1), 50-57.
- Ben-Zur, H. (2003). Happy adolescents: The link between subjective well-being, internal resources, and parental factors. *Journal of youth and adolescence*, 32(2), 67-79.
- Benito-Gomez, M., Williams, K. N., McCurdy, A., & Fletcher, A. C. (2020). Autonomy-supportive parenting in adolescence: Cultural variability in the contemporary United States. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 12(1), 7-26.
- Bernier, A., Carlson, S. M., & Whipple, N. (2010). From external regulation to self-regulation: Early parenting precursors of young children's executive functioning. *Child development*, 81(1), 326-339.

- Bernier, A., Matte-Gagné, C., Bélanger, M. È., & Whipple, N. (2014). Taking stock of two decades of attachment transmission gap: Broadening the assessment of maternal behavior. *Child development*, 85(5), 1852-1865.
- Beyers, W., Goossens, L., Vansant, I., & Moors, E. (2003). A structural model of autonomy in middle and late adolescence: Connectedness, separation, detachment, and agency. *Journal of youth and adolescence*, 32(5), 351-365.
- Bindman, S. W., Pomerantz, E. M., & Roisman, G. I. (2015). Do children's executive functions account for associations between early autonomy-supportive parenting and achievement through high school? *Journal of educational psychology*, 107(3), 756.
- Blais, M. R., Vallerand, R. J., Pelletier, L. G., & Brière, N. M. (1989). L'échelle de satisfaction de vie: Validation canadienne-française du "Satisfaction with Life Scale.". *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science/Revue canadienne des sciences du comportement*, 21(2), 210. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0079854>
- Bornstein, M. (2001). Some questions for a science of "culture and parenting" (... but certainly not all). *International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development Newsletter*, 1, 1-4.
- Bornstein, M. H. (2005). *Handbook of parenting: Volume I: Children and parenting*. Psychology Press.
- Bornstein, M. H. (2006). *Handbook of child psychology: Vol. 4. Child psychology in practice*. In: Wiley New York, NY.
- Bornstein, M. H. (2013). Parenting and child mental health: a cross-cultural perspective. *World Psychiatry*, 12(3), 258-265. <https://doi.org/10.1002/wps.20071>

- Bornstein, M. H., & Cote, L. R. (2006). *Acculturation and parent-child relationships: Measurement and development*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Bornstein, M. H., Rothenberg, W. A., & Lansford, J. E. (2021). Change over time in four domains of parenting in diverse international contexts: specificity and universality, country and culture, determinants, strengths, and limitations, future directions and implications. In *Parenting across cultures from childhood to adolescence* (pp. 227-263). Routledge.
- Brislin, R. (2000). Some methodological concerns in intercultural and cross-cultural research. *Understanding culture's influence on behaviour*, 2, 349-411.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Harvard university press.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (2005). *Making human beings human: Bioecological perspectives on human development*. sage.
- Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. (2007). The bioecological model of human development. *Handbook of child psychology*, 1.
- Camras, L. A., Sun, K., Fraumeni, B. R., & Li, Y. (2017). Interpretations of parenting by mainland Chinese and US American children. *Parenting*, 17(4), 262-280.
- Camras, L. A., Sun, K., Li, Y., & Wright, M. F. (2012). Do Chinese and American children's interpretations of parenting moderate links between perceived parenting and child adjustment? *Parenting*, 12(4), 306-327.
- Canada, S. (2011). National household survey. *Statistics Canada*.

- Chao, R. K. (1994). Beyond parental control and authoritarian parenting style: Understanding Chinese parenting through the cultural notion of training. *Child development, 65*(4), 1111-1119.
- Chao, R. K. (2001). Extending research on the consequences of parenting style for Chinese Americans and European Americans. *Child development, 72*(6), 1832-1843.
- Chao, R. K., & Aque, C. (2009). Interpretations of parental control by Asian immigrant and European American youth. *Journal of Family Psychology, 23*(3), 342.
- Cheah, C. S., Yu, J., Liu, J., & Coplan, R. J. (2019). Children's cognitive appraisal moderates associations between psychologically controlling parenting and children's depressive symptoms. *Journal of Adolescence, 76*, 109-119.
- Chen, B., Vansteenkiste, M., Beyers, W., Boone, L., Deci, E. L., der Kaap-Deeder, V., Duriez, B., Lens, W., Matos, L., & Mouratidis, A. (2015). Basic psychological need satisfaction, need frustration, and need strength across four cultures. *Motivation and Emotion, 39*(2), 216-236.
- Chen, B., Vansteenkiste, M., Beyers, W., Boone, L., Deci, E. L., Van der Kaap-Deeder, J., Duriez, B., Lens, W., Matos, L., & Mouratidis, A. (2015). Basic psychological need satisfaction, need frustration, and need strength across four cultures. *Motivation and Emotion, 39*, 216-236.
- Cheng, C.-Y., Lee, F., & Benet-Martínez, V. (2006). Assimilation and contrast effects in cultural frame switching: Bicultural identity integration and valence of cultural cues. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 37*(6), 742-760.
- Chirkov, V., Ryan, R. M., Kim, Y., & Kaplan, U. (2003). Differentiating autonomy from individualism and independence: a self-determination theory perspective on

- internalization of cultural orientations and well-being. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 84(1), 97.
- Chirkov, V. I., Ryan, R., & Sheldon, K. M. (2010). *Human autonomy in cross-cultural context: Perspectives on the psychology of agency, freedom, and well-being* (Vol. 1). Springer Science & Business Media. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-90-481-9667-8>
- Chirkov, V. I., & Ryan, R. M. (2001). Parent and teacher autonomy-support in Russian and US adolescents: Common effects on well-being and academic motivation. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32(5), 618-635.
- Chirkov, V. I., Ryan, R. M., & Willness, C. (2005). Cultural context and psychological needs in Canada and Brazil: Testing a self-determination approach to the internalization of cultural practices, identity, and well-being. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 36(4), 423-443.
- Chorot, P., Valiente, R. M., Magaz, A. M., Santed, M. A., & Sandin, B. (2017). Perceived parental child rearing and attachment as predictors of anxiety and depressive disorder symptoms in children: The mediational role of attachment. *Psychiatry research*, 253, 287-295.
- Church, A. T., Katigbak, M. S., Locke, K. D., Zhang, H., Shen, J., de Jesús Vargas-Flores, J., Ibáñez-Reyes, J., Tanaka-Matsumi, J., Curtis, G. J., & Cabrera, H. F. (2013). Need satisfaction and well-being: Testing self-determination theory in eight cultures. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 44(4), 507-534.
- Conger, R. D., Conger, K. J., & Martin, M. J. (2010). Socioeconomic status, family processes, and individual development. *Journal of marriage and family*, 72(3), 685-704.

- Deater-Deckard, K., Lansford, J. E., Malone, P. S., Alampay, L. P., Sorbring, E., Bacchini, D., Bombi, A. S., Bornstein, M. H., Chang, L., & Di Giunta, L. (2011). The association between parental warmth and control in thirteen cultural groups. *Journal of Family Psychology, 25*(5), 790.
- Deci, E. (1975). Intrinsic motivation. new york, ny, us. In: Plenum Press. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4613-4446-9>.
- Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (1995). Human autonomy: The basis for true self-esteem. *Efficacy, agency, and self-esteem*, 31-49.
- Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (2000). The " what" and " why" of goal pursuits: Human needs and the self-determination of behavior. *Psychological inquiry, 11*(4), 227-268.
- Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (2008). Self-determination theory: A macrotheory of human motivation, development, and health. *Canadian psychology/Psychologie canadienne, 49*(3), 182.
- Deci, E. L., Ryan, R. M., Gagné, M., Leone, D. R., Usunov, J., & Kornazheva, B. P. (2001). Need satisfaction, motivation, and well-being in the work organizations of a former eastern bloc country: A cross-cultural study of self-determination. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 27*(8), 930-942.
- Diener, E. (2000). Subjective well-being: The science of happiness and a proposal for a national index. *American psychologist, 55*(1), 34.
- Diener, E., Emmons, R. A., Larsen, R. J., & Griffin, S. (1985). The satisfaction with life scale. *Journal of personality assessment, 49*(1), 71-75.
- https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327752jpa4901_13

- Diener, E., Lucas, R. E., & Oishi, S. (2002). Subjective well-being: The science of happiness and life satisfaction. *Handbook of positive psychology*, 2, 63-73.
- Donald, J. N., Bradshaw, E. L., Conigrave, J. H., Parker, P. D., Byatt, L. L., Noetel, M., & Ryan, R. M. (2021). Paths to the light and dark sides of human nature: A meta-analytic review of the prosocial benefits of autonomy and the antisocial costs of control. *Psychological Bulletin*, 147(9), 921.
- Donovan, J. J., & Radosevich, D. J. (1999). A meta-analytic review of the distribution of practice effect: Now you see it, now you don't. *Journal of applied psychology*, 84(5), 795.
- Downie, M., Chua, S. N., Koestner, R., Barrios, M.-F., Rip, B., & M'Birkou, S. (2007). The relations of parental autonomy support to cultural internalization and well-being of immigrants and sojourners. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 13(3), 241. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.13.3.241>
- Downie, M., Koestner, R., ElGeledi, S., & Cree, K. (2004). The impact of cultural internalization and integration on well-being among tricultural individuals. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 30(3), 305-314. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167203261298>
- Dumas, J. E. (2013). *Psychopathologie de l'enfant et de l'adolescent*. De Boeck Supérieur.
- Dwairy, M. (2004). Parenting styles and mental health of Palestinian–Arab adolescents in Israel. *Transcultural psychiatry*, 41(2), 233-252.
- Eisenberg, N., Cumberland, A., Spinrad, T. L., Fabes, R. A., Shepard, S. A., Reiser, M., Murphy, B. C., Losoya, S. H., & Guthrie, I. K. (2001). The relations of regulation and emotionality to children's externalizing and internalizing problem behavior. *Child development*, 72(4), 1112-1134.

- Faber, A., & Mazlish, E. (1980). How to talk so kids will listen and listen so kids will talk. New York, NY: Rawson. In: Wade Publishers.
- Ferguson, Y. L., Kasser, T., & Jahng, S. (2011). Differences in life satisfaction and school satisfaction among adolescents from three nations: The role of perceived autonomy support. *Journal of research on Adolescence, 21*(3), 649-661.
- Frodi, A., Grolnick, W., & Bridges, L. (1985). Maternal correlates of stability and change in infant-mother attachment. *Infant Mental Health Journal, 6*(2), 60-67.
- Fung, J., & Lau, A. S. (2012). Tough love or hostile domination? Psychological control and relational induction in cultural context. *Journal of Family Psychology, 26*(6), 966.
- Gagné, M., & Deci, E. L. (2005). Self-determination theory and work motivation. *Journal of Organizational behavior, 26*(4), 331-362.
- Gao, D., Liu, J., Bullock, A., & Chen, X. (2021). Children's interpretation moderates relations of maternal autonomy support with sociability and assertiveness in China. *Social Development, 30*(2), 449-462.
- Gaudreau, P., Sanchez, X., & Blondin, J.-P. (2006). Positive and negative affective states in a performance-related setting: Testing the factorial structure of the panas across two samples of french-canadian participants. *European Journal of Psychological Assessment, 22*(4), 240.
- Ginott, H. G. (1965). Between parent and child: New solutions to old problems.
- Gray, M. R., & Steinberg, L. (1999). Unpacking authoritative parenting: Reassessing a multidimensional construct. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 574-587*.
- Greenfield, P. M. (2000). Three approaches to the psychology of culture: Where do they come from? Where can they go? *Asian journal of social psychology, 3*(3), 223-240.

- Grolnick, W. S. (2002). *The psychology of parental control: How well-meant parenting backfires*. Psychology Press.
- Grolnick, W. S., Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (1997). Internalization within the family: The self-determination theory perspective. *Parenting and children's internalization of values: A handbook of contemporary theory*, 135-161.
- Grolnick, W. S., Raftery-Helmer, J. N., Marbell, K. N., Flamm, E. S., Cardemil, E. V., & Sanchez, M. (2014). Parental provision of structure: Implementation and correlates in three domains. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly (1982-)*, 60(3), 355-384.
- Grolnick, W. S., & Ryan, R. M. (1989). Parent styles associated with children's self-regulation and competence in school. *Journal of educational psychology*, 81(2), 143.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0663.81.2.143>
- Grolnick, W. S., & Slowiaczek, M. L. (1994). Parents' involvement in children's schooling: A multidimensional conceptualization and motivational model. *Child development*, 65(1), 237-252.
- Gurland, S. T., & Grolnick, W. S. (2005). Perceived threat, controlling parenting, and children's achievement orientations. *Motivation and Emotion*, 29(2), 103-121.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11031-005-7956-2>
- Hall, P. A., & Lamont, M. (2013). *Social resilience in the neoliberal era*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hayden, E. P., & Mash, E. J. (2014). *Child psychopathology: A developmental-systems perspective*. The Guilford Press.
- Heim, E., Maercker, A., & Boer, D. (2019). Value orientations and mental health: a theoretical review. *Transcultural psychiatry*, 56(3), 449-470.

- Heine, S. J., Lehman, D. R., Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1999). Is there a universal need for positive self-regard? *Psychological review*, *106*(4), 766.
- Helwig, C. C., Arnold, M. L., Tan, D., & Boyd, D. (2003). Chinese adolescents' reasoning about democratic and authority-based decision making in peer, family, and school contexts. *Child development*, *74*(3), 783-800.
- Helwig, C. C., To, S., Wang, Q., Liu, C., & Yang, S. (2014). Judgments and reasoning about parental discipline involving induction and psychological control in China and Canada. *Child development*, *85*(3), 1150-1167.
- Henrich, J., Heine, S. J., & Norenzayan, A. (2010). Most people are not WEIRD. *Nature*, *466*(7302), 29-29.
- Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions and organizations across nations*. Sage publications.
- Holte, A., Barry, M., Bekkhus, M., & Trommsdorff, G. (2014). Psychology of child well-being. In.
- Hope, T. L., Adams, C., Reynolds, L., Powers, D., Perez, R. A., & Kelley, M. L. (1999). Parent vs. self-report: Contributions toward diagnosis of adolescent psychopathology. *Journal of Psychopathology and Behavioral Assessment*, *21*, 349-363.
<https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1022124900328>
- Hox, J. J., Maas, C. J., & Brinkhuis, M. J. (2010). The effect of estimation method and sample size in multilevel structural equation modeling. *Statistica neerlandica*, *64*(2), 157-170.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9574.2009.00445.x>
- Hsu, S.-Y., Woodside, A. G., & Marshall, R. (2013). Critical tests of multiple theories of cultures' consequences: Comparing the usefulness of models by Hofstede, Inglehart and

- Baker, Schwartz, Steenkamp, as well as GDP and distance for explaining overseas tourism behavior. *Journal of Travel Research*, 52(6), 679-704.
- Hu, T., Zhang, D., Wang, J., Mistry, R., Ran, G., & Wang, X. (2014). Relation between emotion regulation and mental health: a meta-analysis review. *Psychological reports*, 114(2), 341-362.
- Huebner, E. S., & Dew, T. (1995). Preliminary validation of the positive and negative affect schedule with adolescents. *Journal of Psychoeducational Assessment*, 13(3), 286-293.
- Hui, E. K., Sun, R. C., Chow, S. S. Y., & Chu, M. H. T. (2011). Explaining Chinese students' academic motivation: filial piety and self-determination. *Educational Psychology*, 31(3), 377-392.
- Inglehart, R. (2005). *Christian Welzel Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy The Human Development Sequence*. Cambridge: Cambridge university press.
- Iyengar, S. S., & DeVoe, S. E. (2003). Rethinking the value of choice: considering cultural mediators of intrinsic motivation.
- Iyengar, S. S., & Lepper, M. R. (1999). Rethinking the value of choice: a cultural perspective on intrinsic motivation. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 76(3), 349.
- Joussemet, M., & Grolnick, W. S. (2022). Parental consideration of children's experiences: A critical review of parenting constructs. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*.
- Joussemet, M., Koestner, R., Lekes, N., & Houliort, N. (2004). Introducing uninteresting tasks to children: A comparison of the effects of rewards and autonomy support. *Journal of personality*, 72(1), 139-166.
- Joussemet, M., & Mageau, G. A. (2023). Supporting children's autonomy early on: A review of studies examining parental autonomy support toward infants, toddlers, and preschoolers.

- Joussemet, M., Mageau, G. A., & Koestner, R. (2014). Promoting optimal parenting and children's mental health: A preliminary evaluation of the how-to parenting program. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 23(6), 949-964. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-013-9751-0>
- Joussemet, M., Mageau, G. A., Larose, M.-P., Briand, M., & Vitaro, F. (2018). How to talk so kids will listen & listen so kids will talk: A randomized controlled trial evaluating the efficacy of the how-to parenting program on children's mental health compared to a wait-list control group. *BMC pediatrics*, 18(1), 1-16.
- Kaasa, A., Vadi, M., & Varblane, U. (2014). Regional cultural differences within European countries: Evidence from multi-country surveys. *Management International Review*, 54, 825-852.
- Kasser, T., Ryan, R. M., Couchman, C. E., & Sheldon, K. M. (2004). Materialistic values: Their causes and consequences.
- Keown, L. J., Sanders, M. R., Franke, N., & Shepherd, M. (2018). Te Whānau Pou Toru: A randomized controlled trial (RCT) of a culturally adapted low-intensity variant of the Triple P-Positive Parenting Program for indigenous Māori families in New Zealand. *Prevention Science*, 19(7), 954-965. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11121-018-0886-5>
- Koestner, R., Ryan, R. M., Bernieri, F., & Holt, K. (1984). Setting limits on children's behavior: The differential effects of controlling vs. informational styles on intrinsic motivation and creativity. *Journal of personality*, 52(3), 233-248.
- Lamborn, S. D., & Steinberg, L. (1993). Emotional autonomy redux: revisiting Ryan and Lynch. *Child development*, 64(2), 483-499.

- Larsen, R. (2011). Missing data imputation versus full information maximum likelihood with second-level dependencies. *Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, 18(4), 649-662.
- Larson, K., Russ, S. A., Kahn, R. S., & Halfon, N. (2011). Patterns of comorbidity, functioning, and service use for US children with ADHD, 2007. *Pediatrics*, 127(3), 462-470.
- Laukkanen, E., Shemeikka, S., Notkola, I.-L., Koivumaa-Honkanen, H., & Nissinen, A. (2002). Externalizing and internalizing problems at school as signs of health-damaging behaviour and incipient marginalization. *Health promotion international*, 17(2), 139-146.
- Laurent, J., Catanzaro, S. J., Joiner Jr, T. E., Rudolph, K. D., Potter, K. I., Lambert, S., Osborne, L., & Gathright, T. (1999). A measure of positive and negative affect for children: scale development and preliminary validation. *Psychological assessment*, 11(3), 326.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/1040-3590.11.3.326>
- Laurin, J. C., & Joussemet, M. (2017). Parental autonomy-supportive practices and toddlers' rule internalization: A prospective observational study. *Motivation and Emotion*, 41(5), 562-575.
- Lehman, D. R., Chiu, C.-y., & Schaller, M. (2004). Psychology and culture. *Annu. Rev. Psychol.*, 55, 689-714.
- Lekes, N., Gingras, I., Philippe, F. L., Koestner, R., & Fang, J. (2010). Parental autonomy-support, intrinsic life goals, and well-being among adolescents in China and North America. *Journal of youth and adolescence*, 39, 858-869.
- Luby, J. L. (2020). The primacy of parenting. In (Vol. 61, pp. 399-400): Wiley Online Library.

- Mageau, G. A., Joussemet, M., Paquin, C., & Grenier, F. (2022). How-to-Parenting-Program: Change in Parenting and Child Mental Health over One Year. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 31(12), 3498-3513.
- Mageau, G. A., Ranger, F., Joussemet, M., Koestner, R., Moreau, E., & Forest, J. (2015). Validation of the perceived parental autonomy support scale (P-PASS). *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science/Revue canadienne des sciences du comportement*, 47(3), 251.
- Mageau, G. A., Vallerand, R. J., Charest, J., Salvy, S. J., Lacaille, N., Bouffard, T., & Koestner, R. (2009). On the development of harmonious and obsessive passion: The role of autonomy support, activity specialization, and identification with the activity. *Journal of personality*, 77(3), 601-646.
- Marbell-Pierre, K. N., Grolnick, W. S., Stewart, A. L., & Raftery-Helmer, J. N. (2019). Parental autonomy support in two cultures: The moderating effects of adolescents' self-construals. *Child development*, 90(3), 825-845.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (2003). Culture, self, and the reality of the social. *Psychological inquiry*, 14(3-4), 277-283.
- Markus, H. R., Kitayama, S., & Heiman, R. J. (1996). Culture and "basic" psychological principles.
- Masten, A. S., & Shaffer, A. (2006). How Families Matter in Child Development: Reflections from Research on Risk and Resilience. In *Families count: Effects on child and adolescent development*. (pp. 5-25). Cambridge University Press.
- <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511616259.002>

- Matos, A., Salvador, M., Costa, J., Pinheiro, R., Arnarson, E., & Craighead, W. (2017). The relationship between internalizing and externalizing problems in adolescence: does gender make a difference? *Canadian International Journal of Social Science and Education*(8), 45-63. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/151539139.pdf>
- McDevitt, T. M., Ormrod, J. E., Cupit, G., Chandler, M., & Aloa, V. (2010). *Child development and education*. Merrill Upper Saddle River, NJ.
- Meléndez, L. (2005). Parental beliefs and practices around early self-regulation: The impact of culture and immigration. *Infants & Young Children, 18*(2), 136-146.
- Miller, J. G. (1997). Cultural conceptions of duty. *Motivation and culture*, 178-192.
- Muthén, L. K., & Muthen, B. (2017). *Mplus user's guide: Statistical analysis with latent variables, user's guide*. Muthén & Muthén.
- Narusyte, J., Ropponen, A., Alexanderson, K., & Svedberg, P. (2017). Internalizing and externalizing problems in childhood and adolescence as predictors of work incapacity in young adulthood. *Social psychiatry and psychiatric epidemiology, 52*(9), 1159-1168. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00127-017-1409-6>
- Ng, J. Y., Ntoumanis, N., Thøgersen-Ntoumani, C., Deci, E. L., Ryan, R. M., Duda, J. L., & Williams, G. C. (2012). Self-determination theory applied to health contexts: A meta-analysis. *Perspectives on psychological science, 7*(4), 325-340.
- Nielsen, M., Haun, D., Kärtner, J., & Legare, C. H. (2017). The persistent sampling bias in developmental psychology: A call to action. *Journal of Experimental Child Psychology, 162*, 31-38. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jecp.2017.04.017>
- Oishi, S. (2000). Goal as Cornerstones of Subjective Well-Being: Linking Individuals and Cultures. *Culture and subjective well-being*.

- Ormel, J., Oldehinkel, A., Ferdinand, R., Hartman, C., De Winter, A., Veenstra, R., Vollebergh, W., Minderaa, R., Buitelaar, J., & Verhulst, F. (2005). Internalizing and externalizing problems in adolescence: general and dimension-specific effects of familial loadings and preadolescent temperament traits. *Psychological medicine*, 35(12), 1825-1835.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0033291705005829>
- Parker, G., Tupling, H., & Brown, L. B. (1979). A parental bonding instrument. *British journal of medical psychology*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8341.1979.tb02487.x>
- Pidano, A. E., & Allen, A. R. (2015). The Incredible Years series: A review of the independent research base. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 24(7), 1898-1916.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-014-9991-7>
- Podsakoff, N., MacKenzie, S. B., Lee, J.-Y., & Podsakoff, N. P. (2003). Common method biases in behavioral research: A critical review of the literature and recommended remedies. *Journal of applied psychology*, 88(5), 879-903. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.88.5.879>
- Preacher, K. J., Zhang, Z., & Zyphur, M. J. (2016). Multilevel structural equation models for assessing moderation within and across levels of analysis. *Psychological methods*, 21(2), 189.
- Ratelle, C. F., Duchesne, S., Guay, F., & Chateauvert, G. B. (2018). Comparing the contribution of overall structure and its specific dimensions for competence-related constructs: A bifactor model. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, 54, 89-98.
- Rogoff, B. (2003). *The cultural nature of human development*. Oxford university press.
- Rosenberg, M. (1989). Society and the adolescent self-image. Revised edition. In: Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.

- Rosenberg, M., Schooler, C., & Schoenbach, C. (1989). Self-esteem and adolescent problems: Modeling reciprocal effects. *American sociological review*, 1004-1018.
- Roth, G., Assor, A., Niemiec, C., Ryan, R., & Deci, E. (2009). The negative emotional and behavioral consequences of parental conditional regard: Comparing positive conditional regard, negative conditional regard, and autonomy support as parenting practices. *Developmental Psychology*, 45, 1119-1142.
- Rothbaum, F., & Trommsdorff, G. (2007). *Do Roots and Wings Complement or Oppose One Another?: The Socialization of Relatedness and Autonomy in Cultural Context*. The Guilford Press.
- Rudy, D., & Halgunseth, L. C. (2005). Psychological control, maternal emotion and cognition, and child outcomes in individualist and collectivist groups. *Journal of Emotional Abuse*, 5(4), 237-264.
- Ryan, R., Deci, E., Grolnick, W., & La Guardia, J. (2006a). The Significance of Autonomy and Autonomy Support in Psychological Development and Psychopathology, V in D. Cicchetti and D. Cohen (Eds.), *Developmental Psychopathology*, 1.
- Ryan, R., Deci, E., Grolnick, W., & La Guardia, J. (2006b). VThe Significance of Autonomy and Autonomy Support in Psychological Development and Psychopathology, V in D. Cicchetti and D. Cohen (Eds.), *Developmental Psychopathology*, 1.
- Ryan, R., O'Farrelly, C., & Ramchandani, P. (2017). Parenting and child mental health. *London journal of primary care*, 9(6), 86-94. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17571472.2017.1361630>
- Ryan, R. M. (1993). Agency and organization: intrinsic motivation, autonomy, and the self in psychological development.

- Ryan, R. M. (2005). The developmental line of autonomy in the etiology, dynamics, and treatment of borderline personality disorders. *Development and psychopathology*, 17(4), 987-1006.
- Ryan, R. M., & Connell, J. P. (1989). Perceived locus of causality and internalization: examining reasons for acting in two domains. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 57(5), 749.
- Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2017). *Self-determination theory: Basic psychological needs in motivation, development, and wellness*. Guilford Publications.
- Ryan, R. M., Deci, E. L., & Vansteenkiste, M. (2016). Autonomy and autonomy disturbances in self-development and psychopathology: Research on motivation, attachment, and clinical process. *Developmental psychopathology*, 1, 385-438.
- Ryan, R. M., & Lynch, J. H. (1989). Emotional autonomy versus detachment: Revisiting the vicissitudes of adolescence and young adulthood. *Child development*, 340-356.
- Sarrazin, P., Pelletier, L., Deci, E., & Ryan, R. (2011). Nourrir une motivation autonome et des conséquences positives dans différents milieux de vie: les apports de la théorie de l'autodétermination. *Traité de psychologie positive*, 273-312.
- Savard, A., Joussemet, M., Emond Pelletier, J., & Mageau, G. A. (2013). The benefits of autonomy support for adolescents with severe emotional and behavioral problems. *Motivation and Emotion*, 37(4), 688-700. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11031-013-9351-8>
- Schwartz, S. H. (1994). Are there universal aspects in the structure and contents of human values? *Journal of social issues*, 50(4), 19-45. [https://doi.org/0022-4537/94/1200-0019\\$03.00/1](https://doi.org/0022-4537/94/1200-0019$03.00/1)

- Schwartz, S. H. (1999). A theory of cultural values and some implications for work. *Applied psychology: an international review*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1464-0597.1999.tb00047.x>
- Schwartz, S. H. (2008). *The 7 Schwartz cultural value orientation scores for 80 countries*. <https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.1.3313.3040>
- Schwartz, S. H., & Bardi, A. (1997). Influences of adaptation to communist rule on value priorities in Eastern Europe. *Political psychology*, 18(2), 385-410.
- Scott, S., & Gardner, F. (2015). Parenting programs. *Rutter's child and adolescent psychiatry*, 483-495. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118381953.ch37>
- Sheldon, K. M., Abad, N., & Omoile, J. (2009). Testing self-determination theory via Nigerian and Indian adolescents. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 33(5), 451-459.
- Sheldon, K. M., & Elliot, A. J. (1999). Goal striving, need satisfaction, and longitudinal well-being: the self-concordance model. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 76(3), 482. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.76.3.482>
- Sheldon, K. M., Elliot, A. J., Kim, Y., & Kasser, T. (2001). What is satisfying about satisfying events? Testing 10 candidate psychological needs. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 80(2), 325.
- Sheldon, K. M., Elliot, A. J., Ryan, R. M., Chirkov, V., Kim, Y., Wu, C., Demir, M., & Sun, Z. (2004). Self-concordance and subjective well-being in four cultures. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 35(2), 209-223.
- Sheldon, K. M., & Niemiec, C. P. (2006). It's not just the amount that counts: balanced need satisfaction also affects well-being. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 91(2), 331.

- Shweder, R. A., LeVine, R. A., & Economiste, R. A. L. (1984). *Culture theory: Essays on mind, self and emotion*. Cambridge University Press.
- Soenens, B., & Vansteenkiste, M. (2010). A theoretical upgrade of the concept of parental psychological control: Proposing new insights on the basis of self-determination theory. *Developmental Review, 30*(1), 74-99.
- Soenens, B., Vansteenkiste, M., Lens, W., Luyckx, K., Goossens, L., Beyers, W., & Ryan, R. M. (2007). Conceptualizing parental autonomy support: adolescent perceptions of promotion of independence versus promotion of volitional functioning. *Developmental Psychology, 43*(3), 633.
- Soenens, B., Vansteenkiste, M., & Niemiec, C. P. (2009). Should parental prohibition of adolescents' peer relationships be prohibited? *Personal relationships, 16*(4), 507-530.
- Soenens, B., Vansteenkiste, M., & Van Petegem, S. (2015). Let us not throw out the baby with the bathwater: Applying the principle of universalism without uniformity to autonomy-supportive and controlling parenting. *Child development perspectives, 9*(1), 44-49.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/cdep.12103>
- Steinberg, L., Silk, J., & Bornstein, M. (2002). Handbook of parenting: Vol. 1. Children and parenting. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1*, 103-133.
- Stewart, S. M., & Bond, M. H. (2002). A critical look at parenting research from the mainstream: Problems uncovered while adapting Western research to non-Western cultures. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology, 20*(3), 379-392.
- Suárez-Orozco, C., & Suárez-Orozco, M. M. (2001). *Children of immigration*. Harvard University Press.

- Sumargi, A., Sofronoff, K., & Morawska, A. (2015). A randomized-controlled trial of the triple p-positive parenting program seminar series with Indonesian parents. *Child Psychiatry & Human Development*, 46(5), 749-761. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10578-014-0517-8>
- Tang, M., Wang, D., & Guerrien, A. (2020). A systematic review and meta-analysis on basic psychological need satisfaction, motivation, and well-being in later life: Contributions of self-determination theory. *PsyCh journal*, 9(1), 5-33.
- Triandis, H. C. (1993). Collectivism and individualism as cultural syndromes. *Cross-cultural research*, 27(3-4), 155-180.
- Triandis, H. C. (1995). New directions in social psychology: Individualism and collectivism. In: Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Triandis, H. C. (1996). The psychological measurement of cultural syndromes. *American psychologist*, 51(4), 407. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.51.4.407>
- Triandis, H. C. (2004). The many dimensions of culture. *Academy of Management Perspectives*, 18(1), 88-93.
- Triandis, H. C., & Gelfand, M. J. (1998). Converging measurement of horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 74(1), 118.
- Turner, K. M., Singhal, M., McIluff, C., Singh, S., & Sanders, M. R. (2020). Evidence-based parenting support across cultures: the Triple P—Positive Parenting Program experience. In *Cross-cultural family research and practice* (pp. 603-644). Elsevier. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-815493-9.00019-3>
- Vallieres, E. F., & Vallerand, R. J. (1990). Traduction et validation canadienne-française de l'échelle de l'estime de soi de Rosenberg. *International journal of psychology*, 25(2), 305-316. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00207599008247865>

- Van Petegem, S., Vansteenkiste, M., & Beyers, W. (2013). The jingle–jangle fallacy in adolescent autonomy in the family: In search of an underlying structure. *Journal of youth and adolescence, 42*(7), 994-1014.
- Vansteenkiste, M., & Ryan, R. M. (2013). On psychological growth and vulnerability: basic psychological need satisfaction and need frustration as a unifying principle. *Journal of psychotherapy integration, 23*(3), 263.
- Vasquez, A. C., Patall, E. A., Fong, C. J., Corrigan, A. S., & Pine, L. (2016). Parent autonomy support, academic achievement, and psychosocial functioning: A meta-analysis of research. *Educational Psychology Review, 28*(3), 605-644.
- Vitaro, F., & Gagnon, C. (2000). *Prévention des Problèmes d'Adaptation Chez les Enfants et les Adolescents-Tome 2: Les Problèmes Externalisés* (Vol. 2). PUQ.
- Watanabe, S. E., Phillips, D. A., Morrissey, T. W., McCartney, K., & Bub, K. (2011). Double jeopardy: Poorer social-emotional outcomes for children in the NICHD SECCYD experiencing home and child-care environments that confer risk. *Child development, 82*(1), 48-65.
- Watson, D., Clark, L. A., & Tellegen, A. (1988). Development and validation of brief measures of positive and negative affect: the PANAS scales. *Journal of personality and social psychology, 54*(6), 1063. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.54.6.1063>
- Weinstein, N., & Ryan, R. M. (2010). When helping helps: autonomous motivation for prosocial behavior and its influence on well-being for the helper and recipient. *Journal of personality and social psychology, 98*(2), 222.

- Whipple, N., Bernier, A., & Mageau, G. A. (2011). Broadening the study of infant security of attachment: Maternal autonomy-support in the context of infant exploration. *Social Development, 20*(1), 17-32.
- Winnicott, D., W. (1958). The capacity to be alone. *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis, 39*, 416-420.
- Wong, S., Bond, M. H., & Rodriguez Mosquera, P. M. (2008). The influence of cultural value orientations on self-reported emotional expression across cultures. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 39*(2), 224-229. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022107313866>
- Wu, P., Robinson, C. C., Yang, C., Hart, C. H., Olsen, S. F., Porter, C. L., Jin, S., Wo, J., & Wu, X. (2002). Similarities and differences in mothers' parenting of preschoolers in China and the United States. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 26*(6), 481-491.
- Yu, S., Levesque-Bristol, C., & Maeda, Y. (2018). General need for autonomy and subjective well-being: A meta-analysis of studies in the US and East Asia. *Journal of Happiness Studies, 19*(6), 1863-1882.
- Zimmer-Gembeck, M., Collins, W., & Adams, G. (2003). Blackwell handbook of adolescence.

Annexe A : Échelles utilisées dans les questionnaires de l'article 1

Pour l'étude des adolescents :

Perceived Parental Autonomy Support Scale (P-PASS; Mageau et al., 2015)

1. Mon parent me donne plusieurs opportunités de prendre mes propres décisions sur ce que je fais.
2. Lorsque mon parent me demande de faire quelque chose, il/elle m'explique pourquoi il/elle veut que je le fasse.
3. Mon parent accorde beaucoup d'importance à mon opinion lorsqu'il/elle prend des décisions importantes à mon sujet.
4. Mon parent m'encourage à être moi-même.
5. À l'intérieur de certaines limites, mon parent me laisse libre de choisir mes propres activités.
6. Lorsque je n'ai pas le droit de faire quelque chose, je sais habituellement pourquoi.
7. Mon parent est capable de se mettre à ma place et de comprendre mes sentiments.
8. Mon parent souhaite que je fasse des choix qui correspondent à mes intérêts et à mes préférences, peu importe quels sont les siens.
9. Mon parent est ouvert à mes pensées et à mes sentiments même lorsqu'ils sont différents des siens.
10. Mon parent s'assure que je comprends pourquoi il/elle m'interdit certaines choses.
11. Lorsque je demande pourquoi je dois faire ou ne pas faire quelque chose, mon parent me fournit de bonnes raisons.

12. Mon parent écoute mon opinion et mon point de vue lorsque je ne suis pas d'accord avec lui/elle.

Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS; Gaudreau et al., 2006)

De façon générale, je me sens...

1. Intéressé
2. Déterminé
3. Actif
4. Excité
5. Fort
6. Attentif
7. Enthousiaste
8. Alerté
9. Fier
10. Inspiré
11. Contrarié
12. Bouleversé
13. Coupable
14. Effrayé
15. Hostile
16. Irritable
17. Honteux
18. Nerveux

19. Agité
20. Apeuré

Satisfaction with Life Scale (Blais et al., 1989)

1. En général, ma vie correspond de près à mes idéaux.
2. Mes conditions de vie sont excellentes.
3. Je suis satisfait de ma vie.
4. Jusqu'à maintenant, j'ai obtenu les choses importantes que je voulais de la vie.
5. Si je pouvais recommencer ma vie, je n'y changerais presque rien.

Self-Regulation Questionnaire (Soenens et al., 2009)

Si j'étais l'adolescent de cette histoire et que la situation survenait à nouveau...

1. ... je suivrais la règle parce que sinon, j'aurais peur de perdre les privilèges que mon parent me donne.
2. ... je suivrais la règle de mon plein gré parce que je croirais qu'elle est importante.
3. ... je suivrais la règle parce que sinon, mes parents seraient déçus si je ne le faisais pas
4. ... je suivrais la règle parce que je suis en accord avec elle.
5. ... je suivrais la règle parce que je ressens de la pression de le faire.

Multidimensional Structure Scale (Ratelle et al., 2018)

1. Les règles et attentes de mon parent à mon égard sont claires.
2. Je sais ce que mon parent attend de moi à l'école.

3. Je sais quelles sont les règles et attentes de mon parent.
4. Mon parent croit en l'importance d'avoir beaucoup de règles et de s'y tenir.
5. Quand je ne donne pas le meilleur de moi-même, je sais comment mon parent va réagir.
6. Quand mon parent me dit qu'il/elle va faire quelque chose, je sais qu'il/elle le fera.
7. Quand je me mets en difficulté à l'école, je sais comment mon parent va réagir.
8. Je sais toujours quelle conséquence suivra mon mauvais comportement.
9. Mon parent me dit quand je ne respecte pas les règles familiales.
10. Mon parent me félicite lorsque je satisfais ses attentes.
11. Quand je ne suis pas les directives et règles familiales, mon parent prend le temps de me le faire savoir.
12. Mon parent me dit quand je fais quelque chose qui correspond aux règles et attentes qu'il/elle a envers moi.
13. Quand je veux faire quelque chose, mes parents me montrent comment faire.
14. Quand je veux comprendre comment quelque chose fonctionne, mes parents me l'expliquent.
15. Si j'ai un problème, mes parents m'aident à trouver quoi faire à ce sujet.
16. Mes parents me montrent comment faire les choses par moi-même.

Informations générales

1. Quel est ton sexe?
2. Quel est ton âge?
3. Quelle est l'origine ethnique de ton père?
4. Quelle est l'origine ethnique de ta mère?
5. Quel niveau d'éducation ton père a-t-il complété?
6. Quel niveau d'éducation ta mère a-t-elle complété?

Pour l'étude des parents d'enfants d'âge scolaire :

Parental Attitude Scale (Grolnick et al., 1997)

1. Je trouve qu'écouter ce que mon enfant a à dire m'aide à prendre une meilleure décision.
2. La chose la plus importante à enseigner aux enfants est l'obéissance absolue aux parents.
3. Je n'aime pas que mon enfant soit en désaccord avec moi en présence de mes amis.
4. Chaque enfant a besoin d'une fessée de temps en temps.
5. Mon enfant ne sait pas pourquoi il/elle est censé.e faire ce que je lui dis de faire.
6. Les enfants ne devraient pas questionner l'autorité des parents.
7. J'encourage mon enfant à donner son avis et son opinion même si nous pouvons être en désaccord.
8. La fessée n'est pas une manière efficace de discipliner son enfant.
9. Les enfants devraient toujours faire ce que leurs parents disent, peu importe la situation.
10. J'encourage mon enfant à prendre ses propres décisions.

Laxness Subscale of the Parenting Scale (Arnold et al., 1993)

1. Je suis le genre de parent qui...

Met des limites à ce que mon enfant a le droit de faire vs. Laisse mon enfant faire tout ce qu'il/elle veut.

2. Quand je veux que mon enfant arrête de faire quelque chose...

Je dis fermement à mon enfant d'arrêter vs. Je supplie ou implore mon enfant d'arrêter.

3. Quand nous ne sommes pas à la maison...

Je traite mon enfant de la même façon qu'à la maison vs. Je suis beaucoup moins strict/e avec mon enfant.

4. Quand mon enfant fait quelque chose que je n'aime pas...

Je m'en occupe à chaque fois que ça arrive vs. Je le laisse souvent faire.

5. Quand mon enfant ne fait pas ce que je lui demande...

Je le laisse souvent faire ou je finis par le faire moi-même vs. Je passe à l'action d'une autre façon.

6. Si dire « Non » ne fonctionne pas...

Je passe à l'action d'une autre façon vs. J'offre à mon enfant une chose qu'il/elle aime pour qu'il/elle se comporte bien.

7. Si mon enfant se comporte mal et ensuite a l'air désolé...

Je m'occupe du problème comme je le ferais normalement vs. Je laisse faire pour cette fois.

8. Quand je dis que mon enfant ne peut pas faire quelque chose...

Je laisse mon enfant le faire quand même vs. Je ne change pas d'idée.

9. Si mon enfant devient contrarié quand je dis « Non »

Je change d'idée et je le laisse faire vs. Je ne change pas d'idée.

CBCL 6-18 (Achenbach & Rescorla, 2001)

1. A un comportement trop jeune pour son âge.
2. Boit des boissons alcoolisées sans la permission de ses parents.
3. Est souvent en désaccord.
4. Ne finit pas ce qu'il ou elle commence.
5. Très peu de choses lui font plaisir.
6. Défèque ailleurs qu'à la toilette.
7. Se vante.
8. A de la difficulté à se concentrer ou à porter attention de façon soutenue.
9. Ne peut s'empêcher de penser à certaines choses, a des obsessions.
10. A de la difficulté à demeurer tranquillement assis/e, est agité/e, a un comportement hyperactif.
11. S'accroche trop aux adultes ou dépend trop des autres.
12. Se plaint de souffrir de solitude.
13. Est confus/e ou semble être perdu/e dans la brume.
14. Pleure beaucoup
15. Est cruel/le envers les animaux.
16. Se comporte cruellement ou méchamment envers les autres, brime ou harcèle les autres.
17. Rêvasse ou est souvent « dans la lune ».
18. Tente délibérément de se blesser ou de se tuer.
19. Exige beaucoup d'attention.
20. Détruit les choses qui lui appartiennent.
21. Détruit les choses qui appartiennent à la famille ou aux autres.

22. Désobéit à la maison.
23. Désobéit à l'école.
24. Ne mange pas bien.
25. Ne s'entend pas bien avec les autres jeunes.
26. Ne se sent pas coupable après s'être mal comporté.
27. Devient facilement en proie à la jalousie.
28. Ne respecte pas les règles établies, que ce soit à la maison, à l'école ou ailleurs.
29. A peur de certains animaux, de certaines situations, de certains endroits autres que l'école.
30. A peur d'aller à l'école.
31. A peur d'avoir des pensées ou des comportements répréhensibles.
32. A l'impression de devoir obligatoirement être parfait.
33. A l'impression que personne ne l'aime.
34. A l'impression ou se plaint que les autres « veulent sa peau ».
35. Se sent inférieur/e ou dévalorisé/e.
36. Se blesse souvent, a souvent des accidents.
37. Se bagarre souvent.
38. Se fait souvent embêter ou taquiner de façon excessive.
39. Se tient avec d'autres personnes qui « font des mauvais coups ».
40. Entend des sons ou des voix qui n'existent pas.
41. Agit sans réfléchir ou impulsivement.
42. Préfère être seul/e qu'être avec d'autres personnes.
43. Ment ou triche.

44. Se ronge les ongles.
45. Est une personne nerveuse ou tendue.
46. A des gestes nerveux ou convulsifs, des tics.
47. Fait des cauchemars.
48. Les autres jeunes ne l'aiment pas.
49. Est constipé/e, ne défèque pas.
50. Est une personne trop craintive ou anxieuse.
51. A des étourdissements.
52. Se sent trop coupable.
53. Mange trop.
54. Souffre d'épuisement sans raison valable.
55. Son poids est trop élevé.
56. A des problèmes de santé sans cause organique reconnus.
57. Agresse physiquement les gens.
58. Se met les doigts dans le nez, s'arrache des morceaux de peau ou se gratte sur d'autres parties du corps.
59. Joue avec ses parties génitales en public.
60. Joue trop avec ses parties génitales.
61. Son travail scolaire est de piètre qualité.
62. A des gestes peu coordonnés ou est maladroit/e.
63. Préfère être avec des jeunes plus âgés.
64. Préfère être avec des jeunes moins âgés.
65. Refuse de parler.

66. Répète certains gestes continuellement; a des compulsions.
67. Fait des fugues.
68. Crie beaucoup.
69. Est une personne cachottière ou renfermée.
70. Voit des choses qui n'existent pas.
71. Est facilement gêné/e ou embarrassé/e.
72. Allume des feux.
73. A des problèmes sexuels.
74. Essaie d'impressionner les gens ou faire le clown.
75. Est trop timide.
76. Dort moins que les autres jeunes.
77. Dort plus que les autres jeunes pendant la journée ou la nuit.
78. Est inattentif/ive ou facilement distrait/e.
79. Souffre d'un trouble de la parole.
80. A l'œil hagard (regarde fixement dans le vide).
81. Vole à la maison.
82. Vole à d'autres endroits qu'à la maison.
83. Accumule des objets dont il/elle n'a pas besoin.
84. A un comportement bizarre.
85. A des idées bizarres.
86. Est têtu/e, maussade ou irritable.
87. Change d'humeur soudainement.
88. Boude beaucoup.

89. Est méfiant/e.
90. Sacre ou dit des obscénités.
91. Parle de se suicider.
92. Parle durant le sommeil ou est somnambule.
93. Parle trop.
94. Embête les autres ou les taquine de façon excessive.
95. Fait des crises de colère.
96. Pense trop au sexe.
97. Fait des menaces aux gens.
98. Suce son pouce.
99. Fume ou chique du tabac.
100. Souffre d'insomnie.
101. Fait l'école buissonnière, manque ses cours.
102. Est une personne peu active, lente ou manquante d'énergie.
103. Est une personne malheureuse, triste ou déprimée.
104. Est particulièrement bruyant/e.
105. Consomme des drogues ou des médicaments pour raisons autres que médicales.
106. Fait du vandalisme.
107. A des incontinences urinaires pendant le jour.
108. A une voix plaintive.
109. Souhaite être du sexe opposé.
110. Est une personne repliée sur elle-même, ne se mêle pas aux autres.
111. Est une personne inquiète.

Informations générales

1. Quel est votre genre?
2. Quel est votre âge?
3. Quelle est votre origine ethnique?
4. Quel niveau d'éducation avez-vous complété?
5. Quel est le sexe de votre enfant?
6. Quel est l'âge de votre enfant?

Annexe B : Échelles utilisées dans les questionnaires de l'article 2

Échelles des questionnaires pour les parents :

Care Subscale of the Parental Bonding Instrument (Parker et al., 1979)

1. Je parle à mon enfant avec une voix chaleureuse et amicale.
2. J'aide mon enfant autant qu'il ou elle en a besoin.
3. Je suis chaleureux(se) avec mon enfant.
4. Je comprends les problèmes et les inquiétudes de mon enfant.
5. Je suis affectueux(se) envers mon enfant.
6. J'aime parler avec mon enfant.
7. Je souris souvent à mon enfant.
8. Je ne comprends pas ce que mon enfant veut ou ce dont il a besoin.
9. Je fais sentir à mon enfant qu'il ou elle n'est pas désiré(e).
10. Je ne parle pas beaucoup avec mon enfant.

Laxness Subscale of the Parenting Scale (Arnold et al., 1993)

Se référer à l'Annexe A.

Parental Attitude Scale (Gurland & Grolnick, 2005)

Se référer à l'Annexe A.

Internalizing and Externalizing Subscales of the CBCL (Achenbach & Rescorla, 2001)

Se référer à l'Annexe A.

Échelles des questionnaires pour les enfants de 8 ans et plus :

Care subscale of the Parental Bonding Instrument (Parker et al., 1979)

1. Ma mère me parle avec une voix douce et gentille.
2. Ma mère m'aide autant que j'ai besoin.

3. Ma mère est froide avec moi.
4. Ma mère semble comprendre mes problèmes et mes inquiétudes.
5. Ma mère est affectueuse avec moi.
6. Ma mère aime parler avec moi.
7. Ma mère me sourit souvent.
8. Ma mère ne semble pas comprendre ce que je veux ou ce dont j'ai besoin.
9. Ma mère me fait sentir que je ne suis pas désiré(e).
10. Ma mère peut me faire sentir mieux quand je suis triste ou fâché(e).
11. Ma mère ne parle pas beaucoup avec moi.

Perceived Parental Autonomy Support Scale (P-PASS; Mageau et al., 2015)

1. Si je n'ai pas envie de faire quelque chose, ma mère menace de me punir pour m'obliger à le faire.
2. Ma mère veut savoir mon opinion avant de prendre des décisions importantes à mon sujet.
3. Ma mère veut que j'essaie toujours d'être le ou la meilleur(e).
4. Lorsque ma mère veut que j'arrête de faire quelque chose, elle me fait sentir coupable.
5. Ma mère me donne souvent le droit de choisir ce que je préfère.
6. Ma mère me dit bien pourquoi je ne peux pas faire quelque chose.
7. Je dois toujours faire ce que ma mère veut, sinon elle menace de me punir.
8. Ma mère croit que pour réussir, il faut que je sois toujours le ou la meilleur(e) dans ce que je fais.
9. Ma mère me fait souvent sentir coupable.
10. Ma mère est capable de se mettre à ma place et de comprendre comment je me sens.

11. J'ai souvent le droit de choisir à quoi j'ai envie de jouer à la maison.
12. Dès que je ne fais pas ce que ma mère veut, je suis puni(e).
13. Je sens que je peux parler de tout ce que je vis avec ma mère.
14. Pour que ma mère soit fière de moi, je dois être le ou la meilleur(e).
15. Ma mère veut que je sache pourquoi je n'ai pas le droit de faire certaines choses.
16. Ma mère me fait sentir coupable pour m'obliger à faire ce qu'elle veut.
17. Lorsque je demande pourquoi je dois faire quelque chose, ma mère m'explique bien pourquoi.
18. Ma mère m'écoute quand je parle même lorsqu'elle n'est pas d'accord.

Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS; Savard et al., 2013)

1. Content-e
2. Heureux-se
3. De bonne humeur
4. Éveillé-e
5. Intéressé-e
6. Attentif-ve
7. Enthousiaste
8. Joyeux-se
9. En forme
10. Énergique
11. Impatien-e
12. Anxieux-se
13. Inquiet-ète

14. Nerveux-se

15. Frustré-e

16. Stressé-e

17. Fâché-e

18. Déçu-e

19. Déprimé-e

20. Triste

Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener et al., 1985)

1. En général, j'aime ma vie.
2. En général, je suis content-e de ma vie.
3. Je suis satisfait-e de ma vie.
4. Ça va très bien dans ma vie.

Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1989)

1. Je pense que j'ai plusieurs belles qualités.
2. Je suis capable de faire les choses aussi bien que la majorité des enfants de mon âge.
3. En général, je suis fier-e de moi.
4. En général, je suis satisfait-e de moi.
5. En général, je m'aime bien.