

Parenting beliefs across cultures within Germany: Socio-historical and
migration perspectives

Dissertation

zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades (Dr. rer. nat.)

des Fachbereichs Humanwissenschaften

der Universität Osnabrück

vorgelegt von

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Schwerin

Osnabrück, 2014

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Acknowledgments

This dissertation would not have been possible without the support of several people.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor Heidi Keller for her constant support and her trust in all my steps to finally get this thesis together. You provided me with a lot of degrees of freedom to find my way through this process and gave advice whenever I was in need for it.

Thanks to all my current and past colleagues, who accompanied me through the ups and downs of a researchers' life in general and a doctoral student specifically. Without the discussions, shared experiences, mensa walks, and your support as a working team, the last years would have been much different. Invaluable the times, I could simply walk into one of your offices and find someone willing to listen, give a helpful hint, or just provide me with a little bit of distraction from the daily duties.

I also have to thank the Robert Bosch Foundation for the possibility to join the Forschungskolleg Frühkindliche Bildung. The fellowship provided me with a lot of professional and personal experiences, I don't want to miss.

Grazie a tutti del lab a Verona. Non mi avete solo aiutato a procedere con gli articoli, ma anche (e soprattutto!) dal punto di vista personale, questi tre mesi erano indimenticabili. Grazie per la possibilità di stare da voi e per la vostra pazienza quando ho ripetutamente perso la lotta con la lingua Italiana (e non vorrei sapere quanti errori si trovano in queste frasi!).

Mein persönlicher Dank gilt meiner Familie und meinen Freunden, die für mich insbesondere während meiner Promotionszeit – aber natürlich auch darüber hinaus – eine große Stütze waren. Ich danke Euch dafür, dass ich auf Euch bauen konnte, auch wenn ich

mich oftmals nicht so häufig gekümmert oder wenigstens gemeldet habe, wie ich es als “gute” Tochter, Schwester, Tante und Freundin eigentlich für richtig halte.

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Abstract

This dissertation presents three studies that focus on cultural variation of parenting beliefs within Germany. Countries are often misleadingly taken as cultural units. However, the studies were based on a concept of culture that regards eco-social contexts (i.e., ecological conditions as well as individual characteristics) as the source of specific socio-cultural orientations. These socio-cultural orientations, the so-called cultural models, manifest in individuals' parenting beliefs and hence can be differentiated across cultural groups. As an important part of parenting beliefs, socialization goals are in the focus of this dissertation. Through socialization goals, parents and other caregivers specify how they want (their) children to be like, that is, the characteristics, qualities, and behaviors that explicitly and implicitly serve as desired developmental endpoints and guide parenting behavior.

The cultural variations that are considered in this dissertation concern cultural groups deriving from socio-historical change and migration. Both are regarded as changing individuals' eco-social context conditions and therefore contribute to the cultural plurality within Germany. More specifically, study 1 addressed similarities and differences in East and West German young adults' parenting beliefs. Socialization goal preferences of Turkish and Former Soviet Union (FSU) migrant as well as non-migrant mothers were contrasted with early childcare teachers' preferences in study 2. Furthermore, measurement equivalence of a socialization goal questionnaire was tested across non-migrant, Turkish, and FSU migrant mothers in study 3.

As the first study indicated, young adults with East and West German origin did not differ regarding socialization goal preferences but in their intended use of early childcare. Study 2 showed that migrant mothers' socialization goal preferences were less similar to their children's preschool teachers than non-migrant mothers'. Though, they were nonetheless as satisfied with the childcare arrangement as the non-migrant mothers. Finally, the two-factor structure of the socialization goal questionnaire was confirmed at

the level of metric invariance. However, both factors were differently related to each other across Turkish, FSU, and non-migrant mothers (study 3).

Taken together, the results yielded congruent and divergent parenting beliefs across the cultural groups that were included in the three studies. The cultural models that could be inferred from the studies overlapped regarding the importance of pro-social socialization goals, which were unanimously emphasized by mothers, adults, and teachers regardless of their respective cultural background. On the other hand, obedience-related socialization goals revealed culture-specific preferences in case of the migrant and non-migrant caregivers. Altogether, the studies confirmed the currently existing cultural variation of parenting beliefs in Germany due to socio-historical change and migration processes. They point out scientific and practical implications (i.e., regarding instrument development in study 3 and the parent-teacher relationship in study 2).

1 Introduction

This dissertation deals with cross-cultural differences and similarities of parenting beliefs of different groups of people living in Germany, in particular individuals from East and West German origin as well as with migration background. The conceptual basis for the development of the research questions is an ecological perspective on childhood. The central assumption of an ecological perspective is that developmental contexts for children result from economic, political, and social structures in which they are raised. These dynamic structures represent the interface between the individual and a broader societal level and constitute the child's learning environment (Whiting, 1963). The cultural embedding of parenting can be seen as an adaptation to contextual demands from an evolutionary perspective (Tooby & Cosmides, 1992). Parents and other caretakers are the main protagonists to translate these contexts with their socio-ecological demands into socializations strategies with parenting ethnotheories as central constituents. Ethnotheories are understood as cultural scripts (D'Andrade, 1981) that specify context-adaptive norms, values, beliefs, and behavioral conventions. That is, they comprise "[p]arents' understanding about the nature of children, the structure of development, and the meaning of behavior" as well as "the nature and meaning of parenthood, the family, and the self in society" (Harkness & Super, 1996, p. 2). They embody caretakers' ideas and convictions about appropriate childrearing goals and practices and convey culturally relevant information through daily interactions, routines and practices to the child (Demuth, Keller, & Yovsi, 2011). By acknowledging cultural variability in childrearing beliefs and parenting practices, variance can be expected not only across, but also within countries. In this vein, this dissertation addresses cultural variability of parenting beliefs in Germany, especially resulting from socio-historical and migration processes. Moreover, this dissertation includes perspectives beyond the cross-cultural approach: First, the perspectives of both genders on parenting beliefs are taken into account. Second, early

childcare teachers' parenting beliefs are included and thus this thesis goes beyond the range of family caretakers and adds professionals' point of view.

2 Theoretical background

In this paragraph, the conceptual basis underlying the studies presented here will be introduced. First, parenting beliefs and goals will be described, followed by the role of culture for the conception of parenting beliefs (section 2.2). The third section will delineate the ecocultural model of parenting (Keller, 2007), which represents the theoretical basis of the three studies. In section 2.4, two prototypical cultural models of parenting will illustrate how culture informs parenting strategies and child development according to the ecocultural model. Based on the description of both prototypes, cultural variation of parenting in Germany will be introduced along two dimensions: socio-historical change and migration (section 2.5). Finally, the last section (2.6) will summarize the general research aims of this thesis.

2.1 Parenting beliefs and goals

The concept of parenting beliefs was introduced by Sigel (1985) to meet the growing interest in cognitive aspects of childrearing. Parenting beliefs consist of attitudes, convictions, goals, and ideas that are related to the processes of childrearing. Due to the lack of clarity regarding the concept of “beliefs”, Hirsjärvi and Perälä-Littunen (2001) summarized literature-based qualities of parenting beliefs. They concluded that parenting beliefs are “derived from personal experience or from cultural or institutional sources of knowledge” (p. 88). Furthermore, they assumed that “there are various degrees of attachment to a belief.” (p. 89), that is, parenting beliefs are differentially prone to change. Both qualities accord with major descriptions of parenting beliefs (Goodnow & Collins, 1990; Harkness & Super, 1996; Sigel & McGillicuddy-De Lisi, 2002) and are of importance for the present thesis: the first quality refers to the (cultural) origin of parenting beliefs (see section 2.2); the second quality claims that parenting beliefs are susceptible to change

rather than being stable and rigid. The studies presented here utilize both qualities to examine similarities and differences of parenting beliefs in Germany.

Among the different cognitive structures of parenting beliefs, two main types of parenting goals can be differentiated: on the one hand, goals describe what parents want *for* their children. On the other hand, goals express what parents want *from* their children (Goodnow & Collins, 1990). The focus of this thesis lies on the first type, thus, goals that answer the general question what parents and other caregivers want their children to be like. In line with this focus, parenting goals comprise skills, traits, and characteristics that people consider desirable endpoints of children's development. This definition purposely leaves out goals that refer to basic physical and health issues, since goals of higher hierarchy levels (i.e., goals referring to child characteristics, behaviors, and abilities) can be considered as suitable to particularly reflect cultural influences. As such, parenting goals are at least partly explicitly accessible: as integral part of parenting beliefs, they inform parents' or other caregivers' parenting behaviors and thus influence child development (Murphey, 1992). Regardless of these general qualities, the importance of specific parenting beliefs and parenting goals alike has been shown to vary considerably across cultures. This will be addressed in the following section.

2.2 The cultural nature of parenting beliefs

Culture represents a multifaceted concept and has been described by a variety of definitions as Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) summarized in their seminal monograph on culture definitions. To our understanding, culture encompasses the shared system of meaning and practices of particular groups of people (Keller, 2007). Thus, the definition alludes to both, manifest (practices) and symbolic (meanings) aspects, and would be classified as belonging to the "internal and external" category of definitions according to Jahoda (2012). In terms of shared practices and meanings, culture is often taken for granted by its members, since it is inherent in and intertwined with everyday life (Demuth et al., 2011; Greenfield, 2004). As such, culture is similarly inherent in parenting and the

socialization of children. Through socialization, children acquire “attitudes, values, beliefs, habits, behavior patterns, and accumulated knowledge of one’s society, ...to conform with the demands of the society or group to which one belongs” (Colman, 2009). Culture thus provides the framework in which and according to which parents and other caregivers raise children.

Firstly stimulated by anthropological approaches to socialization (LeVine, 1977; Whiting & Whiting, 1975), attention has been paid to the cultural dimension of parenting and resulting child development. To take greater account for the role of culture in parenting beliefs, the concept of *parental ethnotheories* was established (Harkness & Super, 1996). This term refers to the anthropologically based ethnosciences and acknowledges that cultural groups hold culture-specific knowledge in diverse areas (Berry, Poortinga, Breugelmans, Chasiotis, & Sam, 2011).

Few comprehensive theoretical models have systematically described the connection of culture-specific parenting beliefs, parenting behaviors, and child development. Super and Harkness (1986) proposed the *developmental niche* to denote the culture-specificity of child development. In the developmental niche, three subcomponents – “the physical and social setting of everyday life, the customs of child care, and the psychology of caretakers” (p. 546) – provide the framework through which the child experiences its’ surrounding culture. The physical and social setting determines the structural conditions; customs of child care comprise all practices that are unquestioned and taken for granted in a cultural group (e.g., sleeping arrangements, preschool attendance, etc.). Finally, the psychology of the caretaker refers to parental cognitions about the “nature and needs of children, parental and community goals for rearing, and caretaker beliefs about effective rearing techniques” (Super & Harkness, 1986, p. 556). So far, the developmental niche fueled a lot of research to document the culture-specificity of parenting regarding many different realms of childrearing (e.g., sleeping arrangements (Wolf, Lozoff, Latz, & Paludetto, 1996), daily routines (Harkness et al., 2011; Raghavan, Harkness, & Super, 2010), or health issues

(Moscardino, Nwobu, & Axia, 2006)). However, the conception of the developmental niche does not substantiate how cultural groups are defined and can be empirically distinguished. This is realized in the ecocultural model of parenting (Keller, 2007), which provides the theoretical basis of the present thesis and is described in the following section.

2.3 The ecocultural model of parenting

As can be seen in Figure 1, the ecocultural model of parenting (Keller, 2007) specifies the eco-social context as the starting point to explain culture-specific developmental pathways. The eco-social context comprises both, features of the ecological surrounding (e.g., climate conditions, economic system, or geography) and socio-economic characteristics (e.g., the parents' level of formal education, family structure, size and composition). It furthermore entails a corresponding structure at the psychological level. This psychological equivalent is called cultural model and can be described "as a specific and adaptive mindset that aligns universal human needs...to the structure of the broader social context" (Keller & Kärtner, 2013, p. 73).

Cultural models serve as the principal organizer of embedded socialization processes. At the first level, they explicitly and implicitly inform parental goals and thereby direct what parents and other caregivers consider of prime importance in childrearing. Second, these parenting goals are translated into parental ethnotheories. As mentioned before (see section 1), ethnotheories embody caregivers' ideas about the ways to achieve the desired goals. Both, goals and ethnotheories are thus representational structures that are further instantiated in parenting behaviors. Altogether, goals, ethnotheories, and behaviors constitute parenting strategies (not indicated in the figure), which are all shaped by the prevailing cultural model. Lastly, parenting strategies interact with child development and lead to culture-specific developmental pathways of children (Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, & Maynard, 2003).

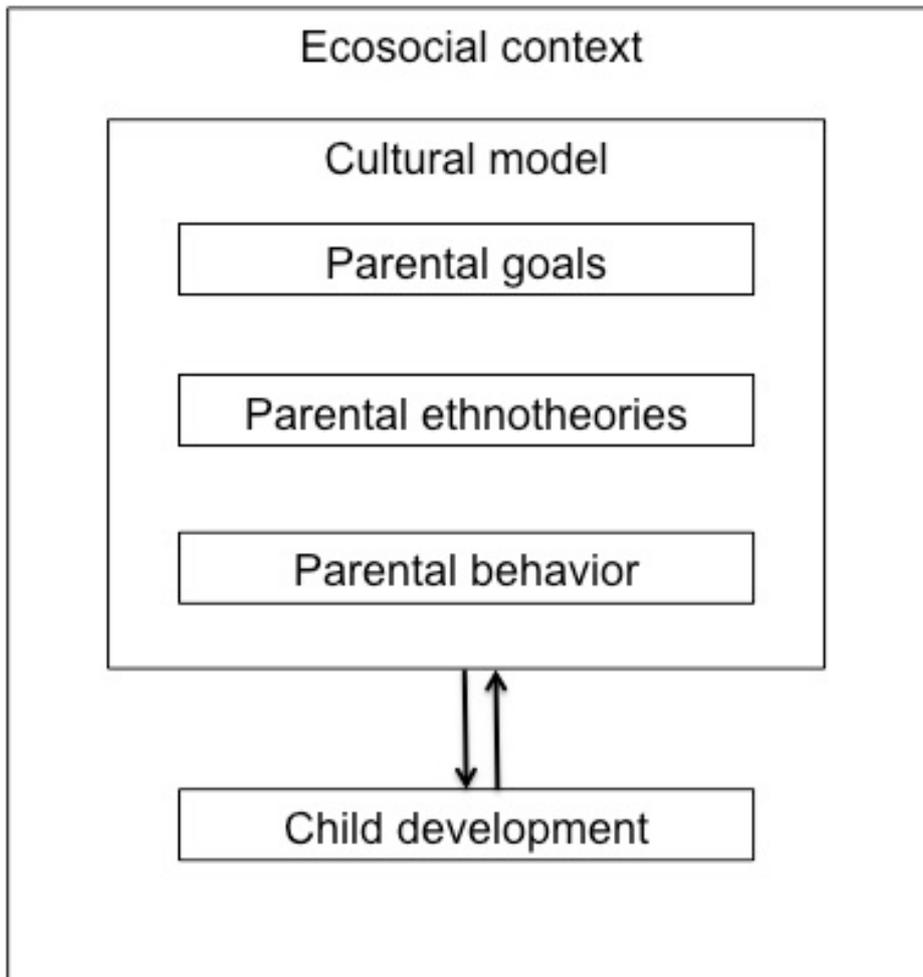


Figure 1 Ecocultural model of parenting (Keller, 2007)

Based on this general structure of the ecocultural model of parenting, it is crucial to specify cultural models in detail. For this purpose, I briefly present previous conceptions that originate in various domains of psychological research and have been used to differentiate cultural models or groups. Afterwards, I introduce the conception used by the ecocultural model of parenting along two prototypical cultural models. In line with the focus on parenting beliefs in the present thesis, the description of these cultural prototypes will correspondingly concentrate on the representational level of parenting strategies and only briefly highlight culture-specific developmental pathways of children.

2.4 Cultural models of parenting

Several conceptualizations have been proposed to describe dimensions along which cultures and cultural models differ. As one of the first, Hofstede (1986) used the individualism – collectivism continuum, which he derived from research in work and organizational psychology to capture cross-cultural differences of employees across the world. The differentiation of individualism and collectivism, however, appeared to be rather simplistic and provoked criticism in many respects (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). Due to the one-dimensionality of the continuum, people were either oriented towards individualism or towards collectivism. In the individualism – collectivism conceptualization, higher orientation towards one endpoint automatically reduces orientation towards the other. As a consequence, two-dimensional conceptualizations were suggested to overcome this shortcoming.

Markus and Kitayama (1991) described culture-specific construals of the self, of others, and their relation to each other. They distinguished between the orientation towards independence and the orientation towards interdependence. Independence orientation refers to the self as a separate entity and emphasizes the individual uniqueness. Interdependence orientation refers to the connectedness of the individual to others. In the first case, the self is clearly separated from others, whereas in the second case, they are not and the individual perceives him- or herself as embedded in larger social groups.

In the context of developmental and family psychology, Kağıtçıbaşı (2005) referred to the basic human needs of autonomy and relatedness (Ryan & Deci, 2000). According to her, autonomy represents the endpoint of an agency dimension (opposing heteronomy), whereas relatedness (as opposing separateness) is part of the interpersonal distance dimension. Empirical studies supported the main claim of her model that (high) orientations towards autonomy as well as to relatedness are compatible (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996, 2005).

In its primal form, the ecocultural model of parenting similarly refers to autonomy and relatedness (Keller, 2007). Similar to Markus and Kitayama's (1991) concept of independence and Kağıtçıbaşı's (2005) concept of autonomous agency, autonomy refers to one's need for self-determined agency, that is, the individual's desire for a self-directed life, making own decisions, and being independent of others. Autonomy thus requires a certain degree of self-related awareness of individual desires, wishes, and feelings. Relationships to others are self-selected and negotiable, even allowing for breaking up familiar bonds. In contrast, the dimension of relatedness refers to the need for belonging to others, that is, the desire of connectedness with the social group. Relatedness thus prioritizes group-related desires and wishes. It entails awareness of and compliance to social hierarchies that provide a network of responsibilities and obligations as well as a continuous social frame of reference.

More recently, however, modifications further specified the conception of autonomy and relatedness (Keller, 2012; Keller & Otto, 2011). Both dimensions are considered as "equally important in all cultures, yet may manifest differently depending on the cultural context in which humans grow and live" (Keller & Kärtner, 2013, p. 75). In correspondence to the eco-social context, two prototypes illustrate these manifestations (Keller & Kärtner, 2013). Within the first prototypical cultural context, parents received a high level of formal education, are living as nuclear families with a small number of children in Western, postmodern, and urban contexts. They endorse a cultural model emphasizing *individual psychological autonomy* (Keller, 2012). According to this orientation, parenting serves the development of an independent, self-aware, and self-reflective child. Parents support the child's developing self by promoting related cognitive skills (i.e., logical reasoning, self-reflective thinking, and mental exploration). Regarding the relatedness dimension, families of the first prototype accentuate *psychological relatedness*. That is, the individual is involved in self-selected relationships with others according to his own preferences, such that relatedness to others serves the previously mentioned psychological autonomy.

Therefore, this prototype is referred to as the *psychological-autonomous* model. In general, the parental role in the psychological-autonomous model is to assist the child to find its own way through development. In terms of parenting goals, caregivers favor qualities in support of the intended self-directed way of living: being aware of its own individuality, being self-confident, asserting oneself, and expressing own desires, emotions, and wishes. At the level of parenting behaviors, these goals manifest in a preference for exclusive dyadic interactions during infancy, which are characterized by a distal interactional style (i.e., high rates of face-to-face contact and object stimulation (Keller, 2007)). Verbal stimulation of the child is important and follows a pattern of proto-conversations at infant age (Demuth, 2013) and an elaborate conversational style, when children are older. This is realized by open-ended questions, elaboration of the child's conversational contribution, and child-centered content (Schröder et al., 2013; Tõugu, Tulviste, Schröder, Keller, & de Geer, 2012). Concerning the resulting developmental pathways of children, parenting behaviors in the psychological-autonomous model stimulate early self-recognition (Kärtner, Keller, Chaudhary, & Yovsi, 2012), increase the amount of child's contribution in reminiscing and the focus on personal, internal states (Schröder et al., 2013). Furthermore, children's drawings of the self and the family have been shown to reflect the influence of the psychological-autonomous orientation (Gernhardt, Rübeling, & Keller, 2013).

In contrast, parents with low levels of formal education, who are living in subsistence-based, rural communities, characterize the other prototypical context. Cohabitation of extended families is common as well as bigger family sizes due to a higher number of children in each family. Caregivers endorse a cultural model that emphasizes *hierarchical relatedness* (Keller & Kärtner, 2013). This orientation implies the primacy of the social/family network, that is, the mandatory interconnectedness of family or social group members and a considerably lower importance of the single individual. Furthermore, *action autonomy* is emphasized in this context. Action autonomy enables the child to contribute to the maintenance of the social group from early on, for example, by carrying

out simple errands in the household or sibling caretaking (Keller & Otto, 2011). This prototype is called the *hierarchical-relational* model. According to this cultural model, parenting leads children to be a supportive family/social group member, to respect and behave according to the inherent hierarchies and social responsibilities. In terms of parenting goals, caregivers prefer child qualities in service of the group: respecting as well as obeying parents and elderly people, helping others, and maintaining the social harmony. At the behavioral level, caregiver-child interactions follow a proximal style with high rates of body contact and body stimulation (Keller, 2007). The proximal parenting style serves to accomplish responsive control, a way “to monitor, instruct, train, and direct the infants’ activities” (Keller & Kärtner, 2013, p. 85). Furthermore, body stimulation is oftentimes accompanied by rhythmic vocalizations of the caregiver. This type of verbal stimulation conveys a sense of interconnectedness of caregiver and child and takes shape of proto-songs (Demuth, 2013). At preschool age, a repetitive conversational style dominates: repetitions, directives, and a social focus at the content level characterize child-directed speech (Schröder et al., 2013). Regarding child development, differential early motor skills result from their early experiences and parenting practices with the focus on the promotion of action autonomy (Lohaus et al., 2011). The onset of mirror self-recognition as a measure for the developing sense of self is later as compared to children growing up in the psychological-autonomous cultural model (Kärtner et al., 2012). Likewise, the lower importance of the individual self is reflected in smaller figure sizes in children’s self-drawings (Gernhardt et al., 2013). Additionally, family drawings display more members, who are in closer proximity to each other, thus reflecting the prevailing hierarchical relatedness model (Gernhardt et al., 2013; Gernhardt, Rübeling, & Keller, in press).

As said previously, both cultural models represent prototypes to illustrate how the ecosocial context is translated into parenting goals, ethnotheories, behaviors (i.e., the complex of parenting strategies), and finally into child development. However, beyond

these prototypical examples, many more cultural models are theoretically cogitable and have partly been substantiated empirically (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996). The following section reflects upon the variability of cultural models and related parenting beliefs. It illuminates how cultural models diversify within the national borders of Germany.

2.5 Cultural variation of parenting beliefs

Research based on the ecocultural model of parenting successfully demonstrated differences of parenting goals and beliefs between cultural groups living in distinct parts of the world. As such, contrasting prototypical cultural models helps to reveal the possible range of culture-specific parenting and child development. Due to different cultural models, however, cultural variation can be similarly present in less extended areas. Single countries host a variety of cultural groups with their own cultural models. The case of Germany allows for looking at this cultural variety of parenting beliefs along different perspectives. The three studies in this thesis differentiate cultural groups that result from two mechanisms: socio-historical development and migration processes.

As parenting beliefs are adaptive to the respective ecocultural conditions, it can be expected that they change along with variability in these conditions. Though oftentimes treated as stable entities, parenting beliefs and concepts of childhood are dynamic and subject to change over time (Koops, 2011). Under a historical perspective, Abramovitz (1976) delineated how ideas of children were bound to US-American history throughout the last centuries. Similarly, Hwang, Lamb, and Sigel (1996) traced back historical images of childhood. From a psychological point of view, Greenfield (2009) described how social change is translated through changes in cultural values and children's learning environment into the level of child development. Her theory of social change thus parallels the structures of the ecocultural model of parenting and therefore provides a

¹ For empirical examples of Kağıtçıbaşı's conception of the autonomy-relatedness model see Schröder et al. (2013), Tōugu et al. (2012), and Schröder et al. (2011) concerning mother-child reminiscing, as well as Gernhardt et al. (2013) and Gernhardt et al. (in press) for children's drawings.

fruitful base to explain multiplicity of cultural models. She mentions “two major contexts of sociocultural change: one in which families stay put while the sociocultural environment changes and one in which families immigrate to a different sociocultural environment.” (Greenfield, 2009, p. 401). She hence refers exactly to the same mechanisms that were previously mentioned: socio-historical change and migration. In the following section, resulting cultural models will be specified, starting with a description of socio-historical change. Moreover, existing research regarding cultural value orientations and related parenting beliefs and practices in these models will be addressed.

Socio-historical change

In Greenfield’s (2009) view, increasing formal education is a main stimulus for changes in cultural models (see also Rogoff, 2003; LeVine, Miller, Richman, & LeVine, 1996) and promotes a certain type of parenting behavior with specific interaction patterns (Chavajay & Rogoff, 2002; Keller, 2007). Under a macrolevel perspective, historical change in modern, industrialized societies is characterized by increasing individualization (i.e., psychological autonomy in terms of our cultural orientation nomenclature). According to this type of socio-historical change, Keller and Lamm (2005) studied the development of parenting behavior through time. They contrasted parenting behaviors from West Germany in 1977 with comparable data from parents in 2000, thus spanning a period of more than twenty years. They found an increase of parenting behaviors that promote individual autonomy of the child according to the sociological trajectory of development towards more individualization in the mid-1980s. However, the study illuminated solely socio-historical change in the Western part of Germany. Due to the existence of two separate states till 1990, socio-historical change in Germany is twofold. First, under the control and protection of the two opposing systems of Western capitalism and Soviet communism, the German separation after World War II had led to the establishment of two states with different political, ideologically informed values. Secondly, Germany as a whole underwent “a large scale natural experiment” (Noack, Hofer, Kracke, & Klein-

Allermann, 1995, p. 129) through German reunification, which can be considered an accelerated form of socio-historical change especially for the Eastern part (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004).

The different political ideologies of both states manifested in conceptions of family life, parenting, and childcare (Ahnert & Lamb, 2001; Weinberg & Töpfer, 2006). Over several decades, East Germany promoted “conformity, the performance of one’s duties, the observance of rules and norms, and the assumption of responsibility for others” as educational goals (Uhlendorff, 2000, p. 209). In terms of cultural orientations, the East German model is prone to reflect more the cultural model of hierarchical relatedness, whereas parenting in West Germany was increasingly oriented towards psychological autonomy (Keller & Lamm, 2005). Through reunification, the East German population experienced a massive and abrupt change of living conditions as well as of the officially promoted ideals of childrearing. In the decade immediately after reunification, a variety of psychological research programs focused on the analysis of East-West differences with respect to attitudes and values in both parts of the country (i.e., the research program “Childhood and adolescence in East and West Germany before and after unification” funded by the German Research Council).

Differences between East and West Germany were easily detectable regarding the customs of institutional childcare (Pritchard, 2000) or at the level of official parenting and educational documents (Weinberg & Töpfer, 2006). Accordingly, diverging value orientations and parenting beliefs were reported (Doerfel-Baasen & Rauh, 2001; Meulemann, 2007; Sturzbecher & Kalb, 1993). In contrast, some studies argue for a basic similarity of East and West German samples with respect to parenting beliefs and values (Ahnert, Krätzig, Meischner, & Schmidt, 1994; Pollmer & Hurrelmann, 1992; Reitzle & Silbereisen, 1996). The apparent contradictions regarding East-West comparisons might reflect the heterogeneity of the East and West German population. Furthermore, parenting beliefs that prevailed previously in East Germany might have been perceived differentially

adaptive to the new living conditions. Accordingly, the change of parenting beliefs and practices did not similarly pertain to all families, as reunification was experienced very differently (Uhlendorff, 2000). Recently, however, psychological research studying East-West similarities and differences declined, especially with a cross-cultural lens. Consequently, little is known about the current state of culturally informed parenting similarities and differences in East and West Germany. The present thesis therefore aims at minimizing this gap in our knowledge.

The migration processes

As a second dimension for cultural variation within Germany, migration was introduced. Through migration, people with a specific cultural model, which is adaptive to their original ecocultural context, move to a new environment with unfamiliar ecocultural conditions. As a result, the new context may host a plurality of cultural groups and the change of contextual circumstances necessitates dealing with these new conditions; a process that is usually referred to as acculturation (Padilla & Perez, 2003). In Germany, migrants from the Former Soviet Union (FSU) and from Turkey constitute the two main migrant groups and account for approximately more than one third of the population with migration background (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012). Migration from Turkey was mainly fueled by the call for work force in West Germany during the economic boom years of the 1960s. Supported by bi-national agreements, the German industry mainly recruited working migrants for un- and semi-skilled jobs (Karakasoğlu, 2010). Contrary to the primary political intentions, many working migrants stayed in Germany, founded families (through family unification and marriage migration), and raised children.

In contrast to migration from Turkey, migration from the FSU was differently motivated. Many migrants moved to Germany due to their ethnic German origin. The so-called 'repatriate' migration constituted the major basis for immigration from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Especially after the breakdown of the Iron Curtain in

1989/90, the number of migrants increased considerably (Dietz, 2010). The repatriate status provided them with beneficial conditions upon their arrival, such as facilitated citizenship or language classes (Dietz, 2000). Compared to migrants from Turkey, their history of migration is thus very different. However, both groups form substantial communities and tend to sustain their cultural model of origin at least to some degrees (Dietz, 2000; Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2009).

Regarding parenting beliefs and practices, Turkish migrant mothers were found to put stronger emphasis on children's close relatedness to the family (Durgel, Leyendecker, Yagmurlu, & Harwood, 2009), to accentuate less self-confidence and self-control of the child (Citlak, Leyendecker, Schölmerich, Driessen, & Harwood, 2008), and to stress the importance of obedience and respect (Durgel et al., 2009; Kabakçı-Kara, 2009; Nauck, 1989) in comparison to German mothers. These previous studies thus revealed aspects of parenting beliefs that can be subsumed as constituents of the cultural model of hierarchical relatedness and correspond to traditional family models in Turkey (Ataca, 2006; Kağıtçıbaşı & Sunar, 1992). Even though the importance of independence and autonomy orientations notably increased in Turkey, these changes did not happen at the expense of obedience and respect (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007). There is also remarkable variation of (cultural) value orientations in Turkey (El-Menouar & Fritz, 2009), but Turkish working migrants predominantly originate in rural areas (Uslucan, 2011) that endorse traditional family models as described by Ataca (2006) and Kağıtçıbaşı and Sunar (1992). Regarding parenting beliefs and practices of FSU migrants, less research is available. Though, mothers at least partly appear to share parenting ideas with Turkish migrant mothers (Herwartz-Emden & Westphal, 2000). Furthermore, they endorse collectivist value orientations, that is, pro-social behavior, conformity, and security based on social group cohesion (Lantermann & Hänze, 1999; Silbereisen & Schmitt-Rodermund, 1994). From the FSU as their context of origin, it is difficult to outline a comprehensive picture of family and parenting under a cultural perspective. As in the case of Turkey, heterogeneity has to

be acknowledged and empirical data is scarce (Nelson, Hart, Keister, & Piassetskaia, 2010). However, the communist past imposed distinctive childrearing goals that reflected socialist ideology. Adult orientation (Lassbo & Hakvoort, 1999), loyalty, obedience, and group-mindedness (Ispa, 1995), as well as respect towards parents (Goodwin & Emelyanova, 1995) can be considered main aspects of parenting beliefs. Given this background of existing knowledge, the present thesis puts forward research upon the two major immigrant groups in Germany in relation to professional caretakers in early childcare as well as with a methodological focus.

Professional caretakers in early childcare

Similar to parents and families at home, teachers in early childcare provide the learning environment for children's everyday experiences in the out-of-home context. Institutional childcare in Germany (as in many other Western, industrialized states) is directed to a cultural model of individual psychological autonomy (Rosenthal, 1999; Stamm & Edelmann, 2013). Governmental standards and recommendations at the national and federal state level (e.g., Kultusministerkonferenz KMK, 2004; Niedersächsisches Kultusministerium, 2011) emphasize the promotion of children's independence and self-determined individuality (Borke & Keller, 2013).

More than two thirds of the pedagogical employees in childcare institutions hold the educational degree of preschool teacher (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2013) and thus underwent between three and four years of professional training. As the first professional skill of early childcare professionals' training, the qualification profile formulates: "Graduates are able to perceive and evaluate children as individual personalities, to support them as individual subjects of teachers' pedagogical work, and to promote children's pursuit of competence enhancement." (Autorengruppe Berufsfachschule, 2013, p. 17; translation by author). This clearly illustrates the premise of individual psychological autonomy in early childcare teachers' professional training. At the individual level, only few studies investigated the cultural dimension of early childcare

professionals' childrearing beliefs. It has been shown that German childcare teachers prefer autonomy-oriented socialization goals as well as related child-centered pedagogical strategies (Gernhardt, Lamm, Keller, & Döge, 2014). Similarly, Huijbregts, Tavecchio, Leseman, and Hoffenaar (2009) found that native Dutch childcare teachers emphasize collectivistic child-rearing goals less than colleagues with a migration background, whereas there were no differences between the teacher groups as regards individualistic goals. In line with research focusing on the institutional level, these published studies thus supported the dominance of individual psychological psychology as the main cultural orientation at the level of individual childcare professionals.

A focus on methodology

At the methodological level, the development of culturally equivalent measurement methods represents an important issue in cross-cultural research. In contrast to monocultural studies, cross-cultural research is particularly confronted with several potential biases (van de Vijver & Leung, 2011). They pertain to different methodological levels, that is, the construct, the method, or the item level. A construct bias refers to differences due to a lack of identical construct-relevant behaviors. That means that the construct is broader for one cultural group than for another group. Method biases might derive from the study sample, the administration conditions, or instrument properties that foster cross-cultural differences unintentionally. As a third type of bias, item bias is present when study participants with the same position regarding the construct in question do not respond in the same way to an item. The variety of potential sources of biases demonstrates that biases can occur at different phases during the research process (e.g., instrument construction, sample selection, or instrument application).

As it comes to the assessment of differences across (cultural) groups, biases might impede the comparability of measurements and provoke inequivalence. Analogous to the different types of biases, van de Vijver (2011) differentiated four types of equivalence: construct, structural/functional, metric, and scalar equivalence. They are hierarchically

nested, that is, higher order equivalence requires equivalence of the preceding equivalence level(s). At the basic level, construct equivalence guarantees that the constructs included in the measurement are equivalently shared between the groups. As such, this type of equivalence demands careful preparation of measurement instruments as culture-specific phenomena may impede construct equivalence. At the next higher level, structural equivalence refers to an instrument's capacity to measure the same construct in all groups, which are included in the (cross-cultural) comparison. That is, the same factor structure occurs across groups. At the following level, metric equivalence assures that the same measurement units are present in each cultural group. Finally, scalar equivalence represents the highest level of invariance across cultural groups and allows for comparison of latent mean scores. Through scalar equivalence, identical interval scales of the instrument are established.

Given the different types of biases and related types of inequivalences, there are manifold methods and procedures to avoid potential biases and to reduce inequivalence (van de Vijver & Leung, 2011). In instrument development, ensuring measurement equivalence is a major issue and several methods are suitable to test the internal structure of a questionnaire statistically (Fischer & Fontaine, 2011). Such a procedure helps to validate the use of an instrument in groups beyond the primary ones. Among these statistical procedures, confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) is theory-driven. It allows for testing of underlying constructs, such as socio-cultural orientations as in our case. In a stepwise procedure, increasingly strict levels of equivalence can be tested across multiple cultural groups. CFA compares a theoretically based construct structure with the empirically observed one. Due to both features, the theoretical foundation and the simultaneous testing of different equivalence levels in multigroup cases, CFA represents an appealing way of dealing with biases and inequivalence and to strengthen the explanatory power of cross-cultural research.

2.6 Summary of research aims

The main focus of the three papers summarized in the next paragraph is to contribute to our knowledge upon current similarities and differences of parenting beliefs of different cultural groups in Germany. The cultural groups are differentiated along two dimensions that are considered important: socio-historical change and migration. Both mechanisms promote changes in sociocultural parameters that in turn result in changes of parenting strategies in order to adapt children's learning environments to the new contextual conditions (Greenfield, 2009). The present thesis, however, does not intend to trace the dynamics of these change processes. Rather, the studies take a snapshot at the current state of parenting beliefs in individuals, who are assumed to belong to different cultural groups due to both social change dimensions. Furthermore, the plurality of cultural groups does not imply any evaluative judgment of better or worse adaptive cultural models or parenting. In fact, documenting similarities and differences of parenting beliefs in cultural groups helps to substantiate the variability of cultural models and groups within a society. On this basis, useful indications regarding culturally sensitive parenting can be developed for childcare or counseling services.

The first study examines cultural variability of parenting beliefs from a socio-historical perspective. We examined child-rearing goals and ideas on early institutional childcare of young adults, differentiating between East and West German origin. Furthermore, the first study includes both, male and female participants, thus, expanding the spectrum of (potential) caretakers to mothers and fathers. The second study then focuses on cultural variability of parenting beliefs under the perspective of migration. Evaluations of socialization goals from non-migrant, Turkish migrant, and Former Soviet Union migrant mothers are contrasted with professional childcare teachers' views. Thus, a professionals' perspective on parenting beliefs is added. Finally, the third study addresses the methodological issue of instrument development and presents a socialization goal questionnaire that was tested for measurement invariance between a non-migrant and two

migrant groups. Figure 2 summarizes the three studies in terms of included cultural groups and measures.

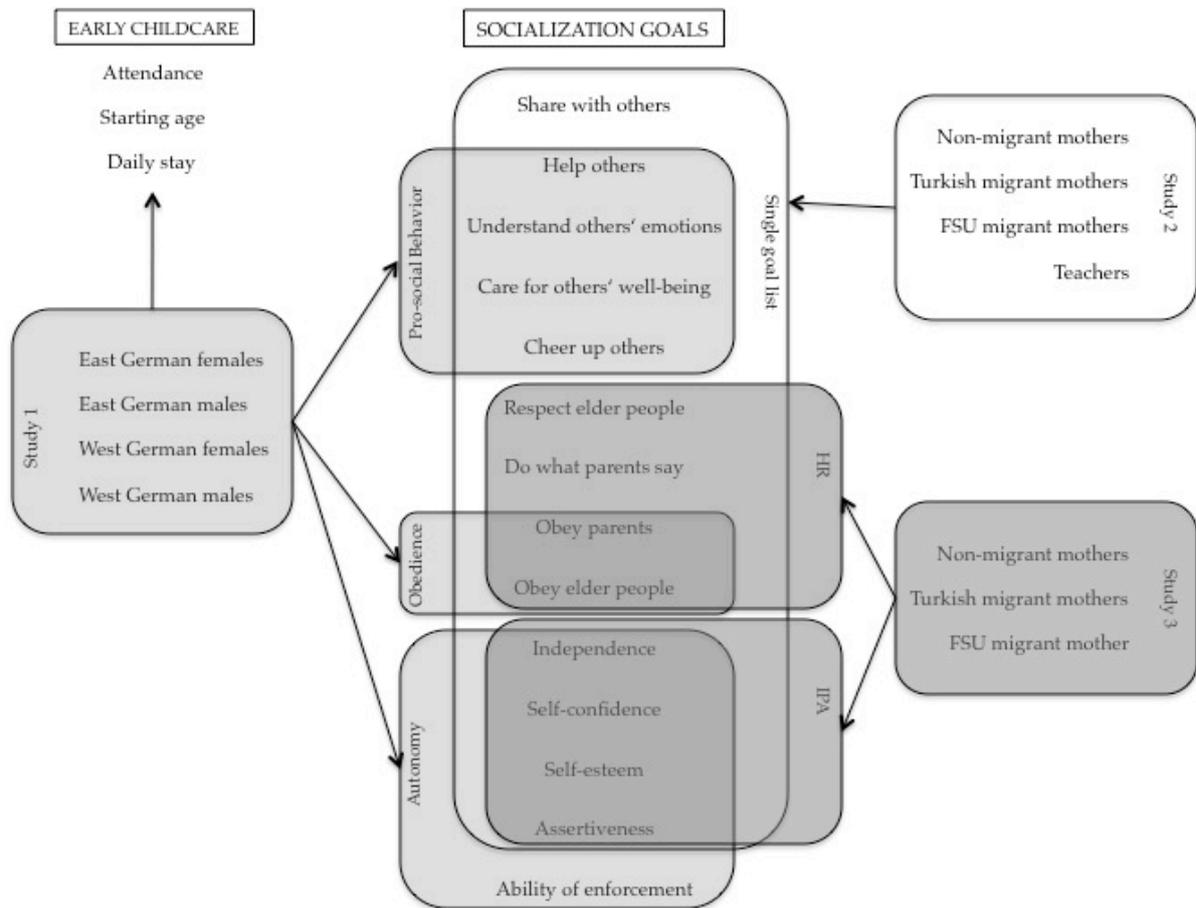


Figure 2 Overview of studies with relevant measures and cultural groups in comparison

3 Empirical Studies

3.1 Study 1

Döge, P. & Keller, H. (2014). Child-rearing goals and conceptions of early childcare from young adults' perspective in East and West Germany. *Journal of Adolescence and Youth*, 19(1), 37-49. doi: 10.1080/02673843.2012.692657

Study background

The first study aimed at investigating whether young adults from East and West Germany endorse child-rearing goals and ideas concerning early childcare that reflect socio-cultural traditions of formerly divided Germany. Before reunification, both countries had established highly differing early childcare systems. East Germany emphasized relatedness-oriented child-rearing goals in support of socialistic ideals. Individuality, independence, and autonomy were not highly valued, since they contradicted the political system and the related desired societal structure. In contrast, West Germany endorsed child-rearing goals in favor of children's individuality, freedom of choice and independence. Furthermore, institutional childcare received differential approval in both parts of Germany. In East Germany, full-time working mothers of even small children represented a politically desired ideal. Consequently, the state extensively provided early childcare facilities that allowed mothers to re-enter into work after short periods of maternal leave. Consequently, early institutional childcare became common practice in East Germany; children started at an early age and attended childcare institutions for a substantial part of the day. In West Germany, however, institutional childcare was less (financially and ideologically) supported by the state and subsequently received much less approval. West German parents predominantly followed a traditional role model with fathers as the sole earner and mothers as housewives who cared for the children.

Re-unification thus did not only mean re-uniting different political systems, but different child-rearing traditions. However, it is unclear whether these culturally different customs prolong in today's generation of young adults, who did not directly experience both states, but grew up in culturally different socio-historic traditions. More specifically, the first study examines East and West German male and female adults' evaluation of culturally informed child-rearing goals, their attitude towards early institutional childcare, and their projected use of early childcare institution in terms of children's ideal starting age and desired daily length of stay.

Method

A total number of 326 students participated in the study. They were recruited at universities in seven cities in East and West Germany. Differentiation of East and West German background was realized on the basis of their place of residence during the first six years of life. Participants who were born abroad ($n = 19$), in Berlin ($n = 7$), or who left out this information ($n = 1$) were excluded from the sample prior to the analysis. The East and West German samples were similar as regards mean age, mean number of semesters at university, number of siblings, and proportion of single children in each subsample. The East German group contained significantly more women.

Child-rearing goals and ideas on early childcare were assessed by a questionnaire about future family and occupational plans. Participants evaluated eleven culturally informed child-rearing goals on a six-point-Likert scale from (1) *I totally disagree* to (6) *I totally agree*. Items covered the dimensions: autonomy (5 items) and relatedness (6 items). The relatedness dimension further differentiated an obedience and a pro-social behavior subscale. All three scales yielded acceptable internal consistency values in all groups.

Concerning the childcare-related ideas, participants had to state whether children should attend early childcare. In the following, students were asked to justify their opinion regarding childcare attendance as well as at what age children should start to attend childcare and for how long (daily duration of stay). A coding scheme was developed for the analysis of these questions. Participants' answers to the question why children should (not) attend childcare were distinguished in four categories: child-centered reasons, parent-centered reasons, reasons related to childcare quality and disapproving answers. Minimum, mean and maximum values were differentiated regarding appropriate child age to start childcare attendance and optimum length of daily stay.

In the data analysis, the East and West samples were further divided by participants' sex, thus resulting in four distinct groups: East female, East male, West

female, and West male. First, rank ordering of the single child-rearing goals was used to compare participants' evaluation across groups at the item level. Secondly, a profile analysis tested for differences in the mean scale values for autonomy, pro-social behavior, and obedience.

Results

Similar rank orderings resulted for all four groups with autonomy-oriented and pro-social child-rearing goals among the most valued items. The profile analysis revealed that the four groups did not have parallel profiles, that is, the mean values for autonomy, pro-social behaviors, and obedience did not yield the same pattern for all groups. Additionally, there were significant differences between the three mean values in each group. However, no differences were found regarding the between-subject factor. Separate analyses on the mean scale values showed differences only for the pro-social behavior scale with East German female participants evaluating pro-social items significantly lower than the other groups. No differences were found for obedience and autonomy child-rearing goals.

Regarding early childcare conceptions female and male data was collapsed together within the East and West German group because there were no significant differences concerning participants' sex in the East and West German group, respectively. A high, but nonetheless lower proportion of West German participants agreed to children's attendance of early childcare. Interestingly, they mentioned more parent-centered reasons to justify why children should attend childcare compared to their East German counterparts. In contrast, the East German participants' argumentation involved much more child-centered reasons. In addition, East German participants preferred children to start childcare attendance at a significantly younger age and considered a higher amount of daily time spent in childcare as appropriate.

3.2 Study 2

Döge, P. & Keller, H. (2014). Similarity of mothers' and preschool teachers' evaluations of socialization goals in a cross-cultural perspective. *Journal of Research in Childhood Education*, 28(3), 377-393. doi: 10.1080/02568543.2014.913279

Study background

Relatively little is known about the relationship of parents' and preschool teachers' socialization goals that underlie parenting practices at home as well as in institutional childcare. Parental socialization goals have been subject to cross-cultural research including migrant groups in Germany. Taken together, these studies predominantly indicated that in comparison to parents of German origin, migrant parents favor family orientation, respect, and obedience and emphasize less children's sense of independence, individuality, and self-determination. As regards socialization goals in institutional childcare, research has highlighted the orientation towards Western middle-class ideals in pedagogical programs and guidelines (Borke & Keller, 2013; Stamm & Edelmann, 2013). Preschool teachers endorse concordant socialization goals. Studies suggested that teachers with different cultural background emphasize a broader spectrum of childrearing values (Huijbregts, Leseman, & Tavecchio, 2008; Huijbregts et al., 2009). However, the number of early childcare professionals with different cultural origins is low and the primacy of goals emphasizing children's self-enhancement, autonomy, and individuality therefore can be assumed.

According to an ecological systems approach, it is assumed that children benefit from the similarity of home and childcare in terms of parenting beliefs, as they consequently experience a higher congruence of these two developmental contexts. Furthermore, similarity of parenting beliefs between parents and teachers is considered an important aspect of parental satisfaction with their children's childcare arrangement. The second study therefore examined the similarity of migrant and non-migrant mothers' evaluation of socialization goals in comparison with their respective preschool teacher. Besides, the impact of mother-teacher similarity on maternal satisfaction with early childcare was concerned.

Method

Data were provided by the NUBBEK project (Nationale Untersuchung zur Bildung, Betreuung und Erziehung in der frühen Kindheit).² Mothers with 4-year old children in institutional childcare were asked to rate their agreement on a socialization goal questionnaire. The sample differed regarding the cultural background of mothers: 464 non-migrant, 83 Turkish migrant, and 112 Former Soviet Union (FSU) migrant mothers participated. Due to their different migration history, the group of Turkish migrant mothers included first and second-generation mothers, whereas mothers with FSU background were born in the Former Soviet Union. Thus, the FSU sample comprised solely first-generation mothers. As regards the sample characteristics, a larger amount of non-migrant and FSU migrant mothers had higher formal educational degrees than in the Turkish migrant mother group. Additionally, the latter were significantly younger and had more children.

All mothers rated 13 socialization goal items on a 6-point scale from (1) *I do not agree* to (6) *I totally agree*. Items described characteristics, behaviors, or abilities that are potentially desirable socialization goals for children at preschool age, for example, learn to share with others, develop self-confidence, or learn to obey parents. Preschool teachers ($n = 251$), who cared for the 4-year-olds, were provided with the same questionnaire and rated their agreement similarly as mothers. Previous to the main analyses, data were screened and corrected for skew and kurtosis through logarithmical transformation. There were no differences between first and second generation mothers in the Turkish migrant mother sample. Hence, it was not necessary to consider their data separately in the further data analyses.

² The NUBBEK project was funded by the Federal Ministry of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women, and Youth (BMFSJF), the Robert Bosch Foundation, the Jacobs Foundation, and the Federal States of Bavaria, Brandenburg, Lower Saxony, and North Rhine-Westphalia.

Results

Correlations between mothers' and teachers' ratings at the item level revealed no significant relation between evaluations in the groups of non-migrant, Turkish migrant, and FSU migrant mothers. However, calculating the correlation coefficient for each individual mother-teacher dyad across all items and comparing the Fisher-transformed coefficient yielded significant differences between groups. For both migrant groups, the correlation between mothers and teachers was significantly lower at the individual level across all items than for the non-migrant mothers. Regarding mother-teacher similarity in terms of absolute differences between maternal and teacher ratings, analyses showed significant differences between the three groups, either. Non-migrant mothers had a significantly lower sum value of absolute differences than both migrant mother groups. Thus, non-migrant mothers' evaluation was closer to their preschool teachers' than migrant mothers'.

Obedience-related socialization goals showed the highest degree of mother-teacher discrepancy. Though this result was substantiated for all three groups, the difference between migrant mothers and teachers on obedience-related goals was pronounced. In contrast, high similarity between mothers and teachers resulted for socialization goals such as *develop self-esteem*, *learn to share with others*, and *learn to help others*. These items were least controversial and similarly valued by both, teachers and mothers, regardless of their cultural origin.

3.3 Study 3

Döge, P. & Keller, H. (2014). Factorial structure of a socialization goal questionnaire across non-migrant and migrant mothers in Germany. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology, 11*(4), 512-520. doi: 10.1080/17405629.2013.872026

Study background

Measurement equivalence is key to the validation of measurement instruments. It ensures that the instruments in use are understood similarly and measure the same constructs in each group of comparison. Though important to all kinds of comparative research, measurement equivalence is especially at hands in cross-cultural comparisons due to potential biases inherent in translation of instruments, culturally bound response patterns, or specific assessment conditions. Advances in software development have accompanied diversification and improvement of statistical methods in the evaluation of measurement equivalence. These developments allow for a number of procedures among which confirmatory factorial analysis appears to be a major route to assess measurement equivalence.

Cultural orientations have been subject to constant advancement during the past decades. Relying on the basic human needs for autonomy and relatedness, it was lately suggested that both dimensions are similarly important, yet different manifestations are favored cross-culturally (Keller, 2012; Keller & Otto, 2011). These manifestations represent refined differentiations of the rather broad dimensions of autonomy and relatedness. A revision of an existing instrument, which had been successfully used for the assessment of culture-specific preferences of socialization goals, is suitable to cover two of the newly conceptualized manifestations: individual psychological autonomy (IPA) and hierarchical relatedness (HR). As this instrument was previously used only in cross-cultural comparisons with different cultural groups residing in different parts of the world, it lacks application in cross-cultural comparisons of migrant and non-migrant groups within the same country. The third study of the thesis therefore combined a twofold research interest: First, the study investigated measurement equivalence of a revised questionnaire instrument to account for specific manifestations of autonomy and relatedness. Second, culture-specific socialization goal preferences between migrant and non-migrant mothers were assessed.

Method

A total number of 1,935 mothers with preschool children between 29 and 60 months of age (mean age $M = 40.80$ months, standard deviation $SD = 10.67$ months) participated.³ Of these mothers, 283 were born in the Former Soviet Union (FSU). Further 214 mothers either themselves or their parents were born in Turkey. The three groups differed in terms of mothers' and children's mean age with Turkish and FSU migrant mothers being significant younger than non-migrant mothers, and children in the non-migrant sample being on average slightly younger than children in both migrant samples. The same proportion of boys and girls was realized across the three groups.

From previous studies (Kärtner et al., 2007; Keller et al., 2006), a socialization goal questionnaire was deductively adapted to assess individual psychological autonomy (IPA) and hierarchical relatedness (HR). The structure of the questionnaire corresponded to the instruments of the other studies in this thesis, that is, an initial phrase introduced the item-specific formulation and each item had to be evaluated on a 6-point scale from (1) *I totally disagree* to (6) *I total agree*. Four items were considered appropriate for each manifestation and were initially used in data analysis. First, confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) separately tested for configural equivalence in each group. Subsequently, multigroup CFA tested configural equivalence, metric invariance, and variance/covariance equivalence across the three groups.

Results

The single group CFA led to the modification of the initial model. Two items, one of each latent factor, were deleted due to their bad fit in the original model as indicated by modification indexes and expected parameter change values. Consequently, a model with three items as indicators of both latent factors, IPA and HR, was used in the multigroup

³ Data collection was realized within the NUBBEK project.

CFA. At the level of configurational equivalence, goodness-of-fit indexes indicated an excellent fit of the model. The next level of equivalence testing constricted factor loading to be equal and yielded similar or partly improved model fit as regards the comparative fit index (CFI), Tucker-Lewis-Index (TLI), and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA). Though two other indices (the Akaike information criterion AIC and the Browne-Cudeck Criterion) indicated slightly worse model fit, metric equivalence was accepted. The third level of equivalence with variances and covariance constraint to be equal, however, had to be rejected. All goodness-of-fit indices worsened considerably. Group comparisons yielded differences between both migrant mother groups and non-migrant mothers regarding hierarchical relatedness, which was significantly lower in the non-migrant group. Concerning individual psychological autonomy, FSU migrant mothers reached a significantly lower mean value than both other groups. Finally, hierarchical relatedness and individual psychological autonomy were positively correlated in each group. However, while a high correlation resulted for Turkish migrant mothers, the correlation coefficients for non-migrant and FSU migrant mothers indicated only a small positive relationship.

4 Discussion

The aim of the present thesis was to examine cultural variability of parenting beliefs in terms of similarities and differences among different groups living in Germany. Thus, the thesis contributed to the understanding of cultural plurality within national borders. The three studies presented here were thereby based on the following theoretical premises:

1. Parenting strategies are adaptive to the ecological conditions, in which parents and other caretakers raise children.
2. Consequently, parenting strategies vary along the respective ecological conditions, are culturally embedded, and convey culture-specific information to children.
3. Through culture-specific parenting strategies, parents and other caretakers provide learning environments according to their culturally informed parenting beliefs.

These premises converge in the ecocultural model of development (see section 2.3) that specifies parenting goals as a basic constituent of the cultural model. Goals, which parents and other caretakers consider desirable endpoints of child development, are the overarching topic of all three studies. Two dimensions were chosen as relevant to bring forth the plurality of cultural groups within German society: the separation of East and West Germany until 1990 as a socio-historical dimension and migration processes that continually promoted the pluralization of cultural groups over the past decades. The studies furthermore examined parenting beliefs of individuals, who were differently related to the developmental task of childrearing: young male and female adults without children (yet) in study 1, mothers with children at preschool age in study 2 and 3, and professional childcare teachers in study 2.

In the following paragraphs, the results of the studies are discussed with regard to cross-cultural similarities and differences, differential caretakers' perspectives, and methodological issues. Following, the insights of these studies as well as implications are

indicated. The last section points out limitations in combination with suggestions for future research.

4.1 Cross-cultural similarities and differences

The three studies revealed both similarities and differences across the different groups living in Germany. Starting with the study of socio-historical change, the participating young adults agreed on the importance of child-rearing goals regarding autonomy as well as obedience. Solely, child-rearing goals pertaining to pro-social behavior were rated slightly but significantly less important by female East Germans. Thus, East and West German adults principally showed a consistent result pattern of concordant child-rearing goals albeit this minor limitation. This result corroborates previous studies that reported East-West German consensus (Ahnert et al., 1994; Christoph, 2008; Pollmer & Hurrelmann, 1992; Reitzle & Silbereisen, 1996). The agreement of East and West German adults on childrearing goals could be attributed to their similar socio-demographic background regarding age, number of siblings, and educational level. These congruent socio-demographics support the similarity of parenting beliefs, as individuals with similar socio-demographic characteristics tend to share cultural models even across highly different places of residence (Kärtner et al., 2007). However, East and West German young adults differed regarding their conception of early childcare use. These results mirrored the previous conditions of divided Germany with respect to children's attendance of out of home childcare, as well as the intended starting age and daily time in childcare. The differential attitudes regarding early childcare facilities might be related to the current ecosocial conditions in East and West Germany. Notwithstanding intense political and financial efforts, there is a better coverage with childcare facilities, especially for children below three years of age, in the Eastern part in terms of availability

and use of early childcare (BMFSFJ, 2013; Schilling & Strunz, 2013).⁴ Adults' conception of early childcare use therefore appeared corresponding to these conditions that differently provide institutional childcare. Taken together, the results of the first study are compatible with the ecocultural model of parenting: Similarities (agreement on child-rearing goals) resulted from participants' shared socio-demographic background. In contrast, at the macro level of eco-social characteristics, East-West differences of childcare provision yielded differences across the groups (disagreement on early childcare use).

As the second source of cultural variability within Germany, migration history was considered. In the second study, similarities and differences concerning three cultural groups, namely mothers with Turkish migrant, FSU migrant, and mothers without any migration background were assessed. Regardless of their group affiliation, all mothers emphasized most the socialization goals *learn to share with others*, *develop self-confidence*, *develop self-esteem*, and *learn to help others*. These goals were thus considered highly important for children's socialization independent of mothers' cultural origin. Other goals (e.g., *learn to obey elder people*, *learn to cheer up others*), however, yielded culture-specific preferences. Migrant mothers tended to put higher emphasis on these goals, which can be regarded as indicative for an orientation towards (hierarchical) relatedness (Citlak et al., 2008; Herwartz-Emden & Westphal, 2000; Kabakçı-Kara, 2009). The third study related to the similarities and differences by investigating the measurement equivalence of the theoretical constructs of hierarchical relatedness and individual psychological autonomy across the three groups. Focusing on obedience and respect as major aspects of hierarchical relatedness as well as self-esteem, self-confidence, and independence as representing individual psychological autonomy, the results of study 3 supported the two-factor structure at the level of equal factor loadings. The differentiation of two socio-cultural orientations, which has been confirmed in cross-cultural studies with a previous

⁴ Besides the overarching difference between East and West Germany, there is considerable heterogeneity of availability of childcare facilities at a more fine-grained regional level (Hüsken, 2011).

version of the questionnaire (Kärtner et al., 2007; Keller et al., 2006), could be validated with the modified version that accommodated to the conceptual differentiation (Keller, 2012; Keller & Otto, 2011). Thus, the two-factor structure was confirmed for all mothers. At the higher-order equivalence level (i.e., variances and covariances restricted to be equal), differences in the relationship between both latent factors became apparent across groups. In this sense, the results support models that specify at least two socio-cultural orientations, but do not define a specific relationship between them (e.g., Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996, who introduced the autonomous-related self to overcome dichotomous conceptualizations). Rather, study 3 indicates that the various manifestations of autonomy and relatedness might be differentially related to each other, depending on the specific cultural community. As autonomy and relatedness are generally conceptualized as independent dimensions, individuals may vary in their extent to which they give priority to one dimension over the other or emphasize both to a similar degree. The former would manifest empirically in low correlations between both dimensions, whereas the latter would result in correlated measures of both manifestations. In study 3, hierarchical relatedness and individual psychological autonomy were substantially related concerning Turkish migrant mothers, yet not regarding the non-migrant and FSU migrant mothers. In a similar vein, Herwartz-Emden and Westphal (2000) reported that Turkish migrant and Russian migrant mothers equivalently favored maternal control and indulgent parenting practices, while for non-migrant mothers both were mutually exclusive. Similar to the culture-specific relation of the two socio-cultural orientations for mothers in study 3, Herwartz-Emden and Westphal's (2000) study participants differed in the way, how the two parenting strategies are related to each other.

Besides the perspective of different cultural groups, this thesis also considered the views of professional caretakers (study 2). Preschool teachers valued most the socialization goals *develop self-esteem, develop self-confidence, learn to help others, learn to share with others, and learn to understand others' emotions*. On the one hand, we thus found highly consistent

preferences regarding these goals not only across the different cultural groups but also across preschool teachers, mothers, and young adults. On the other hand, the different groups differentially valued hierarchical aspects of relatedness. The socialization goals *learn to obey elder people*, *learn to cheer up others*, and *learn to obey parents* were least favored by preschool teachers. Migrant mothers clearly endorsed obedience-related goals as important topics in children's socialization, whereas non-migrant mothers (study 2) and young adults (study 1) had a lower appreciation of these goals. Hence, the result pattern indicates a cultural dimension rather than being related to teachers' role as childcare professionals. Resulting from migrant mothers' higher emphasis on hierarchical relatedness goals, the average agreement between migrant mothers and their children's preschool teachers was lower than between non-migrant mothers and teachers. Yet, contrary to our hypothesis, mother-teacher similarity did not affect maternal satisfaction with childcare. Indeed, migrant mothers were as highly satisfied as non-migrant mothers. It is a quite common result, however, that parents tend to evaluate their satisfaction with childcare at the upper end of rating scales (Britner & Phillips, 1995; Teleki & Buck-Gomez, 2002). Shpancer (2002) discussed this tendency as a possible result of cognitive dissonance. By coping with the actual early childcare arrangement, mothers "struggle to justify their choice of daycare to themselves and others" (p. 382). Furthermore, study 2 yielded a broad range of mother-teacher similarities in terms of the dyadic correlation coefficients in all cultural groups, varying from high negative to high positive correlations. First, this reflects the within-group heterogeneity. Second, this might have additionally contributed to the lack of any significant relationship between mother-teacher similarity and maternal satisfaction with childcare.

Taken together, the results of all three studies illustrated that predominantly all participants valued the socialization goals focusing on autonomy as important. Though, variation was found for the FSU migrant mothers, who rated goals representing individual psychological autonomy as significantly less important than did Turkish

migrant and non-migrant mothers (study 3) as well as slightly less important in comparison to preschool teachers (study 2).

Regarding relatedness, two different aspects were taken into consideration, which had been found to denote this socio-cultural orientation (Kärtner, 2007): Pro-social behavior and obedience/respect. Socialization goals reflecting pro-social behavioral qualities received quite unanimous consent across studies. The participating young adults in study 1 as well as the mothers and preschool teachers in study 2 evaluated the items expressing pro-social behaviors as highly important. In both studies, the items referred to behaviors such as *helping others* or *sharing*, thus covering two cardinal aspects of pro-social behavior that are relevant for social regulations (Eisenberg & Miller, 1987). Pro-sociality thus appears to be generally appreciated, regardless of participants' cultural background or caretaking role. Preschool teachers' preference for pro-social goals can be explained by demands of their work: Early childcare settings mainly involve group activities with varying numbers of children. Teachers do specifically rely on children's compliance to social rules and consideration of other children's needs in order to facilitate the daily routines and practices. Though mothers, young adults, and teachers unanimously endorsed helping and sharing as important socialization goals, they might differ in the motivational basis and situational demands for pro-social behavior. Research has shown that individuals, who belong to cultural contexts emphasizing individual psychological autonomy, conceptualize pro-social behavior as a personal choice (Miller, Bersoff, & Harwood, 1990; Miller, Das, & Chakravarthy, 2011). In contrast, individuals emphasizing hierarchical relatedness regard pro-social behavior as a role-related interpersonal responsibility (Miller et al., 1990). At the level of children's pro-social behavior, the prevalence of actual pro-social behaviors did not differ cross-culturally (Kärtner, Keller, & Chaudary, 2010), but was based on culture-specific developmental pathways that led to these behaviors (Kärtner & Keller, 2012; Kärtner et al., 2010).

The studies of this thesis focused on cross-cultural comparisons across groups that were assumed to result from social change according to Greenfield (2009) in terms of the German reunification and migration to Germany. However, it remained unclear, how the change of eco-cultural conditions has been translated into cultural models and parenting beliefs. Tam, Lee, Kim, Li, and Chao (2012) demonstrated that parents' socialization goals integrate personal values as well as values that parents perceive of as relevant norms in society. Thus, through the change of eco-cultural conditions, different socially relevant norms are perceived and might be consequently integrated in individuals' beliefs system. Adopting Tam et al. (2012)'s view offers a supplementary perspective on the results of the presented studies. If mothers, adults, and teachers would not have solely emphasized goals and values they personally endorse, but also goals and values they conceive of importance in society, the results might have mirrored processes of adaptation. Turkish migrant mothers, for example, highly endorsed both hierarchical relatedness and individual psychological autonomy goals (Study 3). The former could be seen as relating back to the context of origin (Ataca, 2006; Kağıtçıbaşı & Sunar, 1992), whereas the latter concurs with socialization goals and ideals in early childcare that are officially promoted in Western, industrialized societies (Gernhardt et al., 2014; Rosenthal, 1999; Stamm & Edelman, 2013). The emphasis on individual psychological autonomy goals thus might reflect mothers' adaptation to the new context, an attempt to balance parenting beliefs between the context of origin and the new living context (Cheah, Leung, & Zhou, 2013). Similarly, young adults did not differ cross-culturally in their child-rearing goal preferences (Study 1). Contrary to the assumption, East German participants did not prefer goals and values that were attributed to the former GDR as has been found in previous studies (Meulemann, 2007; Scheller, 2004; Sturzbecher & Kalb, 1993). Rather, all participants in study 1 agreed on the high importance of autonomy and the lower importance of obedience-related goals as promoted in pedagogical programs and legal frameworks of reunited Germany (Borke & Keller, 2013; KiFög, 2008; SGB VIII). According

to Tam et al. (2012)'s approach, the shared preferences of young adults might indicate that regardless of their East or West German origin they adhere to parenting beliefs, which are perceived as generally important in current society.

To conclude, the studies have shown current similarities and differences of the cultural groups. Socio-historical change as well as migration was assumed to change individuals' ecosocial context conditions resulting in the embodiment of different cultural models in Germany. The reported similarities and differences delineated both culturally congruent as well as culture-specific parenting beliefs. Hence, the cultural models did not appear as contrasting as both prototypical models that illustrated the ecocultural model of parenting (Keller, 2007). Rather, they represent independent cultural models, which are less prototypical than the models described in section 2.4 and provide insight into the possible spectrum of parenting beliefs.

4.2 Summary of group-specific parenting beliefs within Germany

The studies have illustrated cross-cultural variability of parenting beliefs that was associated with migration as well as socio-historical changes in Germany. Contrary to the perception of countries as cultural units, the studies hence contribute to the understanding of cultural variability within national borders. The spectrum of cultural plurality that is considered in this thesis concerns the two biggest migrant groups in Germany, Turkish and Russian families. Moreover, differences between East and West German individuals are an interesting venue of research due to their different sociopolitical roots. Beyond the consideration of the diverse types of cultural groups, this thesis has provided first evidence for a measurement instrument regarding recently specified manifestations of the socio-cultural orientations towards autonomy and relatedness in migrant groups.

In the following paragraph, I will draft the parenting beliefs of the participating groups as far as they can be summarized from the studies. Though differences between single goal ratings or scale values were not extremely high within and between groups,

they nonetheless exemplify that caregivers with different cultural backgrounds accentuated different socialization goals.

For young East and West German adults, parenting appeared to be directed towards socializing children to *behave pro-socially* as well as to *develop self-esteem* and *self-confidence*. It is therefore regarded as desirable for a child to combine a strong self-awareness as an individual with attention to others' needs. Children's obedience played a minor role in young adults' goals with obedience towards parents being more important than obedience towards elder people. According to the parenting beliefs of East German adults, early daycare was highly endorsed for young children. East German adults predominantly considered early out-of-home childcare beneficial from the child's perspective: it was expected to allow children to interact with age-mates, to promote children's friendships, and thereby to positively influence their socio-emotional development. Children should start attending early daycare around their second birthday and stay between 5 and 6 hours a day. Female East German adults preferred a younger starting age and a lower amount of daily attendance time than their male counterparts. In contrast, the West German adults approved children's early daycare to a lesser extent. In relation to that, more objections to early childcare were part of West German adults' beliefs (e.g., parents' sole responsibility to care for their children themselves). In case of daycare approval, children's attendance was almost equivalently related to parental and child benefits. Beyond promoting the child's social experiences with peers, West German parental beliefs included predominantly the idea that early out-of-home care allows parents to work and provides them with (leisure) time for themselves. The optimal age for children to start daycare varied around 30 months, approximately half a year later as compared to the East German adults' parenting beliefs. Furthermore, an average of 4 to 5 hours was regarded as the appropriate daily length of children's stay. On the one hand, females generally preferred an earlier age for children to start out-of-home daycare than male participants. On the

other hand, they wanted children to spend less time in early childcare. These differences between male and female adults similarly applied to East and West German adults.

According to the ecocultural model of parenting, the East and West German adults' and the non-migrant mothers' parenting beliefs could be expected to resemble each other. Both groups had a high level of formal education: Young adults were completing their academic education while post-secondary and tertiary education dominated in the sample of non-migrant mothers (although it comprised different educational levels). Both groups, young adults and non-migrant mothers, therefore tended to share an important characteristic of their ecosocial background and thus the similarity of their parenting goals is likely. Based on the results of study 2 and 3, the cultural model of non-migrant mothers can be summarized in the following way: At the level of single goals, non-migrant mothers' cultural model favored children's *self-esteem* and *self-confidence* as well as *helping* and *sharing with others*. This pattern corresponds to the preferences found for young adults in study 1 and corroborates the ideal of a child who is aware of his individual mental states as well as attentive to others' needs. Regarding the cultural orientations underlying parenting goals, individual psychological autonomy and hierarchical relatedness were substantiated as relevant manifestations for non-migrant mothers in study 3. The low correlation coefficient between both factors revealed, however, that non-migrant mothers did not value both manifestations to the same degree.

Migrant mothers from the FSU evaluated *developing self-confidence*, *obeying parents*, *helping others*, and *respecting elder people* as the most important goals at the single goal level. Hence, in their cultural model, respect and obedience are more relevant than for non-migrant mothers. Similar to non-migrant mothers, individual psychological autonomy and hierarchical relatedness for FSU migrant mothers were confirmed as socio-cultural orientations, which furthermore were little related to each other (study 3). Thus, FSU migrant as well as non-migrant mothers' cultural models indicated the independence of parenting goals comprising the two manifestations of autonomy and relatedness.

Turkish migrant mothers valued most that their children *develop self-esteem* and *self-confidence*, as well as that they *learn to help others* and *to respect elder people*. Thus, in their cultural model, emphases were put slightly differently in comparison to FSU migrant and non-migrant mothers. For Turkish migrant mothers, individual psychological autonomy and hierarchical relatedness were positively correlated to a high degree. Hence, according to their parenting beliefs, both manifestations do not represent contradictive or opposing orientations. Rather, parenting goals endorsing both individual psychological autonomy and hierarchical relatedness are regarded as compatible and equally desired qualities that children should develop in their first years of life.

Finally, parenting goals according to early childcare teachers yielded a preference for *developing self-confidence* and *self-esteem*, followed by *helping* and *sharing with others* at the single goal level. The comparison with mothers brought forth a pronounced dissimilarity between teachers' and migrant mothers' socialization goal evaluations, which could be mainly attributed to migrant mothers' stronger emphasis on goals pertaining to child obedience. Preschool teachers' parenting beliefs appeared to match non-migrants' cultural model of parenting to a higher extend.

4.3 Study implications

Implications of this thesis likewise pertain to scientific and practical issues that will be highlighted in the following. In general, the cross-cultural assessment of any psychological phenomenon represents a continuous challenge in cross-cultural research (van de Vijver, Chasiotis, & Breugelmans, 2011) as it requires methodological attention to avoid biases that might affect study results. In a two-fold way, study 3 dealt with this challenge. First, it lent support to two newly conceptualized manifestations of socio-cultural orientations. By now, hierarchical relatedness and individual psychological autonomy have been extensively described in terms of parental behavioral strategies (Keller, 2012; Keller & Otto, 2011) but corresponding socialization goals lacked empirical support for migrant groups. The present dissertation thus succeeded in providing a first

systematic confirmation for both manifestations in different cultural groups. Though it was possible to replicate hierarchical relatedness and individual psychological autonomy for non-migrant, Turkish migrant, and FSU migrant mothers, the results of study 3 additionally showed that both dimensions were differentially related. This result corroborates the independence of both socio-cultural orientations and clearly disagrees with dimensional conceptualizations (see section 2.4). Rather, the manifestations need to be understood as “modes that can vary independently along different dimensions” (Keller, 2012, p. 16).

Practical issues result from study 2, which specifically addressed the congruence of maternal and teachers’ socialization goals. The parent-caregiver relationship is a crucial element at the interface between family and childcare institution (Knopf & Swick, 2007) and a lot of emphasis is put on the promotion of the parent-teacher relationship: accompanied transition from home care to daycare, regular discussions of the child’s development, or other forms of parent involvement (Gelfer, 1991) are regarded as basic elements of childcare quality regarding the parent-teacher relationship (e.g. in the Infant-Toddler Environment Rating Scale-Revised ITERS-R, Harms, Cryer & Clifford, 2006; Early Childhood Environment Rating Scale-Revised ECERS-R, Harms, Clifford & Cryer, 2005). Although recognized as an important domain (OECD, 2012), the communication between teachers and parents predominantly prioritizes child development and (problem) behavior in their exchanges (Fthenakis, 1995; as cited in Westphal & Kämpfe, 2012) but does not address possibly diverging parenting goals (Bernhard, Lefebvre, Kilbride, Chud, & Lange, 1998). Moreover, Cheatham and Ostrosky (2013) revealed that preschool teachers substantially less discussed parenting goals in conversations with immigrant parents in comparison to native parents. In our understanding of parenting and child development (see Figure 1), parenting beliefs, ethnotheories, and parenting behavior are interconnected. Parenting behavior conveys culture-specific parenting ideas. Consequently, child development is situated in cultural socialization strategies. Explicitly addressing parenting

goals and their educational implications as well as their expressions in children's behavior may be a fruitful venue for the improvement of the parent-teacher relationship. Moreover, it could also contribute to the improvement of the child-teacher relationship (Owen, Ware, & Barfoot, 2000). In Germany, existing advanced training programs to promote the adequate consideration of culture-specific parenting (including parenting beliefs) in early childcare, oftentimes lack an explicit theoretical and scientifically corroborated basis (Otto, Schröder, & Gernhardt, 2013). The development of advanced training modules that build on the present study results and take into consideration the level of parenting beliefs would be a strongly needed implication.

4.4 Limitations and future research

The studies of this dissertation have several constraints. A main methodological constraint is that all studies are based on questionnaire data. On the one hand, questionnaires represent an economic method to assess psychological phenomena, especially with large numbers of participants. On the other hand, they tend to reduce the potential complexity of phenomena. As in every research program, one needs to balance the desire for in-depth assessment and an extensive empirical basis. In both cases, the economy of assessment and the analysis of the data set the restrictions. The first approach usually limits the number of participants. With the focus on a large sample size as in the second approach, a high number of participants limits the possibility of an elaborate and in-depth assessment. In the present dissertation, the research questions partly necessitated a kind of assessment with substantial sample size in order to be able to apply appropriate methods of analysis as in study 3. Though, study 3 similarly shows the limits of an assessment of socialization goals by questionnaire: The analysis yielded differences in the way how both latent constructs, hierarchical relatedness and individual psychological autonomy, relate to each other. However, by questionnaire data we cannot further explain why Turkish migrant mothers considered both constructs as compatible socialization

goals whereas non-migrant as well as FSU migrant mothers did not. Additionally, a questionnaire provides participants with predefined items and thus draws the attention to a selection of behaviors, characteristics, or other descriptions that were considered relevant and indicative by the researcher. Especially in cross-cultural studies, this issue is discussed with respect to the emic vs. etic distinction (Berry, 1989). Emic means to start research from inside a cultural group, that is, to make use of culture-specific concepts, terminology, and research methodology (see Long, Downs, Gillette, Kills in Sight, & Iron-Cloud Konen, 2006 for an example). In contrast, the etic approach starts from the outside perspective. The etic approach aims at generalizations across cultures and is directed to theory-building in terms of universal phenomena (Brislin, 1976). The approach realized here represents an etic procedure, where participants are forced to evaluate predefined socialization goals. They might not have mentioned them spontaneously in an open-ended question format. However, for the present thesis, the use of questionnaires was eligible because previous research already indicated areas of parenting beliefs that differed across the cultural groups under examination (Citlak et al., 2008; Herwartz-Emden & Westphal, 2000; Kallert, 2006; Nauck, 1990; Reitzle & Silbereisen, 1996; Sturzbecher & Kalb, 1993).

Migrants' actual parenting beliefs are usually assumed to reflect both parenting beliefs that are related to their culture of origin and beliefs of the current cultural living context. Consequently, they are interpreted as the result of processes of change. It is, however, unknown whether the migrant mothers held different preferences for socialization goals prior to their migration than the ones they specified in the assessment of study 2 and 3. A tremendous amount of research continuously engages in analyzing acculturation processes and their effects on parenting beliefs and practices (Bornstein & Cote, 2006). The studies of this dissertation, however, reflect a current state of migrant mothers' parenting beliefs and were not intended to examine any process of acculturation. A longitudinal design would be an appropriate approach to address the question of acculturative change processes. For this purpose, suitable acculturation measures should

focus on private domains of acculturation (i.e., family concepts and childrearing), which can be distinguished from public domains (i.e., work and education) (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2006). Moreover, one has to acknowledge that the migration experience might lead individuals to translate their culture of origin and the host culture into something new (de Haan, 2011) rather than simply moving along the continuum between the heritage and the host culture (i.e., a transition that is usually assumed to move from traditional to Western, modern parenting beliefs).

Furthermore, the present thesis encompassed young adults', mothers', and childcare teachers' socialization goals. Thereby, different perspectives on childrearing were included: the young adults in study 1 evaluated socialization goals even though they had not experienced parenthood themselves yet. They anticipated a desired and future pattern of childcare use that they considered appropriate at the moment. The transition to parenthood, however, represents a major event in the life course and especially primiparous mothers' parenting beliefs change in view of the actual task of being a parent (Reilly, Entwisle, & Doering, 1987; Salmela-Aro, Nurmi, Saisto, & Halmesmäki, 2000). Additionally, parenting beliefs underlie dynamic changes related to the child's age and development (McNally, Eisenberg, & Harris, 1991). Future research might therefore hold on to the differentiation of cultural groups within Germany and additionally take up the dynamic of parenting beliefs. This might be realized by following up young adults from different cultural groups through their transition to adulthood or by applying research designs that relate parenting beliefs to appropriate acculturative measures.

As previously mentioned, study 3 pointed out that the relationship between the two manifestations of autonomy and relatedness is differentially related to each other depending on the cultural group. Therefore, the interplay of autonomy and relatedness demands further investigation. As Luciano (2009) stated: "The concept worthy of further consideration is not whether the individual is experiencing autonomy or relatedness, but how autonomy and relatedness function through each other." (p. 458). Further research

could specify the characteristics of cultural groups that favor a certain linkage between both socio-cultural orientations. Additionally, more manifestations of autonomy and relatedness have been theoretically distinguished and described (Keller & Kärtner, 2013; Keller & Otto, 2011). By now, only hierarchical relatedness and individual psychological autonomy have been subject to empirical validation, as they constitute main organizers of cultural models and can be empirically assessed. For other variants of manifestations, the empirical validation is still pending.

Lastly, the present thesis focuses on socialization goals and ethnotheories, that is, the cognitive part(s) of parents and caregivers' cultural model in the ecocultural model of parenting (see section 2.3). Parenting beliefs, however, are instantiated and translated into parenting practices and thereby inform child development (Harkness & Super, 1992; Keller, 2007). Examining whether different parenting beliefs across cultural groups in Germany similarly manifest in different parenting practices and result in differential developmental pathways of children might be addressed in future studies.

5 References

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