Cultural values, parenting and child adjustment in Sweden

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*T*o examine whether mothers' and fathers' individualism, collectivism and conformity values are significantly related to parenting behaviours and child adjustment during middle childhood, mothers ($n = 95$), fathers ($n = 72$) and children ($n = 98$) in Sweden were interviewed when children were, on average, 10 years old. Mothers' collectivism was significantly correlated with mothers' and fathers' higher expectations for children's family obligations. Fathers' collectivism was significantly correlated with mothers' and fathers' higher warmth and with fathers' higher expectations for children's family obligations. Fathers' conformity values were significantly correlated with fewer child internalising problems. Fathers' higher collectivism was associated with more paternal warmth even after taking into account the other cultural values, child gender and fathers' education. Our findings indicate that individual-level cultural values are correlated with some aspects of parenting and child adjustment in Sweden.

Keywords: child adjustment; cultural values; parenting; Sweden.

Sweden is a country with 10.5 million people (Statistics Sweden, 2023b) that is situated in the northern part of Europe. Sweden became a member of the European Union in 1995. Compared to other European countries, the population size of Sweden is small, but the land area is the fifth biggest in Europe, meaning that the country is sparsely populated. The workforce population increased from the 1930s to 1970s when many immigrants moved to Sweden from southern Europe, but after the 1970s immigration has been driven by war and conflicts that have made people move to Sweden. The population size has been increasing because the birthrate has been higher than the deathrate. The average life expectancy in Sweden is over 80 years. Cultural values, parenting and children's adjustment in Sweden have been shaped in part by these sociodemographic characteristics. Further, Sweden is described as having a progressive approach to parenting and as being an individualistic culture where individuals themselves and their closest family are most important (Trost et al., 2015).

Cultural values in Sweden

Hofstede's index (Hofstede Insights, 2022) rates Sweden with a high score of 75 on the individualism scale and describes Sweden as an environment in which everyone is expected to take care of themselves and their close family members. Although Sweden as a country is seen as an individualistic culture, it has been described as a country that emphasises equality where the goal is not to be competitive as, for example, in India or the USA (Triandis, 2001). Instead, the Swedes are known to be unique and do "their own thing" (p. 910), which Triandis defines as horizontal individualism. Further, Sweden is individualistic but trusts in collectivism. For example, trust in the government and social policies is high in Sweden. Rothstein (2003) called this "the Swedish model" with social insurance, health insurance and general pension insurance that are the foundation of Swedish welfare. Van Hoorn (2015) investigated the relations between collectivism–individualism and trust using data from the World Values Survey between 2005 and 2008, finding that individualistic cultures have a higher trust radius, meaning that they trust people farther outside their immediate social network, which is the case in Sweden.

Another description of Sweden is that the country is de-nationalised, meaning that individualism has become more important and nationalism less important, together with the essential value of gender equality (Heinö, 2009). The importance of gender equality is, for example, shown in parental leave policies where both women and men are encouraged to take parental leave when children are born

(Allard, 2007), although Swedish mothers still take more parental leave than fathers. The idea and importance of equality is not only between genders but also between children and adults, such as between teachers and pupils (e.g., Skolverket, 2022) and between parents and children (Harkness et al., 2011). For example, Swedish parents report more progressive attitudes than authoritarian attitudes when they raise their children (Sorbring & Gurdal, 2011) and therefore involve their children in such things as decision making and discussions and encourage them to express their opinions (Sommer, 2008). Children's rights have been promoted for a long time in Sweden, and children are usually treated as equal to adults in the family, school and society in general (Carlson & Earls, 2001). The Swedish government has the Ombudsman for Children that promotes children's rights set forth in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (Barnombudsmannen, 2021).

The individualist and collectivist view of cultures is sometimes debated and criticised because it often describes an ethnic group or a country instead of measuring the individual level that can have differences in the same ethnic group or country (Kâğıtçıbaşı, 1997). The present study has collected data from individual mothers and fathers to examine within-culture differences in individualism, collectivism and conformity values. Within-culture differences are often larger than between-culture differences in a variety of parenting attitudes, suggesting that the differences might depend on sociodemographic factors such as education or importance of religion that vary within cultural groups (Lansford et al., 2021).

Parenting in Sweden

Life in Sweden is in some ways different from other countries because cultural norms embrace high levels of both self-expression and secular values (Haerpfer et al., 2022). This influences, for example, family arrangements where it is common for people to live together without marrying (see, Björnberg, 2002; Wängqvist et al., 2016) or delaying marriage and parenthood until their 30s (Statistics Sweden, 2023b). In addition to these family demographics, parenting in Sweden is grounded in a belief of children being equal to adults, which was already a fundamental thought in the beginning of the twentieth century when the famous Swedish pedagogue Ellen Key (1900) wrote her book about children's right to a childhood and the right for every child to go to school. Sweden is also known for being the first country in the world to forbid physical punishment of children with their aga-law in 1979 (Durrant, 2003).

According to mothers and fathers, parenting in Sweden is characterised by high parenting warmth (Sorbring et al., 2021), with mothers reporting higher warmth

than fathers (Putnick et al., 2012). Swedish children describe their parents in a similar way, more permissive compared to their peers in Italy and Greece and in ways characterised by high warmth and low control (Olivari et al., 2015). A longitudinal study with children from the age of 7 to 15 in Sweden (Sorbring et al., 2021) showed that parents report high warmth for their child between ages 7 and 11 but that warmth decreases slightly from age 11 to 15, perhaps because when children become adolescents, they are less interested in warmth provided through hugs and other direct displays. The same study found a decrease in Swedish parents' behavioural control from childhood through adolescence explained by adolescence being a time when children gain autonomy and want less involvement from parents. Behavioural control in terms of supervision, knowledge solicitation and rules/limit-setting may conflict with what children or adolescents want to share about their lives (Kerr & Stattin, 2000). Instead, adolescents may feel overcontrolled and choose to not share with their parents. Therefore, some parental control together with attention and independence can be more preventative for unwanted behaviour such as smoking (Kerr & Stattin, 2000). Another previous study from Sweden points out that parents gain knowledge about their adolescents' whereabouts through communication and questions trying to learn more (i.e., solicitation; Kapetanovic & Boson, 2022). Parents also set rules, and in some cases adolescents themselves start a conversation and let parents know more about their lives. Parents report a higher level of solicitation and behavioural control (like rules) than their children reported, suggesting that parents think they know more about their children than their children think they know, and parents and their daughters have more similar answers about how much parents know compared to parents and their sons (Kapetanovic & Boson, 2022). A similar study by Kapetanovic et al. (2019) with 550 parents and their adolescent children in Sweden revealed that a strong negative predictor for adolescents' risk behaviour was adolescents' disclosure as well as a strong foundation for parental knowledge.

Further, authoritative parenting (characterised by high warmth and control) is related to adolescents' reports of higher disclosure to their parents, parental monitoring behaviour, trust and engagement (Kerr et al., 2010). Parents may recognise that the best way of getting more involved and gaining knowledge about their children is not to monitor but instead to use communication and openness so adolescents feel free to tell them about their whereabouts and activities (Kerr & Stattin, 2000).

Few studies in Sweden have studied conformity, but Hellmer et al. (2021) investigated whether conformity was related to parenting styles with a sample of children between 3 and 5 years old. Parents answered questions about their parenting style, and the children completed

an experimental task with peers. The results revealed that children's conformity with peers was associated with fathers', but not mothers', authoritarian parental style.

Child adjustment in Sweden

Research on children's internalising and externalising behaviours in Sweden is comprehensive, although most studies were carried out decades ago. Swedish literature from 2010 and onwards on children's internalising and externalising behaviours is consistent with international research, showing that parents' warmth is related to fewer child externalising and internalising behaviours. For mothers, but not for fathers, higher levels of dyadic coping were related to less youth externalising behaviour indirectly through maternal warmth (Skinner et al., 2022). Parents' warmth is directly positively related to their perceptions of children's agency, which in turn were related to lower child externalising and internalising problems and higher academic achievement (Gurdal et al., 2016). Other longitudinal research in Sweden has shown that children's perception of school disorder is associated with more internalising problems (Evans et al., 2020) and that mothers' previous and current depressive symptoms increase the risk of child behaviour problems in 12-year-olds (Agnafors et al., 2013).

Associations between parenting and child adjustment are bidirectional. In one study, child aggression predicted lower parental warmth 1 year later (Rothenberg et al., 2020). In another study, greater externalising and internalising problems at one age predicted less adolescent disclosure 2 years later (Kapetanovic et al., 2020). In a much earlier study, Swedish adolescents' externalising and internalising problems predicted changes in authoritative and neglectful parenting styles more robustly than these styles predicted changes in adolescent adjustment (Kerr et al., 2012). Both internalising and externalising problems are important to study because both have negative effects on well-being and everyday lives. In Sweden, an increasing number of youth are reporting problems with internalising and externalising symptoms, including trouble sleeping, headaches and irritability (The Public Health Agency of Sweden, 2023). Support from parents has been suggested as a way of reducing young people's internalising and externalising problems.

The present study

The goal of the present study was to understand associations of parents' cultural values with parenting and child adjustment. More particularly 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 at an age when warmth, psychological control, limit-setting, knowledge solicitation and expectations regarding family obligations are all developmentally salient. We hypothesised that:

Hypothesis 1: Parents' individualism would be associated with more parental warmth and knowledge solicitation.

Hypothesis 2: Parents' collectivism would be associated with more rules/limit-setting and expectations regarding children's family obligations.

Hypothesis 3: Parents' conformity values would be associated with parental rules/limit-setting and fewer child internalising and externalising problems.

METHODS

Participants

Participants from the Swedish subsample of the Parenting Across Cultures Study were recruited from Trollhättan/Vänersborg, Sweden. Letters were sent home from six schools with a description of the study and information that the parents would be contacted by phone to see if they were interested in participating. Five more families were contacted outside the six public schools. A total of 182 letters were mailed, and 173 families were contacted by phone. Families with immigrant parents were not included in the study, and nine families that received letters turned out not to fit in the demographic groups. In all, 102 families participated, and 71 families declined participation. For the present study, children ($n = 98$) were 10.13 years old ($SD = .34$), on average, at the time of data collection. Their mothers ($n = 95$) and fathers ($n = 72$) also participated. Most parents were married (63%) or cohabitating (20%) and biological parents (98%); nonresidential/non-biological parents also provided data. Participants were recruited to be socioeconomically representative of Trollhättan/Vänersborg, Sweden. In Trollhättan and Vänersborg, 52% and 37% of adults, respectively, have a post-secondary education (Statistics Sweden, 2023a).

Procedure

Measures were administered in Swedish following forward- and back-translation from English 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 completed measures in writing (all participating parents are literate and able to write responses to study items in Swedish); children completed interviews orally with an interviewer

who read the questions aloud, showed the child a visual depiction of the rating scales, and recorded the child's responses.

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 from 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 = .57 and .62 for mothers and fathers, respectively) and a collectivism scale (αs = .62 and .68 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 Swedish 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 = .75) and *father warmth* (α = .67). Higher scores indicated more parental warmth.

Parent psychological control

Children reported on their parents' psychological control (Barber, 1996; Barber et al., 1994). Children rated 7 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 = .68), with higher numbers indicating more psychological control.

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 Swedish 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 their children's activities and whom they spend time with on a 0 = *I do not try*, 1 = *I try a little* and 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 = .81) and parent *knowledge solicitation* (α = .65). 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 includes seven items assessing views about the importance of respecting the authority of elders in the family, 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 (αs = .82, .83 and .81 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 (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 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* (α = .84) and *externalising* (α = .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 regression analyses predicting each parenting and child adjustment variable 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).

TABLE 1
Descriptive statistics

Study variable	M	SD
Mother individualism	2.24	.35
Mother collectivism	3.25	.31
Mother conformity	3.89	1.22
Father individualism	2.31	.34
Father collectivism	3.19	.34
Father conformity	3.90	1.20
Mother warmth	3.83	.20
Father warmth	3.77	.26
Parent psychological control	1.98	.47
Rules/Limit-setting	.90	.68
Knowledge solicitation	1.41	.40
Mother family obligations	3.26	.41
Father family obligations	3.29	.42
Child family obligations	3.46	.51
Child internalising	5.89	3.59
Child externalising	5.43	3.36

RESULTS

Descriptive statistics for all variables are shown in Table 1.

Mothers' cultural values

Bivariate correlations are shown in Table 2. As shown, mothers' individualism and conformity values were not significantly correlated with any parenting or child adjustment variables. Mothers' higher collectivism was correlated with more maternal and paternal expectations regarding children's family obligations.

Results from the regression analyses are shown in Table 3. Mothers' individualism, collectivism and conformity values were not associated with any of the parenting or child adjustment variables after taking into account the other cultural values, child gender and mothers' education.

Fathers' cultural values

As shown in the correlations depicted in Table 2, fathers' individualism was not significantly correlated with any of the parenting or child adjustment variables. Fathers' higher collectivism was correlated with more maternal warmth, more paternal warmth and fathers' higher expectations regarding children's family obligations. Fathers' higher conformity values were correlated with less child internalising behaviour.

In the regression analyses (see Table 3), fathers' individualism and conformity values were not associated with any of the parenting or child adjustment variables after

TABLE 2
Bivariate correlations

Parenting or child adjustment variable	Mother			Father		
	Individualism	Collectivism	Conformity	Individualism	Collectivism	Conformity
Mother warmth	.09	.08	−.07	.17	.24*	−.01
Father warmth	−.05	.00	−.01	−.17	.36**	.18
Parent psychological Control	.10	.05	−.02	.08	−.01	−.02
Rules/Limit-setting	.11	−.01	−.05	.07	.08	−.09
Knowledge solicitation	.04	−.04	.07	−.02	−.01	−.03
Mother family obligations	.02	.23*	.16	−.04	.13	.10
Father family obligations	.18	.31**	−.19	.03	.30*	.16
Child family obligations	.07	.16	−.01	.06	.09	−.07
Child internalising	−.01	−.10	−.09	.11	−.17	−.25*
Child externalising	.09	−.06	.01	−.02	.08	−.22

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

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	.06 (.07)	−.01 (.07)	−.06 (.02)	.43	.19 (.07)	.27 (.08)	−.09 (.02)	1.50
Father warmth	.01 (.10)	.02 (.10)	−.01 (.03)	.03	−.08 (.07)	.42*** (.08)	.05 (.02)	3.04*
Parent psychological control	.13 (.17)	.06 (.17)	−.06 (.04)	1.37	.04 (.15)	.01 (.16)	.01 (.04)	.25
Rules/Limit-setting	.07 (.24)	−.07 (.25)	−.05 *(.06)	.26	.00 (.22)	.06 (.23)	−.02 (.06)	.44
Knowledge solicitation	−.01 (.15)	−.05 (.15)	.11 (.04)	.86	−.05 (.15)	−.08 (.16)	.06 (.04)	1.80
Mother family obligations	−.02 (.15)	.21 (.15)	.13 (.04)	1.34	−.02 (.14)	.11 (.14)	.04 (.04)	.26
Father family obligations	−.01 (.18)	.24 (.18)	−.15 (.04)	1.27	.10 (.14)	.24 (.15)	.08 (.04)	1.24
Child family obligations	.06 (.18)	.15 (.19)	−.04 (.05)	.78	.04 (.18)	.09 (.18)	−.02 (.05)	.56
Child internalising	.03 (1.26)	−.06 (1.28)	−.08 (.33)	1.30	.05 (1.04)	−.12 (1.09)	−.16 (.31)	1.36
Child externalising	.13 (1.21)	−.04 (1.23)	−.04 (.32)	.59	−.12 (1.02)	.12 (1.07)	−.18 (.30)	1.03

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

taking into account the other cultural values, child gender and fathers' education. Fathers' higher collectivism was associated with more paternal warmth even after taking into account the other cultural values, child gender and fathers' education.

DISCUSSION

The goal of the present study was to understand associations of parents' cultural values with parenting and child adjustment. More specifically, 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. Three hypotheses were tested; the evidence for each is reviewed in turn.

Our first hypothesis was that parents' individualism would be associated with more parental warmth and knowledge solicitation. This hypothesis was not supported, as there were no significant associations between mothers' or fathers' individualism and the parenting and child adjustment variables in this Swedish sample. Even

though Sweden is described as an individualistic culture, it is characterised as horizontally individualistic (Triandis, 2001). The rights of individuals are emphasised along with a belief in the collective for help concerning health care and school with high taxes paying for all citizens to have equal opportunities and a social safety net (Ehn et al., 1995). Although Sweden is individualistic, trust in others is high (Rothstein, 2003; Van Hoorn, 2015). One explanation for the lack of relation between individualism and parenting behaviour could be that parenting is founded in the view of the child as an equal. Childrearing in Sweden is based on communication, openness and tolerance grounded in norms of equality and considers parent−child relationships as collaborative and not based on only one individual (Carlson & Earls, 2001; Sommer, 2008).

Our second hypothesis was that parents' collectivism would be associated with more rules/limit-setting and expectations regarding children's family obligations. This hypothesis was partially supported, as both mothers' and fathers' collectivism were correlated with higher expectations regarding children's family obligations. However,

mothers' and fathers' collectivism were not significantly correlated with rules/limit-setting. Fathers' collectivism was also correlated with higher maternal and paternal warmth. Parental warmth is high in Sweden according to both parents' reports (Sorbring et al., 2021) and children's reports (Olivari et al., 2015), and our findings suggest that these perceptions of warmth are even higher when fathers hold more collectivistic values.

Our third hypothesis was that parents' conformity values would be associated with parental rules/limit-setting and fewer child behaviour problems. This third hypothesis was only partially supported, as conformity values were not significantly related to parents' rules/limit-setting, but fathers with higher conformity values had children with fewer internalising problems. Conformity refers to the importance of doing what you are told. The significant correlation for fathers' but not mothers' conformity values could be related to gender stereotypes. Although both parents in Sweden tend not to be perceived as controlling, demanding obedience or strict, children tend to turn to mothers more than fathers for support (Trifan et al., 2014). Mothers also are more involved in the family and childrearing, taking more parental leave and working part time (Statistics Sweden, 2020). Yet, father involvement has positive effects on children (Sarkadi et al., 2008). If children interpret fathers' conformity values as involvement, this engagement could be related to less internalising.

Many of the associations of individualism, collectivism and conformity values with parenting and child adjustment were not significant. These results indicate that other cultural values might be more importantly related to parenting and child adjustment in Sweden than individualism, collectivism and conformity values. These other values might involve the importance of children's rights and equality (Carlson & Earls, 2001; Key, 1900; Sorbring et al., 2003) and non-violence (Durrant, 2003).

The current results should be interpreted with caution due to several limitations. First, the sample was not nationally representative of Sweden. Second, this study focused on one part of children's lives during middle childhood; cultural values may be related differently to parenting and child adjustment earlier or later in development (Sorbring et al., 2021). Third, some of the scales with few items had relatively low alphas. Another thing to take into consideration is that this study is one of several in a cross-cultural study and needs to be interpreted from that perspective. The study is designed to capture nine countries in the Parenting Across Cultures project instead of only focusing on the unique Swedish context.

Taken together, the findings indicate that individual-level cultural values are correlated with some aspects of parenting and child adjustment in Sweden. In particular, mothers' collectivism was significantly correlated with mothers' and fathers' higher expectations for children's family obligations; fathers' collectivism was significantly correlated with mothers' and fathers'

higher warmth and with fathers' higher expectations for children's family obligations; and fathers' conformity values were significantly correlated with fewer child internalising problems. However, individualism was unrelated to parenting or child adjustment, and a number of aspects of parenting and child adjustment were also unrelated to collectivism and conformity values, suggesting the importance of considering other cultural values in relation to parenting and child adjustment in Sweden.

COMPLIANCE WITH ETHICAL STANDARDS

All procedures performed involving human participants were in accordance with the ethical standards of the institutional research committee at University West 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.

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