International Journal of Psychology

International Journal of Psychology, 2024
DOI: 10.1002/ijop.13104

Cultural values, parenting and child adjustment in Kenya

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Children's, mothers' and fathers' reports were used to assess whether mothers' and fathers' individualism, collectivism and conformity values are significantly related to parenting behaviours and child adjustment during middle childhood. A sample of 95 children, 95 mothers and 94 fathers was recruited from Kisumu, Kenya. Our results indicated that controlling for child gender and parents' education, mothers' and fathers' higher collectivism values were associated with higher expectations regarding children's family obligations. Children of mothers who were more individualistic perceived that less was required of them in terms of family obligations. Mothers' conformity values were associated with more maternal and paternal warmth, and higher maternal expectations regarding children's family obligations, controlling for child gender and mothers' education. Mothers' education was significantly associated with more maternal and paternal warmth, more parental knowledge solicitation and higher paternal expectations regarding children's family obligations. Fathers' and mothers' individualism was associated with lower expectations regarding children's family obligations. Fathers' individualism was positively correlated with knowledge solicitation and more rules/limit-setting. Fathers' higher conformity values were correlated with more maternal warmth, more paternal warmth, more knowledge solicitation and mothers' and fathers' higher expectations regarding children's family obligations.

Keywords: Culture; Values; Adjustment.

Kenya is a multi-ethnic society comprised of over 42 identifiable cultural groups. Most of the population is concentrated in major towns and the rural areas of the Lake Victoria basin, western, coastal, central and south-western parts of the country. These groups have unique heritages, cultural values and traditions that variously affect parenting practices and child adjustment. However, these Kenyan cultures are evolving in response to transformations linked to expanded educational opportunities, changing gender roles, urbanisation, globalisation and technological advances (Ma & Schoenemann, 1997; Wachege & Rũgendo, 2018).

Cultural values in Kenya

Individualism and collectivism are two sets of frameworks that have widely been utilised to understand cultural differences (Hofstede, 2011; Li et al., 2018). In collectivistic societies, social control and bonds are stronger; in individualistic societies, greater premium is placed on independence and autonomy (Hofstede, 1980). Hofstede's (1980) model considers individualism and collectivism as binary concepts, meaning that high scores on individualism are assumed to reflect low scores on collectivism (Li et al., 2018). According to Hofstede's (1980) index, Kenya is a collectivist country due to its low score of 25 on Hofstede's individualism scale. Hofstede Insights (2022) suggest that Kenya is representative of collectivist countries as the majority of its population still embrace their unique customs and traditions; value conformity to societal expectations; and develop close, long-term commitments to ethnically based in-groups. The family is thus a pivotal point in the socialisation of children. Loyalty to family obligations, characterised by close and long-term commitment to both the nuclear and extended family networks, is also a common feature among many Kenyans (Ma & Schoenemann, 1997). The collectivist values of sharing resources, being willing to sacrifice their self-interests, conforming to societal values and avoiding destabilising the status quo are also characteristic of Kenyans. They also perceive themselves as part of interdependent social groups (Ma & Schoenemann, 1997).

However, the effects of modern education, increased mobility between groups and globalisation have altered these traditional networks and helped homogenise the

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This research was funded by the Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development grant RO1-HD054805.

cultural experiences of Kenyans. The most affected have been the youthful, educated and urban-based Kenyans. This emerging group may not be wholly collectivist. More often than not, individualistic Kenyans could also develop self-concepts detached from traditional groupings, pursue individual desires and value doing their own things. They also do not subscribe to traditional values and customs, and they are more individualistic in their conceptualisation of the self and in their interactions with others due to differential exposures to change agents, global effects, altered traditions and limited traditional support structures (Ma & Schoenemann, 1997).

These recent findings suggest that there could be more variability accounted for by within rather than between culture factors that could affect parenting attitudes and behaviours. For example, within culture variability exist in parents' individualism, collectivism, progressive and authoritarian parenting attitudes (Gelfand et al., 2004; Triandis et al., 2001). More variance was also accounted for by within-culture than between-culture variability in links between culture, social change and parenting attitudes and self-control (Lansford et al., 2021; Li et al., 2018). Categorisations of societies as either collectivists or individualists based on assumed group differences at the national level provides a useful conceptual framework but may be simplistic and suffer from methodological and conceptual limitations (Lansford et al., 2021; Li et al., 2018).

Kenyan societies like all others across the globe are often dynamic and complex social structures that keep evolving over time (Ogihara, 2017; Voronov & Singer, 2002). This suggests that there could be more homogeneity than variability even among Kenyan cultural groups. Kenyan cultures and families are also dynamic due to effects of change emanating from globalisation, Western forms of education, technological advances and increased interactions within cultures and between cultures (Voronov & Singer, 2002). Exposures to these changes could lead to adoption of both collectivistic and individualistic tendencies within Kenya.

This calls for the generation of individual-level individualism–collectivism data that could address within-culture variability. Assessments at the individual level are reliable, relevant and based on relatively stable value orientations (Li et al., 2018). However, data about individualism/collectivism are often collected at the national level, requiring an inference about its application at the individual level.

We thus collected individualism/collectivism data from individual participants to go beyond mapping of individualism–collectivism orientations at the national level, as more variance in individualism and collectivism is accounted for by within- than between-culture factors (Lansford et al., 2021). We chose conformity as a third cultural value in addition to collectivism and individualism not as a manifestation of collectivism but as a salient and relatively independent construct. Our rationale was that although collectivists conform more to group norms by not going against the grain, individualists similarly conform based on their "contrarion" behaviours (Armenta et al., 2011). Consequently, conformity or lack of it could thus be a manifestation of either collectivism or individualism.

Parenting in Kenya

In the traditional African context, positive parenting required harmonious co-existence, clarity of expectations and parental conformity to societal norms and a strong system of participation in the rearing of children that involved the nuclear and extended families (Oburu, 2004; Wachege & Rũgendo, 2018). Children were socialised through collective education and rites of passage to be socially mature and responsible; they were an organic and integral part of an extended system that went beyond their own needs. Children born and raised in these contexts were expected to live a life of harmony with others and required to give back to their respective families and societies by taking up culturally sanctioned, gender related and age-appropriate roles (Ma & Schoenemann, 1997; Wachege & Rũgendo, 2018). There were, however, variations in the expected roles and family obligations for boys and girls and for younger and older children. For example, in many traditional African societies, parental warmth was expected more for girls than boys (Oburu, 2004). More family obligations were expected for boys and older children (Wachege & Rũgendo, 2018). Parents were expected to provide nurturance, inculcate moral values and engage children in daily life activities that prepared them for their respective future roles.

In the Kenyan multi-ethnic and traditional contexts, both parents actively participated in child rearing. Parental responsibility entailed providing warm, secure and comfortable family environments where children knew their expected familial roles and expectations (Wachege & Rũgendo, 2018). Mothers, in comparison to fathers and other extended family members, spent more time with their children, provided nurturance to the family, upheld the societal norms, were home managers and sacrificed their own personal ambitions in order to satisfy group needs. Fathers' expected roles entailed providing an affectionate family environment, guaranteeing authoritative leadership at home and enforcement of societal norms, rules and regulations (Cagnolo, 2006; Lasse et al., 2011; Wachege & Rũgendo, 2018).

Most traditional Kenyan parents viewed their children as a social investment and a form of social security at old age (Oburu, 2004). The expectation was that because children belonged to the society and that parents had invested heavily in their upbringing as a social premium, they in turn had the obligation to respect the elderly; accommodate others' interests and needs; and

assist their aging parents, siblings and even distant relatives in whatever way they could. Child upbringing was a communal endeavour and an investment that brought together nuclear families and extended family units including aunts, uncles, grandparents and distant relatives (Oburu, 2004).

In the traditional Kenyan family contexts, it was thus presumed that one of the main parenting attributes was to develop skills in children that would enable them be socially productive, competent and successfully fit into their respective societies (Harkness & Super, 1992). Children raised within extended family units were obligated to develop communal concepts about self and attach premiums to group loyalty and family ties that extended beyond the individualised conceptualisation of the self. In this social context, parents were required to provide warmth and set rules for engagement between themselves and their children. This they did in liaison with others in their respective societies since children belonged to the community and derived necessary support, identity and security from multiple sources that extended beyond the nuclear families (Ma & Schoenemann, 1997; Wachege & Rũgendo, 2018).

Child adjustment in Kenya

The interdependent concept of self that is characteristic of traditional or collectivist cultures required that children display less internalising and externalising behaviours, respect their elders, do as they are told and follow set rules and norms so as not to destabilise the status quo (Li et al., 2018; Wachege & Rũgendo, 2018). The strong system of participation and performance that was common in the traditional family environments may no longer be tenable due to socio-cultural changes that could lead to development of new cultures that contradict traditional norms (Wachege & Rũgendo, 2018). For example, parenting environments have emerged where children miss out on parental involvement and the rich traditional knowledge and support from extended family structures. The emergence of single parent families, absentee fathers and households headed by grandparents and children following the devastating effects of HIV/AIDS in some areas have led to new family constellations and realities where children similarly miss out on the essential contributions of both parents (Oburu, 2004; Wachege & Rũgendo, 2018), making it especially important to understand children's adjustment in contemporary Kenya.

The present study

Our research question was whether mothers' and fathers' individualism, collectivism and conformity values are significantly related to parenting behaviours and child adjustment during middle childhood. We hypothesised that parenting behaviours and child adjustment would be significantly correlated with collectivism, individualism and conformity values. Both mothers and fathers operating within Kenya's traditional contexts were expected to exhibit more collectivist rather than individualistic tendencies. Fathers, given their traditionally sanctioned roles as heads of families, were expected to be more conformist, and controlling when dealing with their children's internalising and externalising behaviours. Children of parents who professed individualistic tendencies were expected to display more externalising and internalising behaviours and to perceive their parents as having fewer expectations for their family obligations. Fathers and mothers higher in collectivism were expected to exhibit more parental psychological control, limit setting and knowledge solicitation.

METHODS

Participants

Participants from the Kenyan subsample of the longitudinal Parenting Across Cultures Study were recruited from Kisumu, Kenya, through letters sent from schools. Children ($n = 95$) were 10.76 years old ($SD = .91$), on average, at the time of data collection. Their mothers ($n = 95$) and fathers ($n = 94$) also participated. Most parents were married (97%) and biological parents (93%); non-residential/non-biological parents also provided data. The majority of participants were from the Luo ethnic group and were recruited from public and private schools to obtain a socio-economically diverse sample that would be representative of Kisumu.

Procedure

Measures were administered in both English and Dholuo (depending on participants' preferred language of administration) following forward- and back-translation from English language originals and methodological validation to ensure the conceptual equivalence of the instruments (Erkut, 2010). Two-hour interviews were conducted after parent consent and child assent in participant-chosen locations. Parents chose whether to complete measures orally or in writing; children completed interviews orally with an interviewer who read the question aloud, showed the child a visual depiction of the rating scale and recorded the child's response.

Measures

Parent individualism and collectivism

Mothers and fathers completed a measure of individualism and collectivism adapted from Singelis et al. (1995),

Tam et al. (2003), and Triandis (1995). Parents rated the importance of different values related to their autonomy and belonging to a social group. Parents were asked whether they 1 = *strongly disagree*, 2 = *disagree*, 3 = *agree* or 4 = *strongly agree* with each of 16 statements, 8 reflecting individualism and 8 reflecting collectivism. Examples of individualist items included "I'd rather depend on myself than others" and "My personal identity, independent of others, is very important to me." Examples of collectivist items included "It is my duty to take care of my family, even when I have to sacrifice what I want" and "To me, pleasure is spending time with others." Items were averaged to create an individualism scale (αs = .48 and .61 for mothers and fathers, respectively) and a collectivism scale (αs = .63 and .67 for mothers and fathers, respectively).

Parent conformity values

Mothers and fathers each rated an item developed by Schwartz et al. (2001): "I believe that people should do what they're told. I think people should follow rules at all times, even when no one is watching." Parents responded using a 6-point scale (1 = *not like me at all* to 6 = *very much like me*).

Parent warmth

Mothers and fathers completed the Parental Acceptance-Rejection/Control Questionnaire-Short Form, a measure with excellent established reliability, convergent and discriminant validity and measurement invariance that has been used in over 60 cultures worldwide and has been used successfully with Kenyan families by our own and other research teams (Lansford et al., 2018; Rohner, 2005). Children also provided separate ratings about their mothers' and fathers' warmth. Eight items captured parental warmth (e.g., "parents say nice things to child"). Behaviour frequency was rated on a modified 4-point scale (1 = *almost never* to 4 = *every day*). We averaged mothers' and children's ratings of mothers' warmth and averaged fathers' and children's ratings of fathers' warmth to create composite measures of *mother warmth* (α = .80) and *father warmth* (α = .80).

Parent psychological control and autonomy granting

Children reported on their parents' psychological control and autonomy granting (Barber, 1996; Barber et al., 1994). For psychological control, children rated seven items (e.g., "My parents act cold and unfriendly if I do something they don't like") on a 4-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 4 = *strongly agree*). Ratings were averaged to create a composite *psychological control* scale (α = .71), with higher numbers indicating more psychological control. For autonomy granting, children rated four items (e.g., "My parents keep pushing me to think independently"). Items were rated on a 4-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 4 = *strongly agree*) and averaged to create a composite *autonomy granting* scale (α = .72), with higher numbers indicating more autonomy granting.

Parent rules/limit-setting and knowledge solicitation

Parent rules/limit-setting and knowledge solicitation were assessed by subscales of the 10-item parental monitoring scale derived from the work of Conger et al. (1994) and Steinberg et al. (1992). This measure has demonstrated adequate psychometric properties in past studies examining both the entire Parenting Across Cultures sample and Kenyan families in particular (Lansford et al., 2018). To measure parent rules/limit-setting, children answered five questions that captured the frequency with which parents impose limits on their child's activities on a 0 = *never* to 3 = *always* scale. To measure parent knowledge solicitation, children answered five questions that examined the extent to which parents tried to find out about their children's activities and whom they spend time with on a 0 = *I do not try*, 1 = *I try a little*, 2 = *I try a lot* scale. Both parent rules/limit-setting and parent knowledge solicitation were assessed by asking about the same five child activities (e.g., with whom the child spends time, how the child spends his/her free time, how the child spends his/her money, where the child goes right after school and the type of homework the child receives). Items were averaged to create composite scales for parent *rules/limit setting* (α = .78) and parent *knowledge solicitation* (α = .74). Higher scores indicated more parental rules/limit-setting and knowledge solicitation.

Parent family obligation expectations

Mothers, fathers and children completed the respect for family and current assistance scales of the family obligations measure developed by Fuligni et al. (1999). The measure contains seven items. Each of these assessing views about the importance of respecting the authority of elders including parents, grandparents and older siblings (e.g., "Please rate how important it is to you that your child treat you with great respect/Please rate how important it is to your parents that you treat them with great respect"; 1 = *not important* to 5 = *very important*) and 11 items assessing parents' expectations and children's perceptions of their parents' expectations regarding how often children should help and spend time with the family on a daily basis (e.g., "Please rate how often your child is expected to help out around the house/Please rate

how often your parents expect you to help out around the house"; 1 = *almost never* to 5 = *almost always*). These 18 items were averaged to create a composite scale for each reporter ($\alpha = .76$, .81 and .80 for child, mother and father reports, respectively).

Child internalising and externalising behaviours

Parents and children, respectively, completed the Child Behaviour Checklist (CBCL) and Youth Self-Report (YSR; Achenbach, 1991). Parents and children indicated whether each behaviour was 0 = *not true*, 1 = *somewhat or sometimes true* or 2 = *very true or often true*. The Achenbach measures have been translated into at least 100 languages and have been used with at least 100 cultural groups (Achenbach System of Empirically Based Assessment, 2016). The *Internalising Behaviour* scale was generated by summing the responses from 31 items (for parents) or 29 items (for children) including behaviours and emotions such as loneliness, self-consciousness, nervousness, sadness, feeling worthless, anxiety, withdrawn behaviour and physical problems without medical causes. The *Externalising Behaviour* scale was created by summing the responses from 33 items (for parents) or 30 items (for children) including behaviours such as lying, truancy, vandalism, bullying, disobedience, tantrums, sudden mood change and physical violence. We created cross-informant composites by averaging all available reporters' scores for *internalising* ($\alpha = .80$) and *externalising* ($\alpha = .86$) behaviours.

Covariates

Child gender and parent education (number of years of education obtained by the mother and father) were included as covariates.

Analytic plan

Analyses proceeded in two steps. First, we examined bivariate correlations between the cultural value variables and the parenting and child adjustment variables. Second, we conducted multiple regressions predicting each of the parenting and child adjustment variables from the three cultural value variables (i.e., individualism, collectivism and conformity), separately for mothers and fathers, controlling for child gender and parent education (mother education in the models with mothers' cultural values and father education in the models with fathers' cultural values).

RESULTS

See Table 1.

TABLE 1
Descriptive statistics

Study Variable	*M*	*SD*
Mother Individualism	2.69	.49
Mother Collectivism	3.18	.42
Mother Conformity	4.52	1.10
Father Individualism	2.82	.52
Father Collectivism	3.18	.44
Father Conformity	4.55	1.09
Mother Warmth	3.07	.41
Father Warmth	2.97	.43
Parent Psychological Control	2.62	.59
Parent Autonomy Granting	2.41	.75
Rules/Limit-setting	1.93	.66
Knowledge Solicitation	1.33	.46
Mother Family Obligations	3.66	.56
Father Family Obligations	3.69	.54
Child Family Obligations	3.35	.52
Child Internalising	8.28	3.37
Child Externalising	8.71	3.98

Mothers' cultural values

Bivariate correlations are shown in Table 2. As shown, mothers' individualism was correlated with more maternal warmth and children's perceptions that their parents' had lower expectations for children's family obligations. Mothers' higher collectivism was correlated with more maternal warmth, more paternal warmth and higher maternal expectations regarding children's family obligations. Mothers' higher conformity values were correlated with more maternal warmth, more paternal warmth and higher maternal expectations regarding children's family obligations.

Results from the regression analyses are shown in Table 3. Mothers' individualism was associated with children's perceptions of their parents as having lower expectations for children's family obligations, even after taking into account collectivism, conformity values, child gender and mothers' education. Mothers' higher collectivism was associated with higher maternal expectations regarding children's family obligations, controlling for the other cultural values, child gender and mothers' education. Mothers' conformity values were associated with more maternal warmth, more paternal warmth and higher maternal expectations regarding children's family obligations, controlling for the other cultural values, child gender and mothers' education. In significant regression models, mothers' education was significantly associated with more maternal and paternal warmth, more parental knowledge solicitation and higher paternal expectations regarding children's family obligations.

Fathers' cultural values

As shown in the correlations depicted in Table 2, fathers' individualism was positively correlated with knowledge

TABLE 2
Bivariate correlations

Parenting or Child Adjustment Variable	Mother			Father		
	Individualism	*Collectivism*	*Conformity*	*Individualism*	*Collectivism*	*Conformity*
Mother Warmth	.23*	.25*	.43***	−.06	.02	.25*
Father Warmth	.10	.21*	.28**	.18	.30**	.40***
Parent Psychological Control	−.16	−.05	.12	−.01	−.05	−.07
Parent Autonomy Granting	.02	−.02	.17	.10	−.04	.07
Rules/Limit-setting	.04	−.01	.16	.28**	.17	.13
Knowledge Solicitation	−.05	−.12	.05	.25*	.16	.22*
Mother Family Obligations	.20	.30**	.36***	.03	.09	.22*
Father Family Obligations	.03	.02	.05	.11	.45***	.27**
Child Family Obligations	−.29**	.00	.08	.02	.07	.04
Child Internalising	−.02	.13	−.08	−.13	.04	.08
Child Externalising	.11	.09	−.04	.02	−.05	.04

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

TABLE 3
Regressions predicting parenting and child adjustment from parents' cultural values

Parenting or child adjustment variable	Mother cultural values				Father cultural values			
	Individualism	*Collectivism*	*Conformity*	*F*	*Individualism*	*Collectivism*	*Conformity*	*F*
Mother Warmth	.09 (.08)	.14 (.09)	.36*** (.03)	8.93***	−.12 (.08)	−.11 (.10)	.18 (.04)	3.68**
Father Warmth	−.03 (.09)	.17 (.10)	.22* (.04)	5.22***	.07 (.08)	.13 (.09)	.29** (.04)	7.27***
Parent Psychological Control	−.19 (.14)	−.03 (.15)	.13 (.06)	.92	.01 (.12)	−.03 (.15)	−.05 (.06)	.12
Parent Autonomy Granting	−.01 (.18)	−.06 (.19)	.17 (.07)	1.22	.09 (.16)	−.12 (.19)	.05 (.08)	.87
Rules/Limit-setting	.02 (.16)	−.04 (.17)	.14 (.06)	1.09	.23* (.13)	.05 (.16)	.07 (.06)	2.49*
Knowledge Solicitation	−.07 (.11)	−.12 (.12)	.05 (.04)	1.41	.20 (.09)	.03 (.11)	.15 (.05)	2.70*
Mother Family Obligations	.08 (.12)	.21* (.13)	.31** (.05)	4.48**	−.01 (.12)	.03 (.14)	.18 (.06)	1.09
Father Family Obligations	−.03 (.13)	.00 (.14)	.03 (.05)	1.46	−.02 (.10)	.36*** (.12)	.14 (.05)	6.60***
Child Family Obligations	−.31** (.12)	.07 (.13)	.11 (.05)	2.43*	.05 (.11)	.13 (.13)	.09 (.05)	1.33
Child Internalising	−.06 (.81)	.16 (.87)	−.12 (.33)	.77	−.17 (.71)	.03 (.86)	.05 (.34)	.85
Child Externalising	.06 (.95)	.08 (1.03)	−.06 (.38)	.70	.00 (.83)	−.11 (1.01)	−.01 (.40)	1.12

Note: Values presented are standardised betas with standard errors in parentheses. Models control for child gender and parent education. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

solicitation and more rules/limit-setting. Fathers' higher collectivism was correlated with more paternal warmth and higher paternal expectations regarding children's family obligations. Fathers' higher conformity values were correlated with more maternal warmth, more paternal warmth, more knowledge solicitation and mothers' and fathers' higher expectations regarding children's family obligations.

In the regression analyses (see Table 3), fathers' individualism was associated with children's perceptions of their parents as having fewer expectations regarding children's family obligations after taking into account collectivism, conformity values, child gender and fathers' education. Fathers' higher collectivism was associated with mothers' higher expectations regarding children's family obligations, and fathers' higher conformity values were associated with more paternal warmth, after taking into account the other cultural values, child gender and fathers' education. In significant regression models, higher paternal education was significantly associated with more maternal warmth, more paternal warmth, higher paternal expectations regarding children's family obligations and children's perceptions of their parents as having fewer expectations for children's family obligations.

DISCUSSION

This study examined whether mothers' and fathers' individualism, collectivism and conformity values are significantly related to parenting behaviours and child adjustment during middle childhood. These results indicated the following: (a) Parents who were higher in collectivism were higher in warmth and expectations for children's family obligations. (b) Mothers' and fathers' conformity values were positively related to maternal and paternal warmth, parental knowledge solicitation, and expectations for children's family obligations. (c) Mothers' and fathers' individualism was negatively related to expectations regarding children's family obligations.

Expectations for children's family obligations were higher for parents with more collectivist orientations. By extension, these results suggested that individualistic mothers and their children conformed less to societal expectations. They assumed that less was required of them in terms of family obligations. The limited emphasis placed on family obligations by these individualist mothers and their children could have been linked to altered community relationships where personal goals now prevailed over community goals (Wachege & Rũgendo, 2018). In addition, higher education levels attained by these mothers could have led to the emergence of a distinct group of individualistic parents not bound by cultural norms (Rothenberg et al., 2020; Santos et al., 2017). These more individualistic mothers may have given higher priority to their children's independence from traditionally linked social obligations, leading to lower expectations for family obligations (Ma & Schoenemann, 1997).

Paternal warmth was positively linked to collectivism, individualism and conformity values. This finding suggested that irrespective of their orientations, mothers and fathers were similarly warm to their children and expected more conformity to behavioural standards. Parents also had higher expectations for family obligations irrespective of whether they had collectivist or individualist orientations. It is likely that reports of conformity values and high expectations for family obligations were an indication of adherence to some elements of traditional norms among all parents. Parents with higher conformity values had higher expectations for their children's family obligations and solicited more information from their children.

These findings were expected when viewed in terms of traditional norms but unexpected when compared to previous findings (e.g., Rothenberg et al., 2020). Our expectation was that fathers higher in individualism would have achieved more years of education, provide more warmth and be less controlling. Instead, they would grant more autonomy and engage in less rule/limit setting. One possible explanation was that these fathers, though individualistic, were still attuned to social norms and still held onto traditional views of children as requiring adult direction and supervision (Lasse et al., 2011).

The positive correlation between fathers' collectivism and conformity values could have been linked to their presumed leadership roles in the family, vested interest in the maintenance of the status quo and avoidance of actions that could jeopardise their traditionally sanctioned higher status and societal leadership expectancy (Bond & Smith, 1996). Gendered roles in traditional Kenyan society required fathers to be "heads of homes," which meant they had the socially sanctioned role to set limits, be restrictive and engage their children in the attainment of group goals. Additionally, this role would have required them to solicit as much knowledge as possible about their children's whereabouts (Bond & Smith, 1996).

Our findings suggest the importance of within-culture variability. For example, some mothers and fathers expect less whereas others expect more from their children with respect to family obligations. In addition, fathers' individualism was positively correlated with more rule setting, which suggests that there are possibilities of having both collectivist and individualistic expressions within the same cultural group (Ogihara, 2017).

This longitudinal study has both strengths and limitations. For example it is one of the few studies that has attempted to directly assess individualism and collectivism at the individual level in mothers and fathers. Previous studies (e.g., Oyserman et al., 2002) suggested that these direct assessments are desirable over country-level measurements. The study was, however, limited in that the variables assessed tended to be those that are considered "universal" rather than specific to given cultural groups. Additionally, families in the sample were predominantly from the Luo ethnic group comprising about 13% of the Kenyan population. Consequently, the sample used cannot be considered nationally representative of the 42 ethnic groups in Kenya. The results obtained can also not be extrapolated to extended family structures and other development periods before or after middle childhood. The maternal individualism scale also had a relatively low alpha. Future research could extend the study to focus to other age ranges (e.g., younger participants and late adolescents) to determine the consistency of effects. Direct assessments of other individual-level variables that affect values, parenting and child adjustment may also be necessary.

The present study has several implications for parents and practitioners who work with families. Our findings suggest that cultural values are significantly related to parenting. For example, links were evident between cultural values and parental warmth, knowledge solicitation, rules/limit-setting and expectations for family obligations. In particular, more collectivist parents placed higher premium on family obligations. An emerging group of individualistic parents also placed more emphasis on the achievement of personal over community goals. The changing community relationships and parenting goals require new approaches that incorporate both traditional and emerging norms.

COMPLIANCE WITH ETHICAL STANDARDS

All procedures performed in this study involving human participants were in accordance with the ethical standards of the institutional research committee at Maseno University and with the 1964 Helsinki Declaration and its later amendments or comparable ethical standards.

INFORMED CONSENT

Informed consent was obtained from all individual adult participants included in the study; assent was obtained from children.

Manuscript received July 2023
Revised manuscript accepted December 2023

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