Helping Parents With Chores or Going Out With Friends: Cultural Differences in Adolescents' Responses to Potentially Conflicting Expectations of Parents and Peers

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Abstract

The study examined cultural similarities and differences in how adolescents deal with conflicting expectations of parents and peers. It was tested to what extent adolescents' interdependence values and satisfaction with family and friendships predict the way they would solve the disagreement, where they had planned to go out with friends, but their parents wanted them to stay at home to do chores. Moreover, adolescents' reasons for their reported actions were examined. The sample included 894 Estonian, German, and Russian adolescents (*M* age around 15 years). Russian adolescents were more likely than their Estonian and German peers to comply with parents' requests. This was possibly due to interdependence values being more

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important for them. Satisfaction with family relationships and friendships was not linked to adolescents' compliance. Adolescents from all cultures were similar in terms of suggesting self-oriented reasons for noncompliance, while Estonian and German adolescents expressed their need for autonomy more explicitly. Russian adolescents were, however, more oriented to maintaining good relationships with parents and friends, respectively, in their reasons for compliance and noncompliance. They were also less likely to suggest compromise.

Keywords

parent-adolescent disagreement, compliance, autonomy, interdependence values, Estonia, Germany, Russia, culture

Adolescents' relationships with parents have interested developmental psychologists for more than a 100 years. During adolescence, many changes take place in parent-child relationships and in adolescents' relationships with peers who become more important (Collins & Laursen, 2004; Steinberg & Silk, 2002). From time to time, adolescents are likely to experience conflicting expectations of parents and peers. The present study examines how adolescents manage such situations of potential conflict. More specifically, we examine adolescents' reported actions as well as their reasons in a hypothetical disagreement situation, where adolescents have planned to go out with friends, but their parents want them to stay at home to do chores. The study contributes to the existing literature about parent-adolescent disagreements by investigating how interdependence values and satisfaction with family relationships and friendships as reported by adolescents from three different cultures—Estonia, Germany, and Russia—relate to their choice of staying at home or going out.

The Source of Disagreement

Studies indicate that adolescents from different cultures appeal to their individual rights and tend to assert themselves when dealing with parent-adolescent disagreements (e.g., Chen-Gaddini, 2012; Parkin & Kuczynski, 2012; Smetana, 2002; Smetana, Daddis, & Chuang, 2003; Sugimura, Yamazaki, Phinney, & Takeo, 2009). Adolescents tend to be more self-assertive over important and long-term issues than over minor everyday disputes (Phinney, Kim-Jo, Osorio, & Vilhjálmsdóttir, 2005; Smetana, 1995). Most parent-adolescent disagreements are about chores, but these are usually not intense

and not taken very seriously by parents and adolescents (Allison & Schultz, 2004; Dekovic, 1999; Laursen, 1995; Smetana et al., 2003; Yau & Smetana, 2003). Nevertheless, when parents' behavior limits adolescents' autonomy to decide when and what to do, the situation might get more intense. According to the literature, disagreements over adolescents' autonomy are less frequent, but more intense, and considered to be of higher importance by adolescents (Allison & Schultz, 2004; Laursen, 1995).

Studies show that adolescents are more likely to comply with their parents when the issue in question is within the legitimate sphere of parental authority, when parents have established clear rules, and when adolescents agree with parents (Darling, Cumsille, & Martínez, 2007; Kuhn, Phan, & Laird, 2014). Smetana distinguishes between moral (i.e., individuals' rights, justice, and welfare), conventional (i.e., social expectations, rules, and norms), prudential (i.e., individual's own safety, harm to the self, and health), and personal domains (i.e., affect only the actor). Issues that are viewed as personal are considered by adolescents to be outside the legitimate domain of parental authority (Smetana & Asquith, 1994).

According to Smetana and Asquith (1994), adolescents and parents have conflicts over multidomain issues more frequently than over those that can neatly be categorized into moral, conventional, prudential, and personal domains. In the present study, the situation involves aspects of personal (i.e., making plans with friends, what to do and in which order), conventional (i.e., chores), and possibly even of prudential domains (e.g., when adolescents plan to drink or stay out late at night). As Daddis (2011) has found, adolescents tend to claim autonomy over multifaceted issues. It is yet, however, unknown what their reasons are like. To understand adolescents' actions better, we examine which reasons they give for staying at home or going out with friends. Adolescents' reasons can reflect how much they attend to different features of the situation (Smetana, Jambon, & Ball, 2014).

Cultural Differences

In all cultures, adolescents pursue the developmental task to achieve autonomy (i.e., volitional agency) while maintaining relatedness (i.e., connectedness to others) with their parents and any other people. Along with viewing culture as "a socially interactive process of construction comprising two main components: shared activity (cultural practices) and shared meaning (cultural interpretation)" (Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, & Maynard, 2003, p. 462), researchers point out that the relative importance placed on autonomy versus relatedness is culturally different as it depends on what values are more adaptive in the particular sociocultural context (Greenfield et al., 2003;

Kagitçibaşı, 2005, 2013). Autonomy underlies individualism and the independent self, whereas relatedness underlies collectivism and the interdependent self (Rothbaum & Trommsdorff, 2007).

Few studies have compared Estonian, German, and Russian adolescents' relationships and disagreements with parents. The three countries share a recent history of extensive ideological, political, and economic transformations in the last decades of the previous century. At the same time, these countries represent different cultural orientations. According to Hofstede (2001), Germany and Estonia are relatively high, whereas Russia low in individualism. This suggests that in Estonia and Germany, people might be more concerned with their own needs, whereas in Russia, people emphasize the group's needs (Hofstede, 2001). Relying on Kagitçibaşı's (1996, 2013) distinctions between three family models and on previous research, Estonian mothers are likely to promote the autonomous-relatedness model emphasizing both autonomy and relatedness, whereas German mothers' parenting goals rather reflect a clearer orientation toward autonomy and Russian mothers' values reflect a relatedness orientation (Durgel, Leyendecker, Yagmurlu, & Harwood, 2009; Friedlmeier, Schäfermeier, Vasconcellos, & Trommsdorff, 2008; Tamm, Kasearu, Tulviste, & Trommsdorff, *in press*; Tulviste, Mizera, & De Geer, 2012). Both Estonian and German mothers have been found to value autonomy more than relatedness, but German mothers stress relatedness less than Estonian mothers (Tõugu, Tulviste, Schröder, Keller, & De Geer, 2011).

The interpretation of multifaceted issues might vary across cultures (Smetana et al., 2014) reflecting the relative importance of autonomy and relatedness. In cultures where autonomy from parents tends to be more important, adolescents are allowed to make autonomous decisions earlier (Greenfield et al., 2003; Kagitçibaşı, 2005). In such cultures, parents might tolerate children's noncompliance due to perceiving it as an indicator of autonomy (Rothbaum & Trommsdorff, 2007). Rothbaum and Trommsdorff (2007) further point out that in Western cultures, children are given more freedom so they can choose which chores to do or even refrain from doing the chores. In cultures where collectivistic values are emphasized, chores are often group-oriented and children's noncompliance is viewed as a moral transgression (Greenfield et al., 2003; Oyserman, Coon, & Kimmelmeier, 2002; Rothbaum & Trommsdorff, 2007). German mothers have indeed found to consider their adolescent children's obedience less important than Estonian and Russian mothers (Tamm et al., *in press*). German adolescents might thus be more likely than Estonian and Russian adolescents to report not complying with parents' requests due to perceiving lower levels of parental expectations for obedience.

Prior studies suggest that adolescents' own value orientation affects the way they manage parent-adolescent disagreements (Phinney et al., 2005; Sugimura et al., 2009). We assess adolescents' interdependence values in relation to their family. Interdependence—one dimension of a cultural conception of the self—refers to how individuals perceive themselves in relation to others, the degree to which they consider family relations important, and would sacrifice self-interest for the benefit of the family. This personal value orientation is influenced by the norms prevalent in the particular cultural context (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). In Russia, family relations are of high importance (Zubkov, 2007). Russian adolescents have been found to consider interdependence more important than their peers from Estonia and Germany (Tõugu, Tulviste, Kasearu, & Talves, 2016) and traditional family values more important than German adolescents (Mayer, Kuramschew, & Trommsdorff, 2009). Adolescents and youth who emphasize interdependence are more likely to choose spending time with their family over going out with friends (Phinney et al., 2005). Moreover, Phinney et al. (2005) found that youth from non-European backgrounds where interdependence, obedience, and good relationships with family members are important showed more respect and concern for their parents when giving reasons for complying with parents. European Americans, however, who value independence and autonomy tended to focus on their own needs.

Last but not least, we are interested in to what extent adolescents' reported actions are linked to their relationships with parents and with friends in the three cultural contexts. Interpersonal relationships are shaped by the values prevailing in the particular sociocultural context (Greenfield et al., 2003; Oyserman et al., 2002; Rothbaum & Trommsdorff, 2007). Several differences have been found in Estonian, German, and Russian adolescents' relationships with parents (Tamm, Kasearu, Tulviste, & Trommsdorff, 2016, in press). For instance, Russian adolescents reported being closer with and feeling more accepted by their mothers than Estonian and German adolescents (Tamm et al., 2016, in press). German adolescents, however, perceived higher levels of admiration in both mother-adolescent and father-adolescent relationships than their peers from Estonia and Russia (Tamm et al., 2016). Studies indicate that satisfaction with family and parental admiration are equally important in diverse cultural contexts (Diener & Diener, 1995; Schwarz et al., 2012). At the same time, it has also been found that adolescents who perceive better relationships with their parents tend to report higher parental influence on their decisions and behaviors (McElhaney, Porter, Thompson, & Allen, 2008; Padilla-Walker, Nelson, & Knapp, 2014). In the present study, adolescents are asked about their satisfaction with their family relationships. We also ask about adolescents' satisfaction with their

friendships. Studies show that relations with peers are associated with adolescents' life satisfaction in different cultures, but the link is weaker in those cultures where family values are emphasized (Diener & Diener, 1995; Schwarz et al., 2012). With regard to relations with peers, German adolescents have been found to be more oriented toward fostering peer relations than Estonian and Russian adolescents (Tamm et al., 2016, in press). To our knowledge, no previous studies have examined how satisfaction with both family relationships and friendships relates to the way adolescents manage disagreements with parents, especially those where the disagreement also involves friends and adolescents have to choose between parents and friends.

Hypotheses

We hypothesize that most German adolescents report not complying with their parents, whereas most Russian adolescents report complying with their parents. Among Estonian adolescents, we do not expect to find a clear preference for either staying at home or going out with friends. Although the strength of associations may vary, adolescents from all three cultures are expected to be more likely to choose helping parents with chores over going out with friends when they consider interdependence important and their satisfaction with family relationships is high and satisfaction with friendships low. Their reasons for compliance and noncompliance will probably be different. We hypothesize that Russian adolescents tend to emphasize the importance of family in their reasons for compliance more than Estonian and German adolescents. Adolescents from Estonia and Germany are likely to suggest more self-oriented reasons, especially for noncompliance, than their Russian peers.

Method

Sample

The study is part of the Value of Children and Intergenerational Relations (VOC-IR) project that was initiated by Nauck and Trommsdorff, and carried out in a large number of countries in collaboration with several cooperating teams from different disciplines (overview by Trommsdorff, Kim, & Nauck, 2005; Trommsdorff & Nauck, 2005, 2010).

The sample included 894 adolescents: 285 from Estonia, 282 from Germany, and 327 from Russia. The mean age of participants was 15.53 ($SD = 1.14$). Forty-nine percent of Estonian, 45% of German, and 44% of Russian adolescents were boys.

Measures and Procedure

In all countries, the sample included adolescents from urban and suburban regions and with varying socioeconomic characteristics. German data were collected in 2002 in Chemnitz, Essen, and Konstanz. German participants were recruited through residents' registration offices. In 2009, Estonian participants were recruited through random selection of residential addresses from 11 counties and two of the largest cities in Estonia. Russian data were collected in 2006 in Nizhny Novgorod through vocational and secondary schools. The participation was voluntary. Paper-and-pencil instruments were used for collecting the data. Adolescents filled out the questionnaires in a separate place while their mothers were interviewed. In the present study, only adolescent data were used.

The questionnaires were translated from English to German and Estonian by a bilingual native speaker of the relevant languages. In Russia, the questionnaires were translated from German to Russian. In all three countries, the questionnaires were also translated back into the source language. Only the measures relevant to the current study are described below.

Adolescents' interdependence. Adolescents' interdependent self was measured by the relevant subscale from the Self Construal Scale (Singelis, 1994). The wording of the items was changed so that adolescents were asked about their interdependence in relation to their family, instead of an unspecified group of people (people around me, my group). The subscale consisted of five items (e.g., "It is important for me to maintain harmony within my family." "It is important to me to respect decisions made by my family." "I often have the feeling that my relation with my family is more important than my own accomplishments." "My happiness depends on the happiness of my family." "I would sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of my family."). Adolescents indicated how strongly they agreed or disagreed with each statement on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The mean of the five items was used for further data analyses. The reliability coefficients of the scale ranged from .68 to .76 in the three samples.

Satisfaction with family and friendships. Adolescents' satisfaction with their family relationships and friendships was measured with single-item measures: They were asked to indicate how satisfied they were with their family relationships and friendships on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*not satisfied at all*) to 5 (*very satisfied*). Single-item measures have been found to be valid alternatives to multiple-item ones when assessing, for instance, the parent-child communication (Tabak et al., 2012), closeness in relationships (Aron,

Aron, & Smollan, 1992), and global self-esteem (Robins, Hendin, & Trzesniewski, 2001).

Vignette. Adolescents were asked to imagine the following situation: You and your friends have decided to spend the day together, but your parents want you to help them with chores. After reading the story, adolescents had to (a) indicate what they would do in such situation by choosing either “spend the day helping my parents” or “spend the day with my friends,” and (b) write down their reasons for deciding to do this.

Coding. The coding system for adolescents’ reasons was developed on the basis of those of Phinney et al. (2005) and Smetana (2013). Phinney et al. (2005) also examined cultural differences in youngsters’ reasons behind strategies during hypothetical parent-child disagreements. As we largely rely on Smetana’s theoretical perspective, some of the categories were also derived from her coding scheme. After the categories were created, we undertook an initial coding in order to test whether these fit the data. In the last step, we coded all the data by dividing adolescents’ reasons for staying at home or going out with friends into eight categories (see Table 1). Thirty-five percent of the material was double coded for reliability by the second coder. The interrater reliability was high: Cohen’s kappa was .89.

Results

AMOS 20.0 was used for performing a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) for interdependence. Further data analyses were performed in SPSS 21.0. First, descriptive and dispersion analyses were conducted after which the hypotheses were tested using a chi-square test and a generalized linear model.

Values and Satisfaction With Relationships

Adolescents’ interdependence. Before comparing the means across the three groups, scalar invariance was tested. CFA was first conducted for each sample separately after which a multiple group CFA was run. All observed variables loaded significantly onto the corresponding factor. As suggested by Hoe (2008), we used the comparative fit index (CFI; $>.90$ indicates good fit), the root mean squared error of approximation (RMSEA; $<.05$ indicates good fit), and the χ^2/df ratio (≤ 3 indicates good fit) as indicators of the model fit. The fit of the model where factor loadings and item intercepts were set to be equal across the samples was acceptable: χ^2/df ratio = 3.22, CFI = .93, and RMSEA = .05. This suggests that the observed items measure the same

Table 1. Adolescents' Reasons for Staying at Home to Help Parents or Going Out With Friends.

Category	Description and examples
Family and parents	Refer to the importance of family and parents, respect and concern for parents. For example, "Family is more important."; "I love my parents."
Obligation	Refer to internal (feelings of obligation) or external obligation (parental force, punishment avoidance). For example, "Otherwise, my parents would seriously limit my computer usage."; "Because this is my duty."
Mutuality	Refer to achieving mutual satisfaction, compromise. For example, "You can do both."; "I would first do the chores, and then go out as planned."
Self-interest	Refer to personal preferences, the importance of his or her needs, rebellious behavior, and autonomy-seeking. For example, "I prefer to spend time with my friends."; "Parents don't always get what they want."
Friendship	Refer to the importance of friends and friendship, and of keeping promises to friends. For example, "Because I don't want to abandon my friends."; "Friends are very important."
No opposition	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Parents agree with adolescents or tolerate that adolescents go out. For example, "Because my parents wouldn't keep me from meeting my friends." 2. Adolescents agree with parents or tolerate helping parents with chores. For example, "I prefer staying at home and doing the chores."
Depends	Refer to additional circumstances that would affect adolescent's decision. For example, "It depends on how important the chores are."; "When it rains: helping at home. Sun is shining: going out with friends."
Don't know	

theoretical construct across the three cultural groups and the means can be compared across the groups.

Russian adolescents ($M = 3.62$, $SD = 0.58$) considered interdependence values more important than their peers from Estonia ($M = 3.44$, $SD = 0.63$) and Germany ($M = 3.46$, $SD = 0.59$), $F(2, 954) = 9.06$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .02$ (see Table 2 for mean scores). Boys' and girls' interdependence scores did not differ.

Satisfaction with family and friendships. No statistically significant difference emerged between Estonian, German, and Russian adolescents in terms of

Table 2. Mean Scores for Study Variables by Country.

	Estonians		Germans		Russians		<i>p</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Interdependence	3.43	0.63	3.46	0.59	3.62	0.58	***a
Satisfaction with family	4.11	0.90	4.16	0.80	4.11	0.90	
Satisfaction with friendships	4.04	0.84	4.22	0.84	3.94	0.80	***b

^aRussians differ from Estonians and Germans.

^bGermans differ from Estonians and Russians.

****p* < .001.

their satisfaction with family relationships. German adolescents ($M = 4.22$, $SD = 0.84$) were more satisfied with their friendships than their peers in Estonia ($M = 4.04$, $SD = 0.84$) and Russia ($M = 3.94$, $SD = 0.80$), $F(2, 954) = 9.54$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .02$ (see Table 2 for mean scores). No gender differences emerged in adolescents' satisfaction with family relationships and friendships.

Actions and Reasons

Choice of staying at home or going out with friends. More than 60% of German adolescents chose to spend the day with friends instead of helping parents at home. More than 60% of Russian adolescents, however, chose to help parents with chores instead of going out with friends. Among Estonians, no such clear preference occurred: Staying at home was only slightly more frequently chosen than going out with friends.

Due to uneven sized categories, we did not perform a regression analysis with adolescents' reasons for choosing staying at home to help parents or going out with friends. Differences between Estonian, German, and Russian adolescents were examined using a chi-square test. Adolescents' reasons are presented in Table 3.

Reasons for staying at home. Estonian adolescents' reasons for staying at home to help parents differed from those of their peers in Germany, $\chi^2(7, N = 221) = 15.92$, $p = .026$, and Russia, $\chi^2(7, N = 319) = 47.95$, $p < .001$. There was also a statistically significant difference between German and Russian adolescents in their reasons for staying at home, $\chi^2(4, N = 280) = 23.08$, $p < .001$. Nearly 60% of Russian adolescents referred to the importance of parents and family in their reasons for staying at home to help

Table 3. Adolescents' Reasons for Staying at Home and Going Out With Friends.

	Estonia	Germany	Russia
	%	%	%
Stay at home	53	34	61
Family and parents	38.46	37.36	59.26
Obligation	14.62	29.67	21.69
Mutuality	7.69	7.69	0.53
Self-interest	3.08	2.20	0
No opposition (parents agree)	1.54	0	0
No opposition (adolescents agree)	25.38	23.08	18.52
Depends	5.38	0	0
Don't know	3.85	0	0
Go out with friends	47	66	39
Mutuality	15.97	10.93	4.88
Self-interest	41.18	39.89	40.65
Friendship	29.41	33.33	44.72
No opposition (parents agree)	6.72	9.29	9.76
Depends	4.20	5.46	0
Don't know	2.52	1.09	0

parents. Although this reason was the most frequent one among Estonian and German adolescents as well, the percentage of participants making references to the importance of parents was much smaller than in case of Russians (nearly 40% of Estonians and Germans). Among German and Russian adolescents, obligation was the second most frequent reason for staying at home to help parents. References to obligation were much less frequent among Estonian adolescents. For Estonian adolescents, the second most frequent reason for helping parents was that they do not mind staying at home and/or agree with parents that chores need to be done. Unlike Estonian and German adolescents, no Russian adolescents referred to their individual interests (i.e., get something in return) in their reasons for staying at home.

Qualitative data. Further examination of adolescents' open-ended answers provides more insights into cultural differences in adolescents' reasons for compliance. Although for many Estonian and German adolescents the reason for staying at home was the importance of the family, some of them also mentioned friends: "Parents are more important than friends. I can meet friends later," "I want to give my parents what they have given me. I can spend time with friends later." This might indicate their wish to meet friends' expectations

as well or to find a way to do what they had planned. This was less common among Russian adolescents.

The obligation category included both feelings of duty as well as concerns about parental disciplinary actions and authority. These are different reasons for compliance, but as it was not always possible to understand adolescents' motives (e.g., "I have to stay home"), these two types of answers were included in the same category. Nevertheless, it is clear that more Russian than Estonian and German adolescents claimed to comply with parents due to feelings of obligation: "I feel it to be my responsibility," "I think that I should help my family, I consider it my duty." Among Estonian and German adolescents, on the contrary, references to parental authority were more common: "If my parents ask for my help, I do this. But if I had a free choice, I'd go out with friends," "If there's something important to be done in the household, I just wouldn't be allowed to spend the day elsewhere." Germans sometimes expressed their right to make autonomous decisions even when reporting feelings of obligation: "I by myself would decide how I spend my free day, but I would have to help. Besides, I'd expect them to help as well."

Reasons for going out with friends. Regarding reasons for going out with friends, there was a difference between Russian and German, $\chi^2(5, N = 306) = 13.78, p = .017$, and between Russian and Estonian adolescents, $\chi^2(5, N = 242) = 19.95, p = .001$. Estonian and German adolescents' reasons did not differ. About 40% of Estonian and German adolescents referred to their own interests when giving reasons for going out with friends. Among Russian adolescents, self-interest was also a frequently given reason, but references to the importance of friends and friendship were slightly more frequent. References to the importance of friendship were the second most frequent reason among Estonian and German adolescents, but the percentage of adolescents giving this reason was much smaller than in case of Russian adolescents. Mutual interests (e.g., first do chores and then go out) were mentioned by much fewer Russian than Estonian and German adolescents when giving reasons for helping parents or going out with friends.

Qualitative data. Russian adolescents more often mentioned the importance of keeping promises to friends: "With friends, you have to maintain the relationships," "I don't want to offend my friends by canceling the plans." Such answers were also given by many Estonian and German adolescents, but they more frequently mentioned their own needs and expressed their autonomy: "If I have made plans with friends, my parents have to accept it," "Because I have already made up my mind and I need to be with friends," "I had planned to spend the day with friends. My mother can do housework

alone.” Again, references to autonomy were more evident in Germans’ different types of reasons: for example, “I think that we should make a compromise. I’d have to help my parents another time so that they’d let me go.”

Predicting Actions

In order to test the role of adolescents’ cultural background, interdependence values, and satisfaction with family and friendships in their choice of staying at home to help parents or going out with friends, the binary logistic regression in generalized linear model was performed. The binary logistic regression enabled us to predict a dichotomous variable and use both continuous and categorical predictor variables. Staying at home to help parents was chosen as the reference category. Predictors were added in a stepwise manner in order to examine whether and how a certain variable changes the significance of other variables. In the first step, country and gender were entered to the model. Adolescents’ interdependence and its interaction with country were added in the second step. In the third step, adolescents’ satisfaction with family relationships and friendships, and interactions between these relationship variables and country were entered. As neither Estonian, German, nor Russian, boys and girls differed in terms of their choice of staying at home or going out, the present study only focuses on cultural differences. The deviance / *df* ratio was used to assess the model fit. When it is approximately equal to 1, the model fits the data well.

In Model 1, German adolescents were 2.17 times more likely, whereas Russian adolescents were 1.38 times less likely than their Estonian peers to choose going out with friends over staying at home to help parents (see Table 4). These differences became, however, insignificant after adolescents’ interdependence values were added to the model. A one-unit increase in interdependence score was associated with a decreased probability of choosing going out with friends over staying at home to help parents. Country did not mitigate the effect of interdependence on adolescents’ decision (see also Figure 1). Adolescents’ satisfaction with their family relationships and with their friendships was not related to their choice of staying at home to help parents or going out with friends in neither of the samples.

Discussion

The present study set out to examine Estonian, German, and Russian adolescents’ responses to a hypothetical disagreement where they had planned to go out with friends, but their parents wanted them to stay at home to do chores. Clear cultural differences emerged in adolescents’ willingness to comply

Table 4. Predicting Adolescents' Preferences for Staying at Home or Going Out With Friends.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>
Country (ref. Estonia)						
Germany	.78***	0.17	-.35	1.13	-.08	1.41
Russia	-.32*	0.16	.51	1.11	.05	1.35
Gender (ref. girls)						
Boys	.01	0.14	-.01	0.14	-.001	0.15
Interdependence			-1.0***	0.22	-.86***	0.24
Interdependence × Germany			.34	0.32	.31	0.35
Interdependence × Russia			-.19	0.31	-.23	0.35
Satisfaction with family					-.26	0.16
Satisfaction With Family × Germany					.08	0.25
Satisfaction With Family × Russia					-.05	0.24
Satisfaction with friendships					.08	0.16
Satisfaction With Friendships × Germany					-.11	0.22
Satisfaction With Friendships × Russia					.21	0.22
Deviance / <i>df</i>	0.45		0.99		1.16	

Note. The reference category is staying at home.

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

with their parents' requests. There were both similarities and differences in Estonian, German, and Russian adolescents' reasons for deciding to stay at home or go out with friends.

Adolescents' Willingness to Comply With Their Parents

In accordance with our hypotheses, noncompliance was the preferred action among German adolescents. More than half of Russian adolescents, however, reported that they would comply with parents. Among Estonian adolescents, there was about an equal number of those who would comply and those who would not comply with their parents' requests. Interdependence (i.e., consider family relations important and would sacrifice self-interest for the benefit of the family) was more important for Russian than for Estonian and

Figure 1. Interdependence scores of complying and not complying adolescents by country.

German adolescents. As we expected and as has been found in previous studies (Phinney et al., 2005; Sugimura et al., 2009), the willingness to comply rather than not to comply with parents increased along with the importance of interdependence values among adolescents from all cultural contexts.

We also expected adolescents' satisfaction with family relationships and friendships to be related to the way they would manage the parent-adolescent disagreement where they have to choose between parents and friends. German adolescents reported higher satisfaction with their friendships than their Estonian and Russian peers. No significant differences emerged between Estonian, German, and Russian adolescents in terms of their satisfaction with family relationships. Nevertheless, adolescents' satisfaction with their family relationships and friendships was not related to their decision to comply or not to comply with parents' requests. As we also examined adolescents' interdependence in relation to their family, it might

be that these values are more important than their general satisfaction with family relationships.

Adolescents' Reasons for Compliance and Noncompliance

In order to better understand cultural differences, adolescents' reasons for complying and not complying with their parents were examined. Adolescents from the three cultural contexts differed from each other in terms of their reasons for staying at home. There was more variability in Estonian and German adolescents' answers. References to the importance of parents and family (e.g., "Because family is more important," "I respect my parents.") were most frequent among adolescents from all cultural groups. In accordance with the hypothesis, however, Russian adolescents used such reasons significantly more than their Estonian and German peers. Based on the study with adolescents and youngsters from the four ethnic groups in the United States (Phinney et al., 2005), some conclusions about cultural differences in adolescents' reasons for their reported actions could be drawn. Namely, in cultures where collectivistic values are more important, adolescents tend to express more love and care for their parents when giving reasons for their compliance as compared with individuals from cultures where individualistic values are of higher importance. Our study with Estonian, German, and Russian adolescents found support to this notion: Russians valued family interdependence more highly and stressed the importance of their parents in their reasons for compliance more frequently.

The other two frequent reasons for complying with parents were obligation and adolescents' tolerance (i.e., adolescents do not mind staying home). In families, where adolescents feel that they must obey their parents (e.g., "In case of important chores, I would just not be allowed to spend the day elsewhere," "As long as I live with my parents, I must do this."), the issue in question (e.g., help in chores) is likely to be under the legitimate domain of parental authority or there are rules about it in the family. Adolescents' non-compliance may thus lead to a disagreement. Although it should be kept in mind that most German adolescents decided not to comply with their parents, the percentage of adolescents who referred to obligation in their reasons for compliance was the largest in the German sample. When comparing Estonian, German, and Russian mothers' parenting, it has, however, been found that German mothers consider their adolescent children's obedience less important and Russian mothers are perceived by their children as highly controlling (Tamm et al., in press). One explanation is that in cultures where individualistic values prevail, adolescents are less likely to give up their own interests and choices. They might also be more likely to perceive the chores as an

obligation. Studies show that in collectivist cultures, individuals also feel obligated to help their family members, but at the same time, they want to help (Janoff-Bulman & Leggatt, 2002). Moreover, responsibilities have been shown to be a focal goal of socialization in cultures stressing relatedness (Miller & Bersoff, 1992). Qualitative data in the present study do suggest that most Russian adolescents would comply due to feelings of obligation rather than due to direct parental force.

In all cultures, there was about 20% of those who claimed not to have anything against staying at home and helping their parents with chores (e.g., "It is not a big deal," "This is useful for me as well."). Darling et al. (2007) suggested that this might be an indication of successful socialization—adolescents have internalized their parents' values. Nevertheless, it might also be that adolescents do not consider the particular issue important enough to start negotiating with their parents or they simply do not want to go out. Previous studies show that self-assertion is more common in case of important long-term issues (Phinney et al., 2005; Smetana, 1995).

Unlike in the Russian sample, there were some Estonian and German adolescents who said that complying with their parents was in their own interests. This means that they expected to get something in return after having helped their parents with chores (e.g., "When I help them this time, I will get to spend the day with my friends next time."). Similar findings emerged in Phinney et al.'s (2005) study: Adolescents and youngsters from cultures where independence and autonomy are emphasized sometimes suggested self-oriented reasons for complying with parents.

Regarding adolescents' reasons for going out with friends, Russian adolescents differed from Estonian and German adolescents. Although much fewer Russian than Estonian and German adolescents claimed not to comply with their parents, adolescents from the three samples suggested self-oriented reasons for going out with friends with about the same frequency (e.g., "Because this is what I want," "It is my right," "Because I don't feel like doing chores, I prefer to go out."). This was contrary to our expectation. It might be that despite of their cultural background, adolescents tend to emphasize their own needs and their right to make decisions when they believe that the issue in question belongs to their personal domain (Smetana & Asquith, 1994). Adolescents' noncompliance and self-oriented reasons might also indicate that they attach high significance to the issue and want to gain more autonomy (Allison & Schultz, 2004; Laursen, 1995; Smetana, 2011). This was more evident among Estonian and especially in German adolescents' answers. They often referred to their right to make autonomous decisions and to have an equal say in decisions made in the family.

Among Russian adolescents, references to one's individual interest were not in fact the most frequent reasons for noncompliance. References to the importance of friendships were slightly more popular (e.g., "Friends are very important," "I don't want to let my friends down."). Compared with Estonian and German adolescents, they seemed to be more concerned with keeping promises to friends. We can thus conclude that Russian adolescents are more relationship-oriented than Estonian and German adolescents in both cases—when giving reasons for complying and not complying with their parents. They seem to value highly interdependence in relation to friends as well—the aspect of interdependence that was not measured in the current study.

Moreover, Russian adolescents tended to be focused on either parents', friends', or their own needs. This means that they were less likely than Estonian and German adolescents to try to accommodate different expectations (i.e., find a compromise and do both). These findings are somewhat different from those of Phinney et al. (2005). Namely, they found that individuals from collectivistic cultures were more likely to suggest compromise than their peers from individualistic cultures. It might be that the main motive behind Estonian and German adolescents' suggestions of compromise was to get what they want—spend time with friends—even if this means that they need to do chores first. This would be in accordance with the results of Phinney et al. (2005).

Limitations and Future Directions

Although using hypothetical disagreement scenarios has its advantages (e.g., adolescents' responses are comparable as they respond to the same situation), it also means that we need to be careful in our interpretations. Adolescents' answers are not necessarily indicative of their behavior in real life. Each disagreement has at least two parties, who are likely to influence each other's strategies. Another limitation of the present study was the fact that we only used one vignette. Future studies could examine cultural differences in adolescents' responses to various conflict situations. Phinney et al. (2005) found that cultural differences in youngsters' strategies varied depending on the source of disagreement. We also need to point out that adolescents' satisfaction with their family and friendships was measured with a single item, and our data did not enable us to examine how adolescents' values and satisfaction with family and friendships relate to the types of reasons they gave for compliance or noncompliance. Furthermore, our data were collected in different years in the three countries.

Conclusion

By combining quantitative and qualitative data, the present study provides a deeper understanding of cultural differences in adolescents' responses to parent-child disagreements. The findings suggest that adolescents' responses to parent-child disagreements strongly depend on which values are emphasized in the particular cultural context. The responses given by adolescents from all three cultures reflected that they strive to become autonomous while also maintaining relatedness. Nevertheless, the relative importance of these orientations varied: Estonian and German adolescents expressed their need for more autonomy, whereas Russian adolescents were more oriented to relatedness.

It is, however, likely that in addition to the varying degree of importance, expressions of autonomy and relatedness are culturally different. Drawing upon Rothbaum and Trommsdorff's (2007) discussion about two different forms of relatedness, it might be that relatedness is primarily defined in terms of trust—having hope and faith in others—in Estonia and Germany. In these and other Western cultures, the emphasis is on both self-confidence and confidence in others. The other form of relatedness is assurance. The emphasis here is on group belongingness, obligations, and loyalty—aspects that were more common for Russian adolescents. Thus, differences between Estonian, German, and Russian adolescents in terms of autonomy expression might stem from different expressions and meanings of relatedness in these socio-cultural contexts.

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