Cultural differences and moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling

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Abstract

Previous cross-cultural studies show that children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling may be influenced by culture. However, the potential impact of social factors such as parental disciplinary methods in different cultures has not been investigated. Also, previous findings in Eastern Asian cultures do not account for children who live in the Middle East. The purpose of this study was fivefold: a) to examine the impact of culture on mothers' inclinations towards either collectivism or individualism; b) to identify the impact of culture on mothers' disciplinary methods; c) to recognize the influence of maternal disciplinary methods on children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling; d) to determine the effect of culture in shaping children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling; and e) to examine the influence of maternal disciplinary method and culture when predicting children's moral evaluations. Two sets of data were collected in Canada (N = 240) and Iran (N = 180). Data from three cultural groups: Canadian (N = 180), Persian (N = 180), and Persian-Canadian (N = 60) was collected.

Canadian and Persian-Canadian participants (recruited in Canada) included children who were 5, 7, 9, and 11 years of age (M = 7.96 years, SD = 2.25 years); of the sample, 55.8% were male and 41.7% were female. Persian participants (recruited in Iran) included children who were 5, 7, 9, and 11 years of age (M = 8.03 years, SD = 2.24 years); of the sample, 51.1% were male and 48.9% were female. All children were read twenty vignettes about characters facing moral dilemmas in antisocial, politeness, collective, modest, and Taarof situations. Taarof is defined as an elaborate system of courtesy in which polite and complimentary phrases are used to create an atmosphere of trust and mutual respect. For each story, children were asked to evaluate how bad or good the

statement (either a truth or a lie) was. Parents filled out questionnaires about parenting practices. Linear mixed effects regression analyses showed cross-cultural differences between cultural groups. Further, differences were demonstrative of the impact of maternal disciplinary methods (e.g., induction, power assertion) on children's moral evaluations of different false statements. The same analyses also revealed that the major cultural differences were most prevalent in children's evaluations of false statements. Regarding modesty lies, it was found that, unlike Canadians, Persians were more inclined to evaluate them positively. As age increased, Persian children became more likely to rate modesty lies positively compared to their Canadian counterparts. Moreover, Persian children rated politeness and "Taarof" lies more positively compared to Canadian children. With age, Persian children evaluated untruthful statements in "Taarof" situations less negatively than Canadian children did. Furthermore, across cultures, children whose parents' dominant disciplinary method was power assertion were more in favor of antisocial and less in favor of modesty lies compared to children whose parents used the induction disciplinary method. However, in the examined cultures, children whose parents used the induction disciplinary method valued politeness lies more than children whose parents employed the power assertion disciplinary method. Also, regarding the importance of culture and parenting for different false statements, it was found that parenting practices have a greater effect on antisocial, politeness lies than onTaarof false statements. These findings suggest that sociocultural factors (e.g., parenting, culture) may influence children's moral judgments of lies and truths.

Résumé

Des études cross-culturelles précédentes démontrent que les évaluations morales des enfants concernant leur capacité à mentir ou dire la vérité peuvent être influencé par la culture. Cependant, l'impact potentiel des facteurs sociaux tels que les méthodes de discipline parentales dans différentes cultures n'ont pas été enquêtée. De plus, des recherches précédentes faites sur les cultures d'Asie de l'Est ne prennent pas en compte les enfants qui vivent au Moyen Orient. Le but de cette étude à cinq aspects: a) examiner l'impact de la culture sur le l'inclinaison de la mère vers le collectivisme ou l'individualisme; b) identifier l'impact de la culture sur les méthodes disciplinaires de la mère; c) reconnaître l'influence des méthodes disciplinaires de la mère sur l'évaluation morale de la capacité de l'enfant à mentir ou dire la vérité; d) déterminer l'effet de la culture à former l'évaluation morale de l'enfant concernant leur capacité à mentir ou dire la vérité; et e) examiner l'influence des méthodes de discipline parentale et de la culture pour prédire l'évaluation mentale des enfants.

Deux ensembles de données ont été collectés au Canada (N = 240) ainsi qu'en Iran (N = 180). Des données de trois groupes culturels distincts: Canadiens (N = 180), Perses (N = 180) et Perses-Canadiens (N = 60) ont été également collectés. Les participants Canadiens et Perses- Canadiens (recrutés au Canada) incluent des enfants de 5,7, 9 et 11 ans (M = 7.96 ans, SD = 2.25 ans) dont 55.8% hommes et 41.7% femmes. Les participants Perses (recrutés en Iran) incluent des enfants de 5,7,9 et 11 ans (M = 8.03 ans, SD = 2.24 ans) dont 51.1% hommes et 48.9% femmes. Nous avons lu à chaque enfant vingt vignettes à propos de personnages faisant face à des dilemmes moraux dans un contexte antisocial, de politesse, collectif, modeste et de Taarof. Taarof est défini comme un système élaboré de

courtoisie dans lequel les phrases de politesse et compliments sont utilisés pour créer une atmosphère de confiance et de respect mutuel. La tâche de l'enfant était de définir si, selon la photo, la déclaration était bonne ou mauvaise. Les parents remplissaient également des questionnaires concernant leur pratiques parentales. Les analyses de régression linéaires mixtes indiquent des différences cross-culturelles entre les groupes. De plus, ces différences sont démonstratives de l'impact des méthodes de discipline de la mère (par ex. induction, affirmation de la puissance) sur l'évaluation morale de l'enfant de différentes déclarations fausses. Concernant les mensonges de modestie, nous avons découvert que, contrairement aux Canadiens, les Perses étaient plus enclins à les évaluer positivement. Plus, ils grandissent, plus les enfants Perses ont de grandes chances de noter les mensonges de modestie positivement comparé à leurs pairs Canadiens. De plus, les enfants Perses évaluent les mensonges de politesse et Taarof plus positivement comparé aux Canadiens. Avec l'âge, les enfants Perses évaluent les fausses déclarations dans des situations Taarof moins négativement que les Canadiens. En outre, à travers les cultures, les enfants ayant des parents dont la méthode disciplinaire dominante est l'affirmation de la puissance favorisent plutôt les mensonges antisociaux aux mensonges de modestie comparé à ceux dont les parents utilisent une méthode d'induction. Cependant, parmi les cultures examinées, les enfants dont les parents utilisent une méthode disciplinaire d'induction valorisent les mensonges de politesse plus que ceux dont les parents utilisent la méthode d'affirmation de pouvoir. De plus, concernant l'importance de la culture et l'éducation parentale sur différentes fausses déclarations, nous avons découvert que les pratiques parentales ont un plus grand effet sur les mensonges de politesse et antisociaux que sur les fausses déclarations de Taarof. Ces trouvailles suggèrent que les facteurs socioculturels

(par ex. culture, éducation parentale) peuvent influencer le jugement moral des enfants en ce qui concerne le mensonge ou la vérité.

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Preface

I, Atiyeh Shohoudi Mojdehi, am the primary author of this dissertation, and I have written the dissertation in its entirety; however, this project incorporates some material that is the result of collaborative work. My doctoral supervisor, Dr. Victoria Talwar, played an integral role in the supervision of this project at every stage, as my committee members, Dr. Nancy Heath and Dr. Alenoush Saroyan, provided essential feedback on the dissertation. This dissertation contains original scholarship and provides a unique contribution to the understanding and the progression of children's moral development research. This is the first study to investigate Persian culture and its unique modest deception in regard to false statements. The study was approved by the McGill Research Ethics Board at McGill University.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Lying is probably one of the earliest concealing behaviors to develop in childhood. Lies are verbal statements made with the intention to deceive the listener and can be told with prosocial or antisocial intentions. From an early age, children are socialized to be honest and truthful in most social contexts (Smith, Fischer, Vignoles, & Bond, 2013). Children likely develop their understanding of lie-telling through a combination of social experiences over time and cognitive development (Talwar & Crossman, 2011). Similarly, differentiating, understanding, and internalizing social rules of behavior and communication typically occurs with development. It is facilitated by children's interactions with parents and others, as well as children's growing cognitive maturity (Smetana, 2017). Since lying is multidimensional, moral developmental researchers have investigated different factors that impact children's moral judgments of lie- and truth-telling.

Research on lying in children dates back to the dawn of developmental psychology. Founders of the discipline, such as Darwin, Hall, Binet, and Piaget, all commented and conducted studies on the issue (Puka, 1994). Particularly, research on children's perceptions of lie-telling stems from the landmark work of Piaget (1965), who argued that lying is among the most important aspects of morality. While he pioneered much of the work on children's conceptions and evaluations of truths and lies, many of his findings were over- inclusive, and have since been revised (Peterson, Peterson, & Seeto, 1983).

Although young children believe that lying is wrong, Piaget (1965) argued that they have a limited understanding of the intentionality of lies and, as such, label all false statements as lies. In addition, he argued that children under the age of 6 years included mistakes and exaggerations as lies, using the degree of punishment as a determining factor of the

"naughtiness" of the lie. However, Piaget believed that older children did not rely on punishment in their moral evaluations. Yet, more recent studies on the development of children's understanding of veracity reveal that young children distinguish lies from truths as early as their preschool years (Bussey, 1992; Peterson, 1996; Sullivan, Winner, & Hopfield, 1995). For example, Bussey (1999) found that children are capable of distinguishing false statements from factual ones as early as four years of age. Research on children's lie-telling has focused on the ages at which conceptions of truth and lies emerge, as well as children's evaluations of different types of lies (e.g., Fu, Sai, Yuan, & Lee, 2018; Lee, 2013; Popliger, Talwar, & Crossman, 2011; Talwar & Crossman, 2011; Talwar, Gordon, & Lee, 2007; Talwar, Lee, Bala, & Lindsay, 2002; Talwar & Lee, 2002a; Talwar, Williams, Renaud, Arruda, & Saykaly, 2016; Talwar, Yachison, & Leduc, 2016; Tiberio et al., 2016; Xu, Bao, Fu, Talwar, & Lee, 2010).

To date, there has been limited research on the sociocultural factors associated with children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling. Although lying is a social behavior, most studies that have examined the development of lie- and truth-telling behaviors have focused on the cognitive abilities of children (e.g., Lavoie, Yachison, Crossman, & Talwar, 2017; Lee & Ross, 1997; Talwar & Crossman, 2011; Talwar, Crossman, & Wyman, 2017; Talwar & Lee, 2008; Talwar et al., 2002; Williams, Leduc, Crossman, & Talwar, 2017). Previous research has overlooked the role that social factors may play in moral development and the evaluation of lie- and truth-telling. In particular, culture and parenting are two social factors that may play significant roles in this regard (Talwar & Crossman, 2011).

Children's moral evaluations may be significantly influenced by the culture of the society within which the children were raised. Children around the world are socialized to

adhere to the moral and social value systems of their culture, and they try to do what is seen as right, not what is considered wrong (Damon, 1988). Through the process of socialization, children are taught the benefits and consequences of lying in different situations (Saarni & Salisch, 1993). According to Miller and Goodnow (1994), each society or culture has its own values, attitudes, and expectations concerning its members. Through a process of socialization, each society hopes to teach its members to behave according to those established norms and values. Dunn and Munn (1987) suggested that children begin to learn from parents, grandparents, caregivers, and even older siblings about social rules, standards of behavior, and the effect of their actions on others as early as two-years-old. Parents have a decisive role in children's socialization across cultures. It has been said that parents "create" new generations because mothers, fathers, and significant others in the child's life influence their development in many ways (Smetana, 2017). In particular, parents communicate messages about honesty and social-conventional rules regarding the acceptability of lies in different contexts (e.g., Fu et al., 2010; Heyman, Itakura, & Lee, 2011; Heyman, Sweet, & Lee, 2009; Lavoie, Leduc, Crossman, & Talwar, 2016). Children in different cultural environments may have to be adaptive to their unique environmental demands, which may sometimes call for lying in one cultural environment, but not in another. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the nuances in children's moral evaluations of lies across cultures.

While there has been some limited research on cultural differences in children's moral evaluations of truths and lies, most of the research has compared Mainland Chinese children to North American children (e.g., Fu et al., 2010; Fu, Lee, Cameron, & Xu, 2001; Heyman et al., 2011; Lau et al., 2013; Lee, Cameron, Xu, And, & Board, 1997). More research is needed that examines children's evaluations from different cultures. In particular, Iran is one of the most

youthful nations in the world; within Persian social systems, the role of the family is crucial. Hofstede (1980) identified Iran as a collectivist culture and other cross-cultural research also shows that Persian national culture is moderately high in collectivism (Georgas, Berry, Van de Vijver, Kagitçibasi, & Poortinga, 2006). However, according to a more recent study by Hofstede and Minkov (2010), individualist tendencies were more common in Muslim countries compared to East Asian countries, such as China, Japan, and Korea, which are collectivist. Taking into consideration that Islam is the dominant religion in Iran, the blend of Islamic individualist tendencies with Persian collectivist values can be found in the strong family ties and traditions of Persian families. Examining Persian societies as being "in transition" (experiencing rapid societal and cultural changes) can explain contradictory findings in previous cross-cultural studies. Notably, Iran or other Middle Eastern countries have seldom been included in studies examining cross-cultural differences. As such, literature on children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling in Middle Eastern countries, such as Iran, is non-existent, but necessary for developing a comprehensive picture of children's moral judgments of lie- and truth-telling in collectivist cultures. In regard to children's moral evaluations and the necessity of investigating the Middle East in particular, Iran arises from the mixture of two different cultural tendencies (individualism and collectivism) in their movement towards modernism and industrialism.

The aim of the current study was to examine Persian, Canadian, and Persian-Canadian children's moral evaluations of truth- and lie-telling in different cultural contexts. The purpose of this study was fivefold: a) to examine the impact of culture on mothers' inclinations towards either collectivism or individualism; b) to identify the impact of culture on mothers' disciplinary methods; c) to recognize the influence of maternal disciplinary methods on children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling; d) to determine the effect of culture in shaping children's

moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling; and e) to examine the influence of maternal disciplinary method and culture when predicting children's moral evaluations.

This is the first study whereby Canadian, Persian, and Persian-Canadian children were assessed on their moral judgments of lie- and truth-telling. Different types of lies used to examine children's moral evaluations of lie-and truth-telling included politeness, antisocial, modesty and collective lies, and a unique lie in Persian culture that is based on the social convention of "Taarof," a form of politeness and mutual respect. The following sections will present the research objectives in detail as well as the original contributions of this study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Research on moral development has been a significant area of investigation for over half a century (Miller, 2002). A main focus of researchers has been on the topic of how children develop an understanding of different facets of morality, which then leads to increasingly mature forms of judgment of lie- and truth-telling (e.g., Carlo, 2014; Hsu & Cheung, 2013; Kay, 2017; Killen, 2014; Killen & Smetana, 2015; Lapsley & Carlo, 2014; Talwar, Murphy, & Lee, 2007; Turiel, 2015).

Over the past two decades, there has been developmental research on adults' and children's concepts and moral evaluations of lying. Research evaluating these topics is significantly important, not only for the ongoing theoretical debate regarding the universality or cultural specificity of moral development (Helwig, Arnold, & Boyd, 2003), but also for understanding how the macro characteristics of a culture affect children's acquisition of social conventions and moral values (Nucci, 2001; Yau & Smetana, 2003).

Lie-telling

Whether it be implicitly or explicitly, children are taught that they should not always tell the blunt truth. In most situations, lying is considered inappropriate (e.g., to conceal a transgression) and is thus actively discouraged. However, there exist some circumstances in which lying serves a socially appropriate function (e.g., to be polite). The difference between these situations and recognizing it accordingly may pose a challenge for some children.

However, there is a general consensus in the literature that, by the preschool years, children are capable of distinguishing lying from truth-telling (e.g., Lee et al., 1997; Talwar & Lee, 2002a). Peterson and colleagues (1983) asserted that five-year-old children could identify lies that involved misdeeds. This finding has been consistently supported in subsequent studies

(Bussey, 1992; Talwar & Lee, 2002a). All age groups (5, 8, 9, and 11) in the Peterson et al. (1983) study were able to recognize intention as a deciding factor when evaluating the seriousness of a lie. In addition, children rated politeness lies less negatively than lies for self-protective/serving reasons, indicating that even young children recognize intention when evaluating false statements (Peterson et al., 1983). Bussey (1992) expanded on the literature in this area by exposing children to 12 vignettes that varied by misdeed and having them distinguish between politeness and antisocial lies. Findings revealed that 70% of preschoolers were able to make a distinction between antisocial lies, politeness lies, and the truth. Also, Bussey (1999) found that children as young as 4 years of age rated antisocial lies significantly more negatively than other lies (such as tricks and politeness lies), once again lending support for children's early differentiation between different types of lies and intentionality. Moreover, this early understanding and distinction between different types of lies appears to develop universally in preschool years (Lee et al., 1997). When it comes to classifying truths and lies, previous studies have indicated no significant cross-cultural differences in children's classifications of lies. Across different cultures, children of all ages were able to classify the nature of statements accurately as either truths or lies (e.g., Fu, Xu, Cameron, Heyman, & Lee, 2007; Fu et al., 2001). Further, children consistently classified truthful statements as "truths" and untruthful statements as "lies," regardless of whether the statements were told to reveal or conceal one's transgression or prosocial deeds (e.g., Fu et al., 2010; Fu, Evans, Wang, & Lee, 2008; Lee et al., 1997; Lee & Ross, 1997; Lee, Xu, Fu, Cameron, & Chen, 2001).

Some cross-cultural studies have already been conducted to investigate the potential influence of sociocultural factors on moral judgments. In one cross-cultural study, Choi, Park, and Oh (2011), found that Korean participants were more likely to positively perceive lying for a

friend, while American participants were more likely to perceive the behavior of telling the truth positively. In other words, Koreans were more tolerant of lying for a friend, while Americans were less tolerant to do so (Choi, Park, & Oh, 2011). It seems that Koreans were more likely to focus on the lie being 'for a friend' (which prioritizes the benefit and well-being of the friend) whereas Americans were more likely to focus simply on the act of "lying" (which in and of itself is a poorly valued act in American culture). This finding may indicate that a relationship-oriented excuse is less acceptable in an individualistic society such as the United States, where one's personal attributes are more strongly highlighted than they are within a collectivistic culture, such as Korea (Choi et al., 2011). This can be considered a significant difference between individualistic and collectivistic cultures with regard to children's moral evaluations of lie and truth-telling.

Aside from the focus on cross-cultural studies in moral evaluations, the effect of age has also captured the attention of researchers. Children as young as 3 and 4 years can distinguish a lie from a truthful statement above chance levels, but this ability improves and becomes more accurate with age (Bussey, 1992, 1999; Peterson et al., 1983). Lee, Xu, Fu, Cameron, and Chen research findings (2001) showed that as age increased, Chinese children's choices and moral evaluations increasingly favored the interests of a group over the act of telling the truth. Similarly, with age, Canadian children became less rigid in their insistence on being truthful and they were more inclined to protect the individual at the expense of honesty. These findings are consistent with the results of Lee and colleagues who have repeatedly found that, as age increases, Chinese and Canadian 7-, 9-, and 11-year-olds become more differentiated in their moral judgments of truthful and untruthful statements about personal, prosocial behaviors (e.g., Fu et al., 2001; Lee et al., 1997; Lee et al., 2001; Popliger et al., 2011). These combined findings

suggest that the enculturation processes may play an important role in children's development of moral distinctions between truthful and untruthful communications. Given the findings of previous cross-cultural studies, cultural environments and their moral values and norms could shape children's and adults' perceptions of lying. Therefore, the current study examined Canadian, Persian, and Persian-Canadian children's moral evaluations of different types of lies. An overview of each type of lie analyzed in this study is presented in the following sections.

Politeness lies. Research suggests that young children make distinctions between different types of lies, and they do not consider all lies to be morally objectionable. For example, children as young as 4-years-old believed that "white lies" (i.e., prosocial lies) were sometimes appropriate and could help protect the feelings of others (Broomfield, Robinson, & Robinson, 2002). With increasing age, children not only evaluate such politeness lies less negatively (Talwar & Lee, 2011), but they also use these evaluations to guide their own actions in prosocial situations (Ma, Xu, Heyman, & Lee, 2011; Xu et al., 2010).

Regarding the moral judgments of lie- and truth-telling in politeness situations among Chinese children, findings indicate that, with increased age, evaluations became significantly influenced by social context. Findings also suggest that Chinese children learn to take anticipated social consequences into account while making moral judgments about the appropriateness of telling a blunt truth, versus lying to protect the feelings of others (Ma et al., 2011). Similarly, Xu et al., (2010) found that with increase in age, children not only increasingly valued politeness lies for politeness purposes, but they also used such evaluations to guide their own actions in prosocial situations (Xu et al., 2010). These developmental changes suggest that children become increasingly socialized to the norms of politeness, and consequently become capable of acting accordingly (Popliger et al., 2011). As age increases, children's moral

evaluations of lie- and truth-telling become more aligned with their culture's values and norms. In fact, the reason behind this phenomenon is that socialization happens in the context of culture. In this sense, in the present study, it was hypothesized that Persian children's moral evaluations of politeness lies would be more positive compared to that of Canadian children. It was expected that with increasing age, Persian children would give more positive evaluations to politeness lies.

In general, politeness lies tend to be accepted by social conventions and are evaluated less negatively than antisocial lies by adults as well as children (Nyberg, 1994; Sweetser, 1987). In fact, politeness lies are said to protect one's feelings, and are often modeled by parents as acceptable and even preferable to the truth (Eisenberg, Murphy, & Shepard, 1997; Lavoie et al, 2017; Talwar et al., 2007b). Children also receive important inputs from their social environments (such as parents), and these inputs shape their lie-telling behavior in politeness situations (Talwar et al., 2007b).

It has been suggested that authoritative parents foster the development of their children's effective social skills, leading their children to become more frequent politeness liars (Popliger et al., 2011). Others have suggested that parental warmth and authoritarian parenting may increase honesty (e.g., Burton & Strichartz, 1992; Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986). Given that politeness lies reflect both social and emotional understanding, it seems likely that children exposed to parenting that facilitates the aforementioned understanding (Meins, Fernyhough, Russell, & Clark-Carter, 1998; Talwar et al., 2007b) would be more frequent and proficient politeness liars, possibly at younger ages. Talwar and colleagues (2007b) reported that children whose parents discussed the feelings of lie-recipients were more likely to tell convincing politeness lies, while Popliger et al. (2011) found that the frequency of politeness lies told by children was positively related to authoritative parenting and negatively to family emotional expressiveness. Such

mixed findings warrant further research to investigate how parental disciplinary methods are related to the development of politeness lies.

According to Hoffman's theory of moral development, socialization determines several outcomes in children, the most influential being the acquisition of a culture's values. Consequently, it could be expected that all parents, regardless of parenting techniques, have a decisive impact on their children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling. Hoffman (1994) asserted that, provided that more reasons for moral judgments by parents and sometimes combined with power assertion, it may lead to the children's moral evaluations with properly internalized moral values. Power assertion, as a disciplinary method, includes spanking, scolding, and the removal of privileges. In other words, by utilizing power assertion, a parent capitalizes on his/her power and authority over the child. However, based on Hoffman's moral theory, it could be expected that children whose parents use induction methods would be more inclined to judge politeness lies positively. In particular, in the present study, it was hypothesized that children would be more inclined to evaluate politeness lies positively if their parents' dominant disciplinary method is induction.

Antisocial lies. As will be discussed in further detail, antisocial lies can be defined and identified as (a) lies motivated by self-interest that violate trust and rules of communication, (b) lies intended to harm others, and/or (c) lies created simply to avoid just punishment. Children have been observed telling lies for self-protection as early as two and a half years of age (Newton, Reddy, & Bull, 2000). Experimental studies examining children's antisocial lies have reported that antisocial lying emerges in preschool children (e.g., Ball, Smetana, Sturge-Apple, Suor, & Skibo, 2017; Evans & Lee, 2013; Lavoie, Wyman, Crossman, & Talwar, 2018; Lee et al., 1997; Talwar & Lee, 2002a; Talwar et al., 2002; Talwar et al., 2016; Williams et al., 2017;

Williams, Kirmayer, Simon, & Talwar, 2013). Overall, across cultures, there is convergent evidence that suggests that most children by age of four do tell lies to conceal transgressions (perhaps to avoid potential punishment).

To date, according to past studies, antisocial lies are considered to be equally as negative across different cultures (e.g., Fu et al., 2001; Lee et al., 1997). Consequently, in this study, no cultural or age differences in children's moral evaluations of antisocial lies were expected.

However, there was evidence to suggest that parenting style may influence children's antisocial lying. One study on the prevalence of boys' reporting antisocial lies found an association with maternal rejection (Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986). It has also been suggested that a control-oriented family environment (Jensen, Arnett, Feldman, & Cauffman, 2004) and exposure to a harsh disciplinary style, might predict the development of antisocial deception. It has been asserted that this is because children seek to avoid severe punishment for their otherwise minor, impulse-driven transgressions (Lewis, 1993; Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986). In a school context, Talwar and Lee (2011) found that children who attended a school with a harsh disciplinary code were more likely to lie than other children. Their findings suggest that external factors can lead children to conceal the truth when punishment is expected, and they may evaluate such lies less harshly. Therefore, according to the aforementioned, it was hypothesized that harsh parental disciplinary methods are likely to influence children's moral judgment of antisocial lies.

Modesty lies. According to many scholars (e.g., Bond, Leung, & Wan, 1982; Fu et al., 2010; Genyue, Heyman, & Lee, 2011; Lee et al., 1997; Lee et al., 2001; Zhao, 2016) modesty is a major part of East Asian cultural traditions, and both children and adults are encouraged to be "unsung heroes" by minimizing vocalizations of their personal achievements. The greater

emphasis on modesty in East Asia has been linked to situations in which individuals falsely deny credit for their prosocial actions (Fu et al., 2001). For instance, a study by Fu et al. (2001) indicated that Chinese adults consistently gave modesty-motivated lies positive ratings, whereas they gave truth-telling in such scenarios negative ratings. In contrast, North American adults viewed modesty lies as lies and gave them negative moral evaluations. This cross-cultural difference in moral judgment of modesty-related truth and lies has been referred to as the "modesty effect" (Lee et al., 2001).

There have been some developmental studies on the modesty effect. This effect has been consistently found to begin at as early an age as 7-9 years (Lee et al., 2001). As age increased, Chinese children rated modesty lies increasingly more positively and immodest truths less positively, whereas the Canadian children's evaluations remained consistently highly negative for lying and highly positive for truth-telling about one's own good deeds. Further studies (Barron & Sackett, 2008; Heyman, Sweet, & Lee, 2009) replicated this modesty effect with children in Taiwan and Japan, and they also documented similar developmental differences. In interpreting their findings, Lee et al. (1997) pointed out that modesty is seen as a central virtue in China and is emphasized throughout the socialization process. Although this emphasis on modesty in China is consistent with Communist ideology, it is by no means driven by Communist influences alone. Modesty is also emphasized in Confucian and Taoist traditions, and strong modesty norms are evident in East Asian societies outside of Communist China, including Taiwan (Lee et al., 2001) and Japan (Heyman et al., 2011). Lee and colleagues (1997) argued that there are close links between the collectivist values that tend to be emphasized in East Asian societies (see Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002), as well as the tendency to view a high level of modesty as appropriate. One possible explanation for this link is that

modesty can help deflect attention from the ways in which individuals stand out from their group, thus promoting harmonious interpersonal relations within collectivist societies (Triandis & Suh, 2002).

Despite all of the findings from cross-cultural studies that emerged in Eastern Asian countries regarding modesty lies, these lies have yet to be more empirically examined cross-culturally in other collectivist cultures. Furthermore, parental disciplinary methods are affected indirectly by culture, and parents are the primary socializing agents for their children. For example, in collectivist cultures, parents are more likely to use power assertion methods. Chinese parents socialize their children according to traditional Chinese culture, which emphasizes self-effacement and modesty that is derived from Confucianism. Therefore, investigating the impact of parental disciplinary techniques on children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling in a collectivist culture will shed more light on how parenting could influence children's moral judgment.

In this study, it was expected that Persian children's evaluations of modesty lies would become more positive as age increased compared to Canadian children. As mentioned earlier, modesty is stressed in Islam (the dominant religion in Iran), and it is known as one of the characteristics of collectivist cultures. Also, the power assertion method used by Persian parents to socialize their children may help to internalize modesty, a traditional Persian characteristic. Consequently, it was hypothesized that Persian children would be inclined to evaluate modesty lies more positively than Canadian children.

Collective lies. One of the significant differences between collectivist and individualistic culture is their preferences regarding groups or individuals. In a study, Fu and colleagues (2008) examined how Chinese and Euro-Canadian children respond to moral dilemmas in which truths

or lies differentially affect groups versus individuals. That study investigated the cross-cultural differences and similarities in children's moral understanding of individual or collective oriented lies and truths. Seven-, nine-, and eleven-year-old Canadian and Chinese children were read stories in which characters faced moral dilemmas where they had to decide to lie or tell the truth to help a group while harming an individual, or, alternatively, lie or tell the truth to help an individual while harming a group. It was found that as age increased children became more inclined to choose lying to benefit groups or collectives over individuals. Also, with age, children rated lying in favor of groups/collectives less negatively compared to lying for individuals.

Altogether, the above-mentioned findings suggest the enculturation processes may play an important role in children's development of moral distinctions between truthful and untruthful communications. According to the aforesaid, it was expected that Persian children would evaluate collective lies more positively than their Canadian counterparts. Also, Persian children's evaluations of collective lies would become more positive with an increase in age compared to Canadian children's evaluations (due to enculturation and socialization influences).

Taarof lies. If looked at in a direct, literal sense, Taarof is a term describing the process of getting acquainted with someone. In the absence of a direct lexical equivalent in English, researchers who have studied Taarof have defined it as "polite verbal wrestling" (Javidan & Dastmalchian, 2003). In Persian culture, Taarof is a form of politeness and mutual respect: the art of excessive politeness and humility. Persians have a complicated list of customs that are considered good and polite in social situations (Taleghani-Nikazm, 2000). According to Sciolino (2001), Taarof can be described as a specific form of Persian etiquette or politeness, and it comes with a set of rules intended to govern how people interact with one another. Taarof is defined as

an elaborate system of courtesy, in which polite and complimentary phrases are used to create an atmosphere of trust and mutual respect. For example, a common scenario of Taarof is denying an offer of tea, even if one really wants some tea; it is saying "no" when a person means, "yes," and knowing that the person will insist and give you a cup of tea regardless. In Persian context, Taarof is one of the untranslatable behaviors in daily communications that can be viewed as deceptive.

Koutlaki (1997) stated that, in Persian culture, politeness is talked about a lot. This begins early on through children's socialization, whereby politeness injunctions are embedded consistently. The concept of politeness, dubbed "Adab," is quite complex, encompassing verbal politeness and 'etiquette' matters. In other words, politeness, in Persian cultures, centers on the group rather than on individual values. This is in line with the conceptualization of politeness in other non-Western, collectivist societies (e.g., Hill, Ide, Ikuta, Kawasaki, & Ogino, 1986; Ide, 1992; Matsumoto & Yoo, 2006; Mao, 1994). Taarof reflects on the importance of politeness and respect, both of which are deeply rooted in Persian culture.

To grasp the concept of Taarof, one cannot rely on any English equivalents because there simply is no single term that can capture its meaning or usage. Izadi and Zilaie (2015) specified that many non-Persians who have communicated with Persians find this aspect of Taarof confusing. Dahmardeh, Parsazadeh, and Rezaie (2016), when comparing English-speaking countries to Iran, found that the element of vagueness is highly tolerable in the Persian culture as opposed to Western countries. Taarof discourages clarity and encourages the high context communication style (HC) of indirectness (Ruebelt, Singaravelu, Daneshpour, & Brown, 2016). Cultures with a high-context communication style tend to value collectivism and prefer indirect speech. In high-context cultures (collectivist), word choice is vital because a very complex

message can be communicated by using minimal words. Nishimura, Nevgi, and Tella (2008) stated that in communications in HC style, meaning is usually deeply embedded in the information, and not everything will be spoken or written. According to Negargar (2015), countries in which loyalty to traditional roots and old cultural conventions are valued, like Iran, people are more concerned about issues like social distancing, using apologetic language, being indirect, and generally being polite. On the other hand, people in more modern, Western countries seem to be less concerned about politeness. The reason behind this might be their different definitions of what constitutes polite behavior.

As a cultural phenomenon, Taarof is used as a prefabricated response to avoid impoliteness. Compliments are responded to by Taarof to repay the debt created by the compliment (Moghaddam, 2017). When a speaker responds to a compliment about a possession with “pishkeshe shoma” (“you can have it”), one establishes mutual trust, even though the offer is not taken up. To Westerners, this commonplace Persian concept may seem complex and deceiving. A Persian communicator, who knows these rules of Taarof, understands that the speaker is merely following the cultural norms of politeness, and does not intend to give away any possessions. The inconsistency in the genuineness of Taarof often poses dilemmas for foreigners, whereby they are left questioning the sincerity of the speakers' intentions.

In verbal communications, Taarof can be manifested through repeated offers of goods and services, hesitation in asking for services and favors, hesitation in refusing requests, frequently giving compliments, hesitation in accepting complaints, offerings of ostensible invitations and refusals, etc. (Palmer & Sharifian, 2007; Sharifian, 2010). Generally, Persians repeatedly refuse an offer to show their politeness by conforming to the ritual norms of Taarof. At the same time, the other party is supposed to maintain the offer to persuade the interlocutor to

accept the offer. These refusals are less likely to be interpreted as face-threatening by the interactants (Koutlaki, 2002). Crucially, these offers are generally ostensible, and cannot be considered as genuine offers. Therefore, the person who is being offered is generally supposed to refuse the offer or at least refuse three times before accepting it. Moreover, refusing is part of the convention of Taarof, and is a way to conform to the social ritual norms of Persian society.

Taarof–one of the greatest, distinctly Persian social behaviors–is a part of a culture rooted in politeness, deference, humility, cordiality and mutual respect. Because Taarof embodies modesty and politeness, it can be presented in situations whereby one is likely to hold back the truth for the sake of politeness, "Adab" (Yektafar-Hooshvar, 2016). From a non-Persian perspective, Taarof can be viewed as deceptive statements or behavior in politeness situations. It can even be labeled as a "lie" or as dishonest by people who were not raised or are not familiar with Persian culture. Since one of the objectives of the current study was to understand how the macro characteristics of a culture affect children's acquisition of social conventions and moral values in different cultural contexts, Taarof, as a significant characteristic of Persian culture, was investigated regarding its verbal deception. It was expected that Persian children would evaluate Taarof more positively than Canadian children, and this positive rating would increase with age (socialization impact).

In moral development studies, researchers have been looking at the diverse processes of moral development in different cultural contexts. The study of morality, within a developmental framework and through cross-cultural comparisons, provides a particular opportunity to address the universality of moral development (Saltzstein, Millery, Eisenberg, Dias, & O'Brien, 1997).

Culture and Moral Development

Extensive research on developmental psychology has been carried out over time within a

cross-cultural framework (Dmytro et al., 2014; Fu et al., 2007; Fu et al., 2008; Heyman et al., 2011). One of the conceptions that has been explored within cross-cultural psychology is individualist and collectivist tendencies. It is significant to note that one of the most-often cited studies on individualism/collectivism is the one conducted by Hofstede (2001), who showed that most Western cultures, such as the United States, many Western European countries, and Australia are more individualistic, whereas most East Asian, African, and Latin American cultures are more collectivistic (Hofstede, 2001; Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2005). There has been extensive evidence suggesting that a society's individualistic and collectivistic tendencies have direct psychological consequences on the individuals within the society (Oyserman et al., 2002). Researchers have been investigating the cross-cultural differences that pertain to moral development and the impact of culture on morality. According to cross-cultural studies, in collectivist cultures, morality is more contextual, wherein the highest-regarded value is within the welfare of the collective. This strays from the priorities and values of individualist cultures (Crary, 2007).

Cross-cultural researchers have examined the impact of culture on different aspects of morality, one of them being an individual's understanding of lie- and truth-telling. The way of understanding lies, and truths might be different between people who are from different cultures. There is evidence that indicates collectivism is associated with deception (Triandis et al, 2001), lying (Triandis & Suh, 2002), and face-saving behavior (Triandis, 1995) in order to meet interpersonal goals. Triandis and Suh (2002) argued that people in individualist cultures were more likely to seek sincerity and authenticity, whereas people in collectivist cultures de-emphasize authenticity. Therefore, children's moral development depends on the social environment that they grow up in. Killen and Rutland (2011) identified families and social

groups as the two most important social contexts in which children's morality is formed and fostered. Moreover, research findings have suggested that different cultures may evaluate untruthful statements differently, depending on specific social contexts (Damon, 1988). For instance, children in non-Western cultures adopt their views of lying, including their likelihood of and acceptance of lying, differently than their Western counterparts (Oyserman et al., 2002).

In the following section, the concept of lying and the impact of culture on children's perception of lie-telling will be briefly explained before discussing the role of parenting styles and disciplinary methods in moral development.

Culture and moral judgment. Moral judgments are the evaluations of certain behaviors and situations in relation to the moral requirements imposed by the social-historical background of the individual. Moral judgment is formed through social learning and a critical acquisition of the behavioral models promoted by a society. Every culture has its set of norms and values that demonstrate what is acceptable, or what is not. Therefore, perceptions about lying vary across cultures.

Researchers have been paying attention to the role of culture when studying moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling. Due to differences in cultural practices, children's moral conceptions of lying may vary depending on their cultural upbringing (e.g., Fu et al., 2010). The possibility of social and motivational factors influencing children's moral evaluations of different types of lies was supported by cross-cultural findings (e.g., Fu et al., 2001; Kagan & Lamb, 1990; Lee et al., 2001). Cross-cultural studies of morality have pronounced the complexity and diversity of values found across time and space (e.g., Fu et al., 2001; Heyman et al., 2011; Lau et al., 2013; Lee et al., 2001). In general, it appears that the substance of morality–the actual rules of ethical conduct and morals that govern behavior–is deeply embedded

in cultural patterns (Kagan & Lamb, 1990).

Attention to the cultural context of child development has yielded important insight into the opportunities and constraints provided by the society in which children mature. Research with children from different cultural backgrounds provides a broader perspective on human development when compared to the study of human behavior from a single cultural group. Individualism and collectivism are cultural constructs that represent a rubric of patterned variables. To understand the relationships across different levels of culture (i.e., individual, interpersonal, societal, and cultural), one must recognize the notions, individualism or collectivism, as having developed within a particular culture.

Individualism and morality. In the West, liberalism serves as a foundation for individualism; Liberal philosophy assumes that individuals are rational and able to make free choices. From a societal point of view, individuals are considered to be abstract and universal entities. They interact with others, utilizing rational principles such as equity, detachability, and non-interference. As a result, in individualistic cultures, each person is encouraged to be autonomous, self-directing, unique, assertive, and respectful of privacy and freedom of choice (Kim, 1994). Indeed, if a society places an emphasis on groups versus individuals, it has a direct impact on how children acquire their moral values regarding lies and truth-telling. In individualist cultures, people have a strong sense of who they want to be. They are more likely to seek what is proper, even if it is disliked. Individualists find attitude-behavior inconsistency dissonant, whereas collectivists find it "mature." Individualists may categorize an individual who acts inconsistently as a "hypocrite" (Triandis, 1995).

Collectivism and morality. Morality among collectivists is more contextual. According to past studies, the Eastern, collectivist perspectives of moral judgments differ from Western,

individualist perspectives (e.g., Fu et al., 2010, Fu et al., 2001; Lau et al., 2013; Lee et al., 1997; Lee et al., 2001; Miller, 2002). Eastern moral judgment, like that of Confucius, emphasizes social cohesion; morality in collectivist cultures is linked to adherence to many rules (Crary, 2007). For example, China's Taoism emphasizes harmonious interpersonal relations. Confucianism accentuates that individuals should be more modest and think more about others (Lee et al., 2001). Children growing up in this cultural background may perceive morality differently compared to their individualist counterparts.

The way of identifying lies and truths might be different between people who are from different cultures. Furthermore, because of differences in cultural practices, children's moral conceptions of lying may vary depending on their cultural upbringing (Fu et al., 2001; Lau et al., 2013; Lee et al., 2001). Consequently, researchers have been paying attention to the role of culture in studying moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling. Most research on this topic has focused on differences between Eastern cultures, such as China, and Western cultures, such as the U.S. and Canada (collectivism vs. individualism) (Matsumoto & Yoo, 2006). The possibility of social and motivational factors influencing children's moral evaluations of different types of lies is supported by cross-cultural findings.

Culture and Parenting

Children do not and cannot grow up as solitary individuals. To fully understand parenting as a sociocultural factor, one must understand how culture influences parenting values, beliefs, goals, and practices. Parents develop the parenting style of their cultural group and socialization as well as their individual and family experiences, their personalities, and the characteristics of their children (Trask & Hamon, 2007). Parents strive to raise their children to have qualities and characteristics that embrace the values of the society in which they live

(LeVine, 1988). Such values are reflected in parents' socialization goals, which in turn shape their child-rearing practices (Schaffer, 1996). Cultural traditions shape parenting by influencing child-rearing practices as well as expectations of children's roles in different ages and stages of development (Trask & Hamon, 2007). Cross-cultural studies (collectivist and individualist) of parenting have indicated that the impact of parents' child-rearing practices upon children's development is mediated by socio-cultural factors (Baumrind, 1999; Chao & Sue, 1996; Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987).

Parenting in collectivist cultures. In collectivist cultures, authoritarian parenting practices have been found to be more common (e.g., Chao, 1994; Liu, Xiao, Coplan, Chen, & Li, 2018; Liu et al., 2018; Rudy & Grusec, 2001). The aims of their parenting practices are the opposite of those in an individualist culture, wherein the goals are to see children grow from a state of dependency on adults to one of self-sufficiency and autonomy. Rather, the goal of socialization is to move children from a state of independence to one of aligning themselves with a larger social group and trusting that the group will work to meet their needs and desires (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Thus, agents of socialization in collectivist cultures encourage the feelings of interdependence and cooperation in children in order to facilitate their integration into society. Evidently, according to previous cross-cultural studies, this collectivist socialization style was found to be more distinct in East Asian countries (see Fu et al., 2001; Lee et al., 1997; Lee et al., 2001). This may not be the same process that has characterized the conceptualization of socialization in individualist groups (Chao & Sue, 1996). For example, in a comparative study on Asian parenting practices, Lai, Zhang, and Wang (2000) showed that mothers in Hong Kong were more likely to adopt an authoritarian child-rearing pattern than mothers in Beijing. In another study, Jambunathan, Burts, and Pierce (2000) found that Asian-American, Asian-Indian,

and African-American mothers had lower empathetic awareness of their children's needs than their European-American counterparts. European-American mothers empathized with the children's needs, and the rate of corporal punishment use to instill cultural values was not high.

Parenting in Asia. Recognition of the importance of culture in understanding parenting has included a keen interest in many Asian countries. However, some clarification of the designation of "Asia" is necessary in light of the variation that exists across different cultures and societies within Asia. Outside of East Asia, Asian countries that are known as the Middle East, such as Iran, have rarely been included in similar studies of parenting practices (Chao & Tseng, 2002).

Although Asian parenting practices are extremely diverse, the central role of the familial unit is a recurring theme spanning across the continent. This is to say that the importance of family and family interdependence captures some points of commonality across Asian societies (Power, Kobayashi-Winata, & Kelley, 1989). Family is an integral part of Asian culture and is inherently tied to its social structure, values and norms. As these social and cultural characteristics vary through time and across societies, families vary too. For example, developing countries are often characterized as "transitional societies," with the implied transition being a move towards Western patterns. Iran, as a collectivist culture, has been in the "transitional period" and is known as a "transitional society" among Middle Eastern countries (Milani, 2004).

The Persian context. The importance of the family as a social unit for Persians dates back to Zoroastrian times (the pre-Islamic period), when rearing children and the duties of children to their parents were considered sacred (McGoldrick, Giordano, & Garcia-Preto, 2005). Traditional Persian culture values family loyalty, adherence to group norms, and maintenance of

harmony in relationships with group members. In such cultures, the basic value in the family system is linked to authoritarian child-rearing practices (e.g., power assertion), and the authoritarian parenting style may teach the child the importance of conformity and obedience (Zervides & Knowles, 2007). Upper- and middle-class families in urban areas of Iran are caught between the pull of traditional religion and culture as opposed to the acceptance of more Western family relationships (Koutlaki, 1997; Sciolino, 2001). The mass media and modern schools have changed urban children's attitudes toward traditional values. However, these developments have not penetrated all levels of society, and traditional forces remain strong (Sharifian, 2010); in fact, they have grown since the mid-1970s. Western influences have also caused families to become more oriented toward the nuclear family, which has led to a partial breakdown of the extended family. Consequently, family members have become conflicted about their obligations and sense of responsibility towards elders (McGoldrick et al., 2005).

There is not enough information or research available to draw concrete conclusions regarding parenting in Persian culture. For instance, Kurzman (2002), in his book, stated that fathers reinforce disciplinary actions, which may consist of scolding or slapping. There is no specific pattern to the punishment: depending on the father's mood, a child may be punished for a trivial act of misbehavior, while at other times a more serious act may be laughed-off or overlooked. A child may be slapped if he or she misbehaves in public or in front of a family guest, yet in private the same misbehavior might only merit a scolding (Sciolino, 2001). Western methods of discipline, such as withholding favorite foods or sending children to their rooms, are rarely used within Persian culture. Persian child behavioral discipline involves many prohibitions that parents express repeatedly on a daily basis. For instance, children are told to be obedient, to behave like adults, and to be quiet (Smetana, 2017). It can be concluded that the

way of parenting in Persian families is different from their Western counterparts.

This present study examined Persian children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling at different ages with regard to parenting styles and disciplinary methods for the first time. It should be mentioned that Persian culture has never been studied in relation to the impact of parenting style on children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling. Even though Persian culture is known to be collectivist and in a transitional period towards Western culture, no study has investigated this culture in terms of parenting styles and parental disciplinary methods. Consequently, research findings from Eastern Asian or Arab countries would not be sufficient for developing a comprehensive picture of children's moral development or the influence of parenting on moral evaluations in this particular country (Iran).

Parenting and Moral Development

According to previous studies, parents have a stabilizing effect on their children's lifespans (Belsky, Crnic, & Woodworth, 1995; Losoya, Callor, Rowe, & Goldsmith, 1997; Olsen, Martin, & Halverson, 1999). Parents have typically been assigned a circumscribed role in moral development by cognitive developmental theorists. In the literature, researchers have found that children learn moral behaviors from their parents (Akhter, Hanif, Tariq, & Atta, 2011; Augustine & Stifter, 2015; Aunola & Nurmi, 2005; Demick, Bursik, & DiBiase, 2014; Dunkel, Mathes, Kesselring, Decker, & Kelts, 2015; Pears & Moses, 2003; Ryder, 2017; Smetana, 2017; Smetana & Jambon, 2017; Tiberio et al., 2016). Miller (2002) asserted that moral development is an interaction between nature and nurture. It develops as a result of parental interaction, balanced parenting styles, and a child's own choices. For most children then, parents are the original and often most meaningful source of moral guidance (Baumrind, 1999; Damon, 1988; Darling & Steinberg, 2017). According to Hoffman's moral development theory (1963), in

different cultures (collectivism or individualism), parents as socializing agents bring up their children by choosing from diverse disciplinary methods according to their cultural values and norms (e.g., Akhter, et al., 2011; Augustine & Stifter, 2015; Baker, 2018; Dunkel et al., 2015; Eisenberg & Valiente, 2002; Loudová & Lašek, 2015; Smetana & Jambon, 2017).

In Hoffman's theory, socialization determines several outcomes in children, the most important one being the acquisition of a culture's values. This outcome includes appropriate and willing conformity to and cooperation with the direction of authority figures. This provides a proper groundwork for children's moral development (Hoffman, 2000). Hoffman believed that moral evaluations arise from internalizing the values of a culture. Moreover, parents have an inevitable role in their children's internalization (Hoffman, 2000). Hoffman believed that parental disciplinary methods are quite influential in the child's internalization process. Hoffman defined the different parental disciplinary methods used in children's acquisition of cultural values as "power assertion," "induction," and "love withdrawal." Power assertion is a disciplinary method by which parents use their power over the child to compel him/her to change his/her behavior. In contrast, induction refers to techniques by which the parent ensures that the children understand the consequences of their actions for themselves and others (Hoffman, 1979). Induction includes explaining the consequences of the behavior to the child, as well as explaining the rationale behind the rule. Lastly, love withdrawal includes techniques whereby the parents remove or inhibit themselves from displaying love and/or affection by ignoring the child, turning his/her back on the child, refusing to speak to him/her, explicitly stating that he/she dislikes the child, or isolating him/her. Hoffman believed that parental disciplinary methods are quite influential in the child's internalization process (Hoffman, 2000).

According to Hoffman's theory, it could be expected that all parents, regardless of

parenting technique, have a decisive impact on children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling. Regarding parenting techniques, a consistent finding is that induction is associated with more mature morality and empathy development (Hoffman, 1979). As mentioned above, using induction as a parental disciplinary method can bring about highly empathic children. When it comes to moral judgment, children take on the perspectives of a lie-recipient to evaluate the "goodness" or "badness" of the statement, particularly regarding politeness, collective, and modesty lies. In order to accomplish this, children should be capable of internalizing norms and recognizing when to apply them. Then, when one violates them, children must recognize and understand the severity and consequences of the violation, like with a lie (Lapsley, 1996). Notably, moral developmental researchers have examined different aspects of children's morality regarding both social and cognitive factors.

Conclusion

All of the above-mentioned findings about different types of lies demonstrate that different socializations lead to the telling of different kinds of lies. Different cultures may evaluate untruthful statements differently, depending on specific social contexts. Also, lie- and truth-telling have inconsistent moral evaluations across cultures: certain forms of lie- and truth-telling that are valued negatively in one culture may be evaluated positively in another culture (Fu et al., 2001). With a few exceptions (e.g., Fu et al., 2008; Lee et al., 1997; Xu et al., 2010), the majority of studies on children's lie-telling behavior have been conducted in North America with primarily middle class, well-educated samples. Further research is needed to examine both inter and intra-cultural influences on the development of children's evaluations of lie- and truth-telling. The most proximal cultural influence, of course, comes through direct socialization. Yet, few studies have examined relations between socialization factors and children's lie-telling

behaviors. Different familial socialization factors and practices may differentially associate with children's lie-telling behavior, but little research has examined this possibility. Taken together, people in different cultures may have varying expectations about their interpersonal roles and normative behaviors. Given cultural variation in the acceptability, motivation, and type of deception, individuals in different cultures use different explanations for lie- and truth-telling. The impact of culture (collectivism or individualism) and parental disciplinary methods on moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling cannot be neglected. In other words, the advancement in the understanding of the moral judgment has not been accompanied by sociocultural variables. With the notable exception of China, no other collectivist cultures have been studied in the context of moral judgment. This study was intended to fill this current gap in the literature on moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling, and the impact of culture on children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling.

Need for Further Cross-cultural Study

Cross-cultural studies attempt to understand similarities and differences in human behaviors within the cultural context (Berry & Poortinga, 2006). As such, it takes culture seriously as a factor in the development and display of individual behavior. The cross-cultural approach used in this study is "culture-comparative," which assumes that basic human characteristics are common to all members of the species, and that culture influences their development and display. It argues that cultural contexts are important factors in human behavioral development and need to be thoroughly examined. Thus, the culture-comparative approach is both "cultural" and "cross." Cross-cultural comparisons show that virtually all aspects of parenting, whether beliefs or practices, are shaped by cultural habits (Georgas et al., 2006).

Cultures provide their members with implicit or explicit models for child rearing. They include when and how to care for children, what child characteristics are desirable, and which parenting practices are expected. Culture influences parenting patterns and practices through persuasive factors, defining what parents expect of children and which specific behaviors parents appreciate and emphasize (Rubin & Chung, 2013). There are several reasons why it is important to understand the role of culture in parenting today. Countries are becoming increasingly diverse with respect to ethnicity, religious beliefs, and SES status. Yet, much of the research on parenting has been shaped primarily by middle class, white researchers studying families from similar backgrounds. This relatively narrow empirical focus inhibits the ability to confidently predict or understand cross-cultural parenting practices.

Previous findings by researchers exploring children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling in Eastern Asian cultures (Lee et al., 1997, Lee et al., 2001) do not account for children who live in Middle Eastern countries (like Iran). All previous cross-cultural studies conducted were with children in Western countries, but their culture completely differed from that in the Middle East, creating a limitation. These children were raised in industrialized environments that emphasize individualism, self-assertion/ promotion, and competition. In addition, the culture in Middle Eastern countries differs significantly from East Asian countries. Despite the fact that cross-cultural research has provided us with diverse concepts of lie- and truth-telling, significant numbers of past studies about moral judgment have been conducted only in East Asia, with most in China (as a collectivist society). Notably, there are considerable cultural and social differences between China and other Asian countries. Moreover, a lack of knowledge concerning the moral judgments in other Asian countries, such as the Middle East, exists. It is unclear whether the findings with Chinese children are generalizable to children of other

sociocultural backgrounds.

Current Study

The primary objective of the current study was to examine the cultural differences between Canadian, Persian, and Persian-Canadian children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling. The current study also identified the impact of culture on mothers' inclinations toward collectivism or individualism and on their disciplinary methods–as manifested by power assertion, love withdrawal, and induction–and then determined the influence of parental disciplinary methods on children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling. Finally, this study examined the importance of parental disciplinary methods and culture in the prediction of children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling.

Canadian, Persian, and Persian-Canadian children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling were assessed across twenty vignettes. The vignettes were constructed in such a way that the situations depicted would be familiar to schoolchildren belonging to either culture. The children's age range (5, 7, 9, and 11-years-old) was chosen because (a) existing non–cross-cultural research has suggested that the 5, 7, 9 and 11 age range represents the period in which children's understanding of the concept of lying and truth-telling and their moral implications undergoes development (see Bussey, 1999) and (b) earlier cross-cultural studies have shown that Canadian and Chinese children differ in their moral conceptions of lie- and truth-telling, and this difference emerges at 5 years of age and increases to the near adult level at 11 years (Fu et al., 2001; Lee et al., 1997, Lee et al., 2001).

A Persian-Canadian group was included to compare the impact of a mixed cultural group (Canadian and Persian) on children's moral evaluations. This cultural group has a similar cultural heritage to the Persian sample while having grown up in Canadian culture. Previous

studies examined different mixed cultural groups such as African-American, Latino-American, American-Asians, and European-Americans (Aune & Waters, 1994; Chua & Gudykunst, 1987; Kelley & Tseng, 1992; LeCuyer, Christensen, Kreher, Kearney, & Kitzman, 2015; Mealy, Stephan, & Urrutia, 2007; Park et al., 2013), which made significant contributions to cross-cultural research. For the third sample, the aim was to recruit 180 Persian-Canadian children in Montreal, Canada (45 x 4 age groups). However, despite putting a lot of effort into recruit in many possible ways (such as: advertising in Persian language local newspapers; websites; conducting interviews with the newspaper to be a feature article, networking in the Persian community and advertising on social media) over two years, only 60 mixed culture (Persian-Canadian) children participated in the study. This yielded a total of 420 participants, a number that was adequate to satisfy statistical analyses. However, after a data cleaning procedure, the total number decreased to 416 participants.

Research Objectives and Hypotheses

Objective 1. To examine the impact of culture on mothers' inclinations towards either collectivism or individualism.

Hypothesis 1a. Persian mothers will be more inclined to have collectivist tendencies than their Canadian counterparts.

Hypothesis 1b. Canadian mothers will be more likely to have individualist tendencies than their Persian counterparts.

Hypothesis 1c. Persian-Canadian mothers will be more likely to have individualist tendencies than their Persian counterparts.

Objective 2. To identify the influence of culture and mothers' disciplinary method on children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling.

Hypothesis 2a. Persian parents will be more likely to use power assertion techniques for socializing their children.

Hypothesis 2b. Canadian parents will be more inclined to use induction techniques for socializing their children.

Objective 3. To recognize the influence of maternal disciplinary methods on children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling across cultural groups.

Hypothesis 3a. Children will be less inclined to evaluate modesty lies positively if their parents' dominant disciplinary method is power assertion.

Hypothesis 3b. Children will be more inclined to evaluate antisocial lies positively if their parents' dominant disciplinary method is power assertion.

Hypothesis 3c. Children will be more inclined to evaluate politeness lies positively if their parents' dominant disciplinary method is induction.

Objective 4. To determine the effect of culture and age group in shaping children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling.

I. Antisocial lies

Hypothesis 4a. Canadian, Persian, and Persian-Canadian children will be inclined to evaluate antisocial lies as negative.

Hypothesis 4b. Canadian, Persian, and Persian-Canadian children's evaluations of antisocial lies will not become more positive with increased age.

II. Collective lies

Hypothesis 4c. Persian children will evaluate collective lies more positively than Canadian children.

Hypothesis 4d. Persian children's evaluations of collective lies will become more

positive as age increases.

Hypothesis 4e. Persian-Canadian children will be inclined to evaluate collective lies more positively than Canadian children.

III. Modesty lies

Hypothesis 4f. Persian children will be inclined to evaluate modesty lies more positively than Canadian children.

Hypothesis 4g. Persian children's evaluations of modesty lies will become more positive as age increases compared to Canadian children.

Hypothesis 4h. Persian-Canadian children will evaluate modesty lies as negatively as Canadian children.

Hypothesis 4i. Persian-Canadian children's evaluations of modesty lies will not become more positive as age increases.

IV. Politeness lies

Hypothesis 4j. Persian children will be inclined to evaluate politeness lies more positively than Canadian children.

Hypothesis 4k. Persian children's evaluations of politeness lies will become more positive as age increases.

Hypothesis 4l. Persian-Canadian children will evaluate politeness lies more positively than Canadian children.

V. Taarof Lies

Hypothesis 4m. Persian children will evaluate Taarof lies more positively than Canadian children.

Hypothesis 4n. Persian children's evaluations of Taarof lies will become more positive

as age increases.

Hypothesis 4o. Persian-Canadian children will evaluate Taarof lies as negatively as Canadian children.

Hypothesis 4p. Persian-Canadian children's evaluations of Taarof lies will become more positive with an increase in age.

Objective 5. To examine the effect of maternal disciplinary methods and culture in the prediction of children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling.

Hypothesis 5a. Maternal disciplinary method's effect on children's moral evaluations of antisocial lies will be more significant than cultural group's effect.

Hypothesis 5b. Maternal disciplinary method's effect on children's moral evaluations of collective lies will be more significant than cultural group's effect.

Hypothesis 5c. Maternal disciplinary method's effect on children's moral evaluations of modesty lies will be more significant than cultural group's effect.

Hypothesis 5d. Maternal disciplinary method's effect on children's moral evaluations of politeness lies will be more significant than cultural group's effect.

Hypothesis 5e. Cultural group's effect on children's moral evaluations of Taarof lies will be more significant than maternal disciplinary method's effect.

Chapter 3: Methods

Purpose

The purpose of this study was fivefold: a) to examine the impact of culture on mothers' inclinations towards either collectivism or individualism; b) to identify the impact of culture on mothers' disciplinary methods; c) to recognize the influence of maternal disciplinary methods on children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling; d) to determine the effect of culture in shaping children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling; and e) to examine the influence of maternal disciplinary method and culture when predicting children's moral evaluations.

Participants

Ethics approval was obtained from the McGill University Research Ethics Board. Children, ages 5, 7, 9, and 11-years-old, were recruited from Montreal, Canada and Tehran, Iran. One hundred and eighty children in Canada, with 45 per age group, and 180 children in Iran (45 x 4 age groups) were recruited for this study.

Participants were 416 parent and child dyads. Children were 5 to 11-years-old (M = 7.99 years, SD = 2.25 years), 55.2 percent male and 44.8 percent female. Parents were predominantly mothers who reported the primary religion and primary ethnicity for themselves and for their children. In all three samples, Islam (47%), followed by no religion (13%), and Christianity (11%) were the most common religions. In the Canadian sample, Christianity and Atheism (27% and 25%, respectively) were the most commonly declared religions; Islam was most common in Iran (94%); and in the Persian-Canadian sample, non-religion (55%) was most commonly declared. Canadian and Persian were the most common ethnicities reported (42.9%), followed by Persian-Canadian (14.3%). The most common marital status reported by mothers in Canadian, Persian, and Persian-Canadian samples was married: 74%, 72%, and 45%,

respectively. Parents reported their highest level of education obtained: Bachelor's (45%), Master's (28%), and Doctorate (6%). The highest level of education obtained by most parents was a Bachelor's degree in all three cultural samples: in Canada and Iran, 48% and 46%, respectively, and in the Persian-Canadian sample, 40%. Parents also reported household income levels: greater than $60 000 (75.5%), $50 000 to $60 000 (7.9%), and $40 000 to $50 000 (8%).

Canadian participants were recruited (in Montreal) primarily through the Talwar Child Development Research Lab databases of past participants who had indicated interest in participating in future research. Mothers were contacted by phone to participate in this study. Due to the research measures that were used in this study, mothers had to be able to read English. Persian children and their mothers were recruited (in Farsi) through schools in Tehran, the capital city of Iran. Persian-Canadian children, who were born in Montreal to Persian parents who immigrated to Montreal, were recruited through the Persian community in Montreal using both Persian and English as recruitment languages. Several methods of recruitment were used: advertising in local Persian newspapers and websites, posting on community Facebook pages, and conducting interviews with a newspaper for a feature article.

Procedure

Canadian and Persian-Canadian participants (only first generation) were contacted by phone and invited to the Talwar Child Development Research Lab at McGill University to participate. The nature of the study was described to mothers (e.g., over the phone when initial contact was made) so that they could make an informed decision about whether they would like to participate. At the lab, mothers and children were fully informed about the nature of the research, the methodology, and how the results would be reported.

Both Persian-Canadian and Canadian mothers were asked to sign a consent form and

complete a brief questionnaire examining demographic information, socio-economic status, and religious affiliation. All research measures used in this study were available in both English and Persian. The questionnaires were initially written in English and were translated into Persian by a Persian-Canadian student who is fluent in Persian and English. By having all of the study's materials translated again to their original language by a Persian-Canadian professor (as a third party), the translations were verified. Therefore, mothers were able to choose to answer the questionnaire in the language they were most comfortable with.

Persian mothers were contacted through the school with the help of school administrators in Tehran. Persian mothers were invited to participate by the researcher via phone. The nature of the study was fully described to parents over the phone so that they were able to make an informed decision about whether they would like to participate. Persian mothers and children were fully informed about the nature of the research, the methodology, and how the results would be reported. Due to the research measures that were used in this study, mothers in Iran had to be able to read Persian.

All mothers were asked to fill out a demographics form and two different questionnaires. Two of the questionnaires (the Maternal Discipline Questionnaire, and the Anonymous Questionnaire of Self-attitudes) assessed mother's disciplinary methods and their tendencies towards individualist or collectivist culture. For the Canadian sample, mothers filled out these questionnaires at the lab. For the Persian sample, if mothers agreed to participate, the parent questionnaires were sent to their homes. Also, mothers were welcome to come to their children's school to participate in this study. Mothers across cultural groups dedicated on average 15 minutes to fill out the questionnaires.

Children were assessed individually. First, children were trained to use a 6-point Likert

scale during an initial session where they were asked to verify what each point on the scale referred to. The scale consisted of the following response options: very, very good (represented by three gold stars, scored as 6); very good (represented by two gold stars, scored as 5); good (represented by one gold star, scored as 4); bad (represented by one black X, scored as 3); very bad (represented by two black X's, scored as 2); and very, very bad (represented by three black X's, scored as 1). Once children learned how to use the scale, the researcher read each of the twenty vignettes aloud for them. Both the story characters' genders and the order of stories were counterbalanced. To control for an order effect, half the participants (Canadian, Persian, and Persian-Canadian) read the vignettes in one order randomized according to a random number table, while the other half were read the vignettes in the reverse order. The vignettes were piloted and revised to ensure that the data collected would reflect the phenomena under study.

Measures

Demographics. The general form demographics questionnaire used was administered to acquire information concerning the background of each of the participants, including information on socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and the level of religiosity (see Appendix A).

Parents' measures. Two different questionnaires were given to mothers (Persian, Persian- Canadian, and Canadian). These two measurements (the Maternal Discipline Questionnaire and the Anonymous Questionnaire of Self-attitudes) assessed parents' disciplinary methods and their tendencies toward collectivism or individualism.

Maternal discipline questionnaire. The frequency of mothers' use of 11 different types of disciplinary methods was assessed by this questionnaire. This questionnaire assesses parents' disciplinary strategies (Deater-Deckard, Dodge, & Sorbring, 2005). Mothers reported howfrequently they used each disciplinary technique on a 5-point scale (1= never, 2= less than

once a month, 3= about once a month, 4= about once a week, 5 = almost every day). The inter-rater reliability of the MDQ was found to range between alpha = .60 and .73, and the criterion validity was assessed and found to be acceptable. The reliability and validity of the full scale are well established (Lansford et al., 2005).

Anonymous Questionnaire of Self-attitudes. This 30-item questionnaire is based on the major constructs identified by Oyserman et al. (2002). It provides a measurement of three factors related to individualism (competitiveness, uniqueness, and responsibility) and three factors related to collectivism (advice, harmony, and closeness). The reliability between these factors and their relationship to individualism and collectivism tendencies has been found to be high (see Shulruf, Hattie, & Dixon, 2007). According to Shulruf (2011) the AICS questionnaire (anonymous questionnaire of self-attitudes) is not only valid but also highly reliable ($\alpha > .70$). Thus, based on responses to the questions, a raw collectivism score (advice and harmony) and a raw individualism score can be obtained. The minimal score for the raw collectivism score is 17 and the maximal score is 102, with higher scores indicating greater collectivist tendencies. The minimal score for the raw individualism score (competitiveness, uniqueness, and responsibility) is 13 and the maximal score is 78, with higher scores indicating greater individualist tendencies.

Child measures. Children were read twenty vignettes, each of which were used to examine their moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling. The scenarios depicted events in a school setting. In each scenario, a story character faces a dilemma and tells either a lie or a truth. For example, in one vignette, a child story character does something bad and, when confronted, contests the action (antisocial lying); in another vignette, a child confesses when asked (telling the truth). In evaluating politeness lies, a story character faces a dilemma of either telling the truth or telling a lie that either demonstrates their politeness or how they actually feel about a situation (see

Appendix B).

For evaluation of modesty lies, (a) a child story character does something good and tells the truth about it when asked by a teacher (truth-telling in a prosocial deed situation), or (b) a child story character does something good and denies it when asked (lie-telling in a prosocial deed situation). In collective lie vignettes, a story character faces a dilemma and tells a lie or a truth that either helps that character while putting a group at risk or helps a group at the expense of the story character. In the Taarof vignettes, a story character faces a dilemma of either telling the truth or telling a lie that demonstrates their intentions by offering (or not offering) their own possessions to their friends (see Appendix B).

First, before hearing the stories, child participants were told the following script: "Today, I'm going to tell you about some kids who do some things and say some things. I want you to listen carefully, because I'm going to ask you some questions about what they say. The questions are only about what the kids *say*, not what they do, okay? So, for instance, sometimes people do things like eating or drawing, and sometimes people say things just like I am saying things to you right now. So, the questions I am going to ask you are only about what they *say*. Is that okay with you?" This was done to ensure that study children were reasoning about what the story protagonists said, and not about what they did, which meant reasoning about whether the protagonist told a lie and not about the fact that a transgression was committed. After reading each vignette, children were asked to provide a moral evaluation by determining how good or bad it was for the protagonist to have lied or told the truth. Also, children were asked to provide a reason as to why they gave such a rating. The whole testing procedure took approximately 45 minutes per child.

Canadian, Persian-Canadian, and Persian children were shown a moral response card

with the following 6-point Likert scale to assist in their responses: very, very bad (1, three black X's); very bad (2, two black X's); bad (3, one black X); good (4, one gold star); very good (5, two gold stars); very, very good (6, three gold stars). This 6-point Likert scale has been successfully used in prior research with children in this age range (Popliger et al., 2011).

Data Analysis

The present cross-cultural study was based on quantitative methods. Using Process version 3.1 for SPSS, the analyses were conducted to analyze the data gathered from Iran and Canada. Descriptive measurements (e.g., mean and standard deviation) were used to demonstrate the distribution of the data.

A formal sample size calculation was performed assuming an *a priori* power of .95 (equivalent to a maximum type II error of .05 and a maximum type I error of .05) in a linear regression with the four age groups (5-, 7-, 9-, and 11-years-old) and the three cultural groups (Canadian, Persian, and Persian-Canadian) as fixed effects in the model. Additionally, a conservative multiple-correlation value (R2) of .2 was assumed in our setting. A sample size of 80 subjects per cultural group (with 45 subjects per age group in each cultural group), totaling 540 children, was obtained for this study. This sample size gave our study enough power to assess our several objectives: a) to examine the impact of culture on mothers' inclinations towards either collectivism or individualism; b) to identify the impact of culture on mothers' disciplinary methods; c) to recognize the influence of maternal disciplinary methods on children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling; d) to determine the effect of culture and age group in shaping children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling; and e) to examine the influence of parental disciplinary method and culture when predicting children's moral evaluations.

The models used to assess the study objectives were Analysis of Variance (ANOVA), linear mixed effect regression analyses, and simple structural models. Cultural and age differences were expected in regard to children's moral evaluations of different false statements. Additionally, it was anticipated that maternal disciplinary method would affect children's moral judgments of lie-and truth-telling. Also, as stated in the hypotheses about effect of age and cultural groups, interactions between age and culture in children's moral judgments across cultures were anticipated. Lastly, it was expected that culture would affect children's moral evaluations of false statements more significantly than parental disciplinary method.

Chapter 4: Results

The results section will begin with an examination of the impact of culture on mothers' inclinations towards either collectivism or individualism, followed by sections on the impact of cultural tendencies on mothers' disciplinary method as well as the analyses of the impact of maternal disciplinary methods on children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling. The influence of different cultural groups will be discussed within the results section for each type of lie. Missing information for vignettes varied between 5-6%. Thus, multiple imputation methods were used to substitute missing responses. Of the 420 parental questionnaires, four were multivariate outliers, and were excluded from further analysis (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007), leaving a final sample of 416 participants. Age differences are reported throughout the results section. No significant interaction effect was observed between sexes and children's moral evaluations of lie-and truth-telling across the three different cultural groups; therefore, they were not analyzed further. Also, exploratory analyses for differences in children's moral evaluations of lies and truths according to their family's socioeconomic status (SES), parental education, and family income levels were proxies (e.g., Soteriades & DiFranza, 2003)–were performed. No differences were found, and SES was not analyzed further. All variables were assessed for possible statistical assumption violations.

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics, including means, standard deviations, and frequencies, were presented in the tables section. The descriptive statistics of the outcomes were presented in proportions for categorical measurements (see Tables 1-8). For the continuous measurements, such as age, the mean and standard deviation (or median and interquartile interval) were presented when appropriate.

Cultural (Collectivism and Individualism) Tendencies

As the first objective was to examine the impact of culture on mothers' inclinations toward either collectivism or individualism, an ANOVA was conducted. Cultural groups (Canadian, Persian, and Persian-Canadian) were the predictors (IV), and mothers' scores on the "Anonymous Questionnaire of Self-attitudes" were the outcome variables (DV). The difference between cultural groups was significant: $F(2, 1148) = 16.504$, $p < .0001$. To determine the source of the variance, a Bonferroni test was run. Results showed that Canadians ($M = 1.47$, $SD = .34$, CI 95% [-1.39, 1.55], $F(1, 27) = 10.22$, $p < .0001$) and Persian-Canadians ($M = .68$, $SD = .49$, CI 95% [.05 – .80], $F(1, 27) = 10.22$, $p < .0001$) demonstrated more tendencies toward individualism, whereas collectivism was significantly higher (CI 95% [-1.55, -1.039], F (1, 79) = 16.50, $p < .05$) among their Persian counterparts. Thus, hypotheses 1a, 1b, and 1c were supported.

Cultural Tendencies and Disciplinary Methods

As the second objective was to identify the impact of cultural tendencies on mothers' disciplinary methods, an ANOVA was conducted. Cultural tendency (collectivism and individualism) and cultural group (Canadian, Persian, and Persian-Canadian) were the predictors (IV), and the mother's score on the "Maternal Discipline Questionnaire" was the predicted variable (DV). The impact of cultural tendencies on mothers' disciplinary methods was examined by a 2 (collectivism vs. individualism) x3 (Canadian, Persian, and Persian-Canadian) between subjects ANOVA. Persian ($M = -.21$, $SD = .03$, CI 95% [-.30, -.11], F(2, 417) = 19.45, $p < .001$) and Persian-Canadian mothers ($M = -.26$, $SD = .05$, CI 95% [-.03,-.12], F(2, 417) = 19.45, $p < .001$) indicated that they are more likely to use power assertion as a disciplinary method in comparison to Canadian mothers ($M = -.21$, $SD = .38$, CI 95% [.11 – .30], F(2, 417)

=19.45, $p < .001$). Therefore, hypothesis 2a was confirmed (see Table 1). However, Canadian mothers (M= -.45, SD = .03, CI 95% [-.54, -.036], F(2, 417) = 1.85, $p <$. 001) displayed a higher likelihood of utilizing the induction disciplinary method compared to Persians (M = .75, SD = 1, CI 95% [-.21, 0.14], F(2, 417) = 1.85, p = .1). Therefore, hypothesis 2b was supported (see Table 1). No significant differences (M = 33.93, SD = .16.35, p = .78) were found between different cultural groups in regard to maternal use of love withdrawal; thus, it was not analyzed further.

Effect of Parental Disciplinary Methods on Children's Moral Evaluations

In order to meet objective 3 (i.e., to recognize the influence of maternal disciplinary methods on children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling across cultural groups), and test hypotheses 3a, 3b, and 3c, linear mixed effect regression analyses were conducted. Mothers' scores on the "Maternal Discipline Questionnaire" were the predictors (IV), and children's moral evaluations of different lies and truths (modesty, antisocial, and politeness) were the predicted variables (DV).

To examine hypothesis 3a (i.e., children will be less inclined to evaluate modesty lies positively if their parents' dominant disciplinary method is power assertion), linear mixed effect regression analyses were conducted. The predictor variable was power assertion as a dominant disciplinary method (IV). The predicted variables were the children's moral evaluations of modesty lies (DV). The main effects of moral evaluations of modestly lies by children whose mothers' dominant disciplinary method was power assertion are presented in Table 2. These results indicate that power assertion as a dominant disciplinary method was a significant predictor of children's negative rating of modesty lies (F(17, 834) = 4.94, $p < .05$). Children whose mothers' dominant disciplinary method was power assertion did rate modesty lies negatively

across cultures (see Table 2); thus, hypothesis 3a was supported.

Hypothesis 3b (i.e., children will be more inclined to evaluate antisocial lies positively if their parents' dominant disciplinary method is power assertion) was tested by the linear mixed effect regression analyses. The predictor variable was power assertion as a dominant disciplinary method (IV). The predicted variables were the children's moral evaluations of antisocial lies (DV). Table 2 shows the main effects of moral evaluations of antisocial lies by children whose mothers' dominant disciplinary method was power assertion. These results suggest that the power assertion as a dominant disciplinary method was a significant predictor of children's moral evaluations of self-serving/protecting false statements (antisocial lies) ($F(1, 834) = .63$, $p < .05$). Children whose mothers' dominant disciplinary method was power assertion rated antisocial lies more positively (see Table 2); therefore, support for hypothesis 3b was found.

Linear mixed effect regression analyses were conducted to test hypothesis 3c (i.e., children will be more inclined to evaluate politeness lies positively if their parents' dominant disciplinary method is induction). The predictor variable was induction as a dominant disciplinary method (IV). The predicted variables were the children's moral evaluations of politeness lies (DV). Table 3 shows the main effects of moral evaluations of politeness lies by children whose mothers' dominant disciplinary method was induction. The results of the linear mixed effect regression analyses show that induction as a dominant disciplinary method was a significant predictor of children's positive moral evaluations of politeness lies ($F(1, 834) = 2.27$, $p < .001$). Children whose mothers' dominant disciplinary method was induction rated politeness lies more positively (see Table 3); hence, hypothesis 3c was supported.

Impact of Cultural and Age Groups on Children's Moral Evaluations

The fourth objective was to determine the effects of cultural and age group on children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling. In order to test hypotheses 4a-4p, as stated in objective 4, linear mixed effects regression analyses in which cultural group and age were the predictors (IV) of children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling for each type of lie (DV) were used.

Different types of lies and effect of cultural groups across ages.

Antisocial lies. To examine hypotheses 4a (i.e., Canadian, Persian, and Persian-Canadian children will be inclined to evaluate antisocial lies as negative) and 4b (i.e., Canadian, Persian, and Persian-Canadian children's evaluations of antisocial lies will not become more positive with increased age), the same linear mixed effects regression analyses were run. Cultural group and age were the predictors (IV), and children's moral evaluations of antisocial lies and truths were the predicted variables (DV). The analyses, with Canada as a reference, revealed that there was not a significant effect of cultural group: Persian ($\beta = -.06$, $t(836) = .23$, $p = .81$), Persian-Canadian ($\beta = -.36$, $t(836) = -.97$, $p = .36$); therefore, we could not reject hypothesis 4a (see Table 4). Also, no main effect of age was found ($\beta = -.00$, $t(836) = -.59$, $p = .58$). The interaction between age and cultural group ($F(2,834) = .36$, $p = .43$) was not significant. All participants rated antisocial lies negatively. These results suggest that the age of participants was not a significant predictor of children's moral evaluations of antisocial lies (see Table 4); thus, hypothesis 4b was confirmed.

Collective lies. Linear mixed effects regression analyses were carried out with the following hypotheses: 4c (i.e., Persian children will evaluate collective lies more positively than Canadian children), 4d (i.e., Persian children's evaluations of collective lies will become more positive as age increases), and 4e (i.e., Persian-Canadian children will be inclined to evaluate

collective lies more positively than Canadian children). Cultural group and age were the predictors (IV), and children's moral evaluations of collective lies were the predicted variables (DV). The analyses, with Canada as a reference, showed that cultural group was not significant factor in predicting Persian children's positive evaluations of collective lies (β = -.79, $t(836) = -2.59$, $p = .13$) compared to Canadian and Persian-Canadian counterparts (β = -.67, $t(834) = -1.85$, $p = .09$). Consequently, hypotheses 4c and 4d were rejected (see Table 5).

Age was not a significant factor in the prediction of Persian children's positive ratings of collective lies (β = .08, $t(836) = 2.75$, $p = .08$). Both Persian and Canadian children rated collective lies negatively. Therefore, an increase in age did not predict more a positive rating among Persian children (see Table 5). The interaction between age and cultural groups was not significant ($F(2,834) = 8.43$, $p = .32$); hence, support for hypothesis 4e was not found.

Modesty lies. Linear mixed effects regression analyses were conducted to test the following hypotheses: 4f (i.e., Persian children will be inclined to evaluate modesty lies more positively than Canadian children), 4g (i.e., Persian children's evaluations of modesty lies will become more positive as age increases compared to Canadian children), 4h (i.e., Persian-Canadian children will evaluate modesty lies as negatively as Canadian children), and 4i (i.e., Persian-Canadian children's evaluations of modesty lies will not become more positive as age increases). Cultural group and age were the predictors (IV), and children's moral evaluations of modesty lies and truths were the predicted variables (DV). The analyses, with Canada as a reference, revealed that children in Iran evaluated modesty lies more positively in comparison to their Canadian counterparts (β = .51, $t(836) = 6.49$, $p < .001$); hence, hypothesis 4f was supported. Also, Persian-Canadians who were born in Canada rated modesty lies as negatively as Canadians (β = .56, $t(836) = 1.22$, $p = .29$) (see Table 6); thus, support for hypothesis 4h was

found. The interaction between age and cultural group was significant ($F(2,834) = 173.77$, $p < .0001$). In other words, as age increased, Persian children became more likely to rate modesty lies positively compared to Canadian children. However, the effect of age within Persian-Canadian culture was not significant ($F(2,834) = -4.37$, $p = .63$). Therefore, support for hypotheses 4g and 4i was found (see Table 6).

Politeness lies. To examine the following hypotheses: 4j (i.e., Persian children will be inclined to evaluate politeness lies more positively than Canadian children), 4k (i.e., Persian children's evaluations of politeness lies will become more positive as age increases), and 4l (i.e., Persian-Canadian children will evaluate politeness lies more positively than Canadian children), linear mixed effects regression analyses were conducted. Cultural group and age were the predictors (IV), and children's moral evaluations of politeness lies, and truths were the predicted variables (DV) (see Table 7). The analyses, with Canada as a reference, showed that culture was not a significant factor in predicting Persian children's positive evaluations of politeness lies compared to Canadian children's evaluations ($\beta = .35$, $t(836) = 8.43$, $p = .35$). Also, Persian- Canadian children rated politeness lies as negatively as their Canadian counterparts ($\beta = .26$, $t(834) = 1.22$, $p = .24$). Consequently, the hypotheses 4j and 4l were rejected and no cultural differences were found.

Moreover, linear mixed effects regression analyses revealed that age ($F(2, 834) = 26.97$, $p < .001$) was a significant factor in the children's evaluations of politeness lies (see Table 7). In other words, age had a significant effect on children's positive evaluations of politeness lies. Also, the interaction between age and cultural group ($F(2, 834) = 10.72$, $p < .0001$) was significant. Therefore, as age increased, Persian children rated lying in prosocial

situations more positively compared to Canadian children, meaning hypothesis 4k was supported (see Table 7). As the above-mentioned result shows, an increase in age did predict more positive ratings of politeness lies by children among all cultural groups (Canadian, Persian, Persian-Canadian) (see Table 7).

Taarof lies. To examine the following hypotheses: 4m (i.e., Persian children will evaluate Taarof lies more positively than Canadian children), 4n (i.e., Persian children's evaluations of Taarof lies will become more positive as age increases), 4o (i.e., Persian-Canadian children will evaluate Taarof lies as negatively as Canadian children), and 4p (i.e., Persian-Canadian children's evaluations of Taarof lies will become more positive as age increases), the same linear mixed effects regression analyses were conducted as previous ones. The predictor variables were cultural group and age (IV). The predicted variables were the children's ratings of Taarof lies (DV). The analyses, with Canada as a reference, revealed that Persians evaluated Taarof lies more positively in comparison to their Canadian counterparts ($\beta = .19$, $t(834) = 18.85$, $p < .0001$). Also, Persian- Canadian children evaluated Taarof lies as negatively as their Canadian counterparts ($\beta = -.31$, $t(836) = -.67$, $p = .51$). Thus, support for hypotheses 4m and 4o was found (see Table 8).

Age was a significant factor in predicting a positive rating of Taarof lies by children from different cultural groups ($\beta = .49$, $t(834) = 28.72$, $p < .001$). Moreover, the interaction between age and cultural group was significant ($F(834) = 2.33$, $p < .01$). That is, an increase in age did predict more positive ratings among Persian children. Therefore, the hypothesis 4n was confirmed. However, the effect of age within the Persian-Canadian sample was not significant ($F(834) = -.67$, $p = .59$). Hence, support for the hypothesis 4p was not found (see Table 8).

Importance of Maternal Disciplinary Methods and Culture in the Prediction of Children's

Moral Evaluations of False Statements.

The last objective was to examine the effect of maternal disciplinary methods and culture in the prediction of children's moral evaluations of false statements. In order to test hypotheses 5a-5e, linear mixed effect and structural models, in which cultural groups and maternal disciplinary methods were the predictors (IV) of children's moral evaluations of different false statements (DV), were used. Culture was the mediating variable and maternal disciplinary methods were modeled first through a linear regression with culture as the predictor. Residuals of this model, representing the maternal disciplinary methods with no effect of culture, were used as a predictor in the mixed effect model for children's moral evaluations of different false statements (DV). Culture was adjusted for in this mixed effect model, knowing that the residuals and culture are orthogonal (independent). The estimated effect size (coefficient) of the residual (representing maternal disciplinary methods with no influence of culture) and culture indicated the weight of each predictor in determining children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling.

Antisocial lies. A linear mixed effects model was used to test hypothesis 5a (i.e., maternal disciplinary methods' effect on children's moral evaluations of antisocial lies will be more significant than the effect of cultural group). Cultural group and maternal disciplinary method were the predictors (IV), and children's moral evaluations of antisocial lies and truths were the predicted variables (DV). When assessing the impact of the power assertion disciplinary method and culture on children's ratings of antisocial lies, after removing the effect of culture, power assertion was still a statistically significant factor ($F = 1.62$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$); however, the culture itself was not significant anymore ($F = 3.79$, $p = .23$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$). When assessing the impact of the induction disciplinary method and culture on children's evaluations of antisocial lies, induction method was not a significant factor ($F = .11$, $p = .73$,

partial $\eta^2 = .00$) and culture was not statistically significant ($F = 5.65$, $p = .004$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$) either. Thus, support for the expected differences between culture and maternal disciplinary methods (hypothesis 5a) was found.

Collective lies. To examine hypothesis 5b (i.e., maternal disciplinary methods' effect on children's moral evaluations of collective lies will be more significant than the effect of cultural group), the same linear mixed effects model was used. The predictor variables were cultural group and maternal disciplinary method (IV), and children's moral evaluations of collective lies were the predicted variables (DV). In the examination of the effects of the power assertion disciplinary method and culture on children's ratings of collective lies, power assertion, after removing the effect of culture, was not a significant factor ($F = .79$, $p = .77$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$); culture itself was not significant either ($F = .52$, $p = .59$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$). When assessing the effects of the induction disciplinary method and culture on children's ratings of collective lies, neither induction method ($F = .77$, $p = .78$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$) nor culture was a significant factor ($F = .47$, $p = .62$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$) on children's evaluations of collective lies. Thus, support for the expected differences hypothesized in 5b was not found.

Modesty lies. A linear mixed effects model was conducted to test hypothesis 5c (i.e., maternal disciplinary methods' effect on children's moral evaluations of modesty lies will be more significant than cultural groups). Cultural group and maternal disciplinary method were the predictors (IV), and children's moral evaluations of modesty lies were the predicted variables (DV). When analyzing the effects of power assertion and culture on children's ratings of modesty lies, after removing the effect of culture, power assertion was still a significant factor ($F = .23$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$), and culture was statistically significant ($F = 7.84$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .36$) as well. Similarly, for children's evaluations of modesty lies, when assessing

the effects of induction as a disciplinary method and culture, induction method was not a significant factor ($F = .91$, $p = .33$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$), while culture was statistically significant ($F = 16.81$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .75$). Therefore, support for hypothesis 5c was not found.

Politeness lies. To examine hypothesis 5d (i.e., the effect of maternal disciplinary method on children's moral evaluations of politeness lies will be more significant than the effect of cultural group), the same linear mixed effects model was conducted as the previous one. The predictor variables were cultural group and maternal disciplinary method (IV). The predicted variables were the children's ratings of politeness lies (DV). When examining the effects of power assertion and culture on children's ratings of politeness lies, after removing the effect of culture, power assertion was not a significant factor ($F = .79$, $p = .77$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$); culture itself was not significant either ($F = .52$, $p = .59$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$). When assessing the effects of induction as a disciplinary method and culture on children's ratings of politeness lies, induction method was a significant factor ($F = .77$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .82$), however, culture was not statistically significant ($F = .47$, $p = .62$, partial $\eta^2 2 = .00$). Hence, hypothesis 5d was supported.

Taarof lies. The same linear mixed effects model was conducted to test hypothesis 5e (i.e., cultural groups' effect on children's moral evaluations of Taarof lies will be more significant than the effect of maternal disciplinary methods). Cultural group and maternal disciplinary method were the predictors (IV), and children's moral evaluations of Taarof lies were the predicted variables (DV). When examining the effects of power assertion and culture on children's ratings of Taarof lies, after removing the effect of culture, power assertion was not statistically significant ($F = 5.35$, $p = .61$, partial $\eta^2 = .28$) while, culture itself was a significant factor ($F = 4.92$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$). When assessing the effects of induction as a disciplinary method and culture on children evaluations of Taarof lies, induction method was not

a significant factor ($F = 1.29$, $p = .33$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$), however, culture was statistically significant ($F = .96$, $p < .0001$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$). Therefore, support for hypothesis 5e was found.

Chapter 5: Discussion

The present study examined the impact of culture and maternal disciplinary methods on children's moral judgments of lie-and truth-telling. Results revealed that the significant differences in children's moral judgments of different types of lies by children from diverse cultural contexts were aligned with maternal disciplinary methods. Also, the findings show the impact of different cultural tendencies on maternal disciplinary techniques and the effects of these methods on children's moral evaluations of lies and truths.

Major Findings

The following major findings were obtained. The first major finding was the effect of cultural tendencies on parental disciplinary methods. The second finding pertained to the influence of maternal disciplinary methods on children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling. The next major finding was that the cultural groups in which children are socialized played a significant role in their moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling. The final finding was the relative importance of parenting practices over culture on children's moral evaluations of different false statements. Also, it was found that cultural tendencies toward individualism were high among Canadians, while collectivist tendencies were higher among Persians. This finding, in line with aforementioned studies (e.g., Lau et al., 2013; Lee et al., 2001; Matsumoto & Yoo, 2006), asserts that liberalism serves as a foundation for individualism. Liberal philosophy assumes that individuals are rational and able to make personal choices (Triandis, 1995). Consequently, in individual-orientated cultures, individuals are encouraged to be autonomous, unique, and assertive (Kim, 1994). On the other hand, collectivist cultures emphasize harmonious interpersonal relations, as well as harmonious relations between nature and individuals. Modesty, humility, and priority of groups over individuals are highlighted in the

collectivist cultures (Crary, 2007).

Impact of Cultural Tendencies on Disciplinary Methods

Current findings are consistent with Rudy and Grusecs (2006), who found that Persian (collectivist) mothers applied power assertion as a parenting approach more than their individualist counterparts. Iran (and other Middle Eastern countries) is an example of a more collectivist society, for it has been and continues to be a patriarchal society (Fathi, 1985).

According to previous studies (Assadi et al., 2007), the dominant parenting style in Persian families was chiefly harsh (Azimi, Vaziri, & Kashani, 2012). By use of the power assertion approach to parenting, the above-mentioned qualities of collectivist cultures may be promoted when socializing children. Consequently, in the collectivist context, power assertion as a parenting technique may be appropriate for instilling the values of particular collectivist cultures (Rudy & Grusec, 2006).

Disciplinary Methods' Impact on Moral Evaluations of Lie-and Truth-telling

While previous studies have suggested a need to examine social variables, such as parental disciplinary methods in diverse cultural contexts and their relation to children's lie-telling (e.g., Lee & Ross, 1997; Fu et al., 2010; Popliger, 2011; Kochanska, Aksan, & Nichols, 2003), no study has empirically examined this relationship. The current study found that maternal disciplinary methods may have some impact on children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling. Power assertion disciplinary methods were found to have significant associations with children's positive rating of antisocial lies and negative ratings of modesty lies. On the other hand, induction as a parenting method was found to have associations with children's positive rating of politeness lies in different cultural contexts.

Findings of the present study are congruent with the results of a study by Talwar and Lee

(2011), which demonstrated that a punitive disciplinary environment contributes to the early development of dishonesty. Similar research has shown that the reliance on physical force to control behavior leads to child maladjustment lasting through adolescence and beyond (Smith & Mosby, 2003). The detrimental effect of power assertion disciplinary methods during childhood has been investigated in regard to many delinquent behaviors such as cheating and the tendency for dishonesty in adolescence (Gervais, Tremblay, Desmarais-Gervais, & Vitaro, 2000; Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986; Talwar & Lee, 2011). In line with previous studies on parental disciplinary methods in Iran (e.g., Lewis, 1993; Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986), present findings indicate that power assertion as a technique to discipline children has been widely used among Persian families. Researchers have repeatedly suggested that exposure to power assertion disciplinary methods may be related to the development of antisocial behavior and deception in children, as well as having an influence on children's emotional empathy and development.

Negative correlations were found between parents who utilized power assertion discipline and their children's moral evaluations of modesty lies. While previous studies have demonstrated that the power assertion method is impactful on children externalizing problems, delinquency, and antisocial behaviors (e.g., Grogan-Kaylor, 2005; Pinquart, 2017; Talwar, Lavoie, Gomez-Garibello, & Crossman, 2017; Talwar & Lee, 2011), the association between harsh parenting discipline method and modesty lies has never been investigated. Here, results show that there is an association between power assertion as a parenting technique and negative ratings of modesty lies by children. Children whose mothers' dominant disciplinary method was power assertion did rate modesty lies negatively. Modesty lies require one to deny the credit for a good deed (in line with their societal value system). In this sense, parents, by utilizing the power assertion technique may not be successful in instilling socio-moral values (such as

modesty) or in helping children internalize them. As Gershoff (2002) has stated, the reason behind the unsuccessful use of power assertion in children's moral internalizations is the lack of communication between parents and children on a statement's potential effects on others. This result provides further evidence to the previous findings that power assertion as a maternal disciplinary practice can result in negative, long-lasting effects on children's behavior such as hostility, physical and relational aggression, and antisocial behaviors (e.g., Casas et al., 2006; Chang, Schwartz, Dodge, & McBride-Chang, 2003; Kawabata, Alink, Tseng, Van Ijzendoorn, & Crick, 2011; Ladd & Pettit, 2002; Rudy & Grusec, 2001).

Additionally, the positive ratings of antisocial lies from children whose parents' dominant disciplinary method was power assertion may provide more evidence for the idea that external factors, such as socialization agents, can lead children to lie when punishment is predictable. The current finding regarding the effects of power assertion on children's evaluations of antisocial lies is congruent with previous research (e.g., Lewis, 1993; Talwar & Lee, 2011), which has shown that power assertion disciplinary method might be influential on children antisocial deed as they seek to avoid severe punishment for their otherwise minor, impulse-driven transgressions (e.g., Jensen et al., 2004; Lewis, 1993; Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986).

The next finding is about the positive relations between politeness lies and induction as a parental disciplinary method. This can provide more evidence for Hoffman's theory regarding induction as a parenting technique which may result in more empathic children. In terms of their moral judgments of lie-and truth-telling, children take on the perspectives of the lie-recipient, particularly with politeness lies. The induction method focuses children's attention on the consequences of their behavior and capitalizes on children's capacity to feel another's negative emotion (i.e., to empathize). In the current examination of politeness lies, this is the first of its

kind to investigate the role of disciplinary practices on children's evaluations of lies in prosocial deed situations. For now, it can be concluded that notions of politeness, modesty, and antisocial lies are influenced by parental disciplinary methods, and these sociocultural factors encourage future investigation.

Enculturation Impact on Moral Evaluations of Lie- and Truth-telling

The effect of socialization process on children's judgments of untruthful statements in different cultural groups will be discussed in the following sections.

Antisocial lies. As hypothesized, no significant effect of cultural group or age was found on children's moral evaluations of antisocial lie-and truth-telling. All participants rated antisocial lies negatively and discouraged such verbal behavior. These results indicate that the age and cultural group of children were not significant predictors in their moral evaluations of antisocial lies in the vignettes. Findings show that all cultures studied discourage such verbal behavior and seem to perceive it as censured conduct. Moreover, Canadian, Persian, and Persian-Canadian children assessed truth-telling in antisocial situations positively, whilst antisocial lies were given negative ratings.

The current findings are congruent with the past research findings that lying to protect oneself after committing an antisocial deed was consistently found to be rated negatively across cultures (e.g., Fu et al., 2001; Lee & Ross, 1997; Lee et al., 2001). As such, Bussey (1992) found that Australian children as young as five years of age were able to provide differential ratings for lie-and truth-telling and misconduct. Similarly, Fu and his colleagues (2001) found no cross-cultural differences (Chinese and Canadian) in young adults' evaluations of lie-telling in antisocial situations. Another study by Xu, Luo, Fu, and Lee (2009) revealed that Chinese children and adults rated untruthful statements told with the intent to harm significantly more

negatively compared to different types of lies. Overall, these results and previous findings suggest that untruthful statements that are motivated by self-interest, violate trust and rules of communication, intend to harm others, or used to avoid punishment are evaluated negatively.

Collective lies. While it was hypothesized that Persian and Persian-Canadian children would evaluate collective lies more positively than Canadians, results show that there is no difference between Canadian, Persian, and Persian-Canadian children in regard to evaluating collective lies. Regardless of cultural group, all children evaluated truth-telling positively in collective situations. One possible explanation is the societal and economic transformation in Iran. Persian culture has been affected by Western models, one of the consequences being the rapid integration of Western values into Persian's daily lives. Furthermore, according to a study on societal cultural norms by Dastmalchian, Javidan, and Alam (2001), Iran has one of the lowest scores on societal collectivism while simultaneously having one of the highest scores on in-group collectivism. In-group collectivism implies the degree to which individuals express pride, loyalty, and cohesiveness within family structure. Javidan and Dastmalchian (2003) stated that Persian culture is distinguished by its seemingly paradoxical mix of strong family ties and connections and a high degree of individualism. This mixture of individualist values within Persian culture may justify the negative rating of collective lies given by Persian children.

Unsurprisingly, it was found that Canadian children also rated collective lies negatively, which is consistent with the value systems of their own culture. Even though Canada is known as a multicultural society, it is categorized as individualist (Oyserman et al., 2002). The individualistic values are clearly mirrored in Canadian children's moral evaluations of collective lies in this study. This finding is congruent with Fu et al.'s (2007, 2008) results regarding Chinese and Canadian children and adults' moral evaluations of collective lies. Overall,

Canadian children valued individual interests over group interests, which is one of distinctive characteristics of individualistic culture.

Age and collective lies. As previously mentioned in the results section, age was not a significant factor in predicting a positive rating of collective lies by Persian children. Also, no interaction between age and cultural group was found. This result mirrors the Persian value system regarding collectivism and the extent to which its essence is dissimilar from East Asian collectivism. Even though one of the significant differences between collectivist and individualistic cultures lay in their preferences regarding groups or individuals, the current study's finding is not consistent with previous studies that showed cross-cultural differences (East Asian and Western countries) regarding collective lies. The reason behind this may be found in Persian culture and the rapid changes that Iran has undergone. According to Javidan and Dastmalchian (2003), despite strong familial ties and a high degree of individualism in Iran, societal collectivism is not a strong suit amongst Persians.

Modesty lies. Persian children rated modesty lies more positively compared to their Canadian counterparts. Moreover, Persian-Canadians who were born in Canada evaluated these lies as negatively as Canadians. Also, Persian children evaluated truth-telling in modest situations negatively, while Canadian and Persian-Canadian counterparts gave modest truths positive ratings. Persian children were more sensitive to their social and cultural requirements of modesty than Canadians. The modesty effect has been documented among collectivist cultures, especially in East Asian countries (e.g., Fu et al., 2007; Fu et al., 2010; Lee et al., 1997, Lee et al., 2001; Cameron, Lau, Fu, & Lee, 2012); the current findings suggest the importance of this concept in Iran and its socialization in children. Modesty in the Persian language is referred to as "Tavaazo" (Azarmi & Behnam, 2012). Tavaazo is a quality strongly recommended in Islam, and

it is said that if somebody uses it in his speech it is pleasing to an interlocutor (Koutlaki, 1997). This modesty effect as a characteristic of Persian culture (collectivism) is not emphasized during the enculturation process in individualist cultures (e.g., Canadian). With Canada being an individualist culture, its socialization process encourages children to conform to individualist characteristics such as self-assertion/promotion, and competition. This may explain the negative rating of modesty lies among Persian-Canadian children. As such, in the current study, it was found that North American children viewed modesty lies as undesirable and gave them negative moral evaluations. These differences in ratings of modesty lies across cultures appear to reflect the different degrees of emphasis placed on modesty during their respective acculturation processes. In previous studies (e.g., Fu et al., 2010; Lee et al., 1997; Lee et al., 2001), the examination of the modesty effect, with focus on East Asian countries, demonstrated that the collectivist values promoted in these societies were derived from a mixture of Confucianism and Communism. However, exploration of the modesty effect in Middle Eastern countries remained non-existent. This study breaks new ground by investigating Persian culture in regard to modesty lies.

Age and modesty lies. A major cultural difference was found in children's moral evaluations of lie-telling in good deed conditions (modesty situations). As age increased, Persian children rated modesty lies more positively than their Canadian and Persian-Canadian counterparts. This finding is also in line with previous studies (e.g., Fu et al., 2010; Fu et al., 2001; Genyue, Heyman, & Lee, 2011; Lee et al., 1997, Lee et al., 2001), which constantly demonstrated that as age increases, children from collectivist cultures (such as China, Taiwan, and Japan) and children from individualist cultures (such as Canada) become more differentiated in their moral judgments of false statements about modesty. These findings

support the sociocultural view that lying may be specific to culture. As mentioned in the previous section, Tavaazo is a known way of showing politeness and respect in Persian culture. Persian speakers liberally employ self- lowering strategies, such as downgrades or complete denials of their own abilities, qualities, good deeds, or possessions, in their interactions (see Koutlaki, 2002). These findings suggest that cultural factors may significantly impact children's moral understandings of lie-telling.

Politeness lies. None of the predicted cultural differences in ratings of politeness lies were found to be significant. All Canadian, Persian, and Persian-Canadian children's ratings of lie- telling in the prosocial situations were positive. This current result is consistent with previous studies' findings that children's ability to tell politeness lies develops in the early childhood period across cultures (e.g., Fu et al., 2001; Lee et al., 1997; Ma et al., 2011; Talwar et al., 2007; Xu et al., 2010). Regardless of cultural group, all children rated truth-telling less positively and lie- telling more positively in prosocial situations.

Age and politeness lies. While all children viewed politeness lies positively in general, this was qualified by an interaction between age and cultural group. Results indicate that with age, Persian (collectivist) children became likely to rate politeness lies more positively than children from an individualist culture (Canada). This present finding is consistent with previous studies on children's moral evaluations of politeness lies, which found that children in collectivist cultures rated politeness lies as more acceptable than their individualist counterparts (e.g., Fu et al., 2001; Lee et al., 1997, Lee et al., 2001). As age increases, children's moral evaluations of lie-and truth- telling are more in line with their cultural values and norms. In fact, the reason behind this phenomenon is due to the socialization that happens in the context of culture. This age effect may reflect the great emphasis on politeness in Persian culture that

children receive from early ages by primary caregivers. Throughout Persian socialization processes, children are taught by socializing agents (e.g., parents, mass media, teachers, and respected elders) about "Adab." Within Persian culture, Adab, a concept representing politeness, is a highly valued practice that is widely discussed, and, from an early age, children are taught to internalize the importance of this practice (Koutlaki, 2010). With age, children's experience with cultural norms increases and this may affect their moral judgments of lie-and truth-telling in prosocial situations in ways that are consistent with their respective society's moral rules.

Taarof lies. The results of the current study revealed that Persian children, growing up in a more collectivist society relative to Canadian children, evaluated Taarof lies more positively in comparison to their Canadian and Persian-Canadian counterparts. Regardless of cultural group, all children rated truth-telling negatively in Taarof situations. Moreover, both Canadian and Persian-Canadian children rated Taarof lies negatively. This finding can be explained by the fact that in Canadian culture (individualist), the concept of Taarof (e.g., self-lowering and humility) does not exist. Persian culture is characterized by Taarof (the art of excessive politeness and humility); according to Motaghi-Tabari and de Beuzeville (2012), Taarof encompasses a wide range of inescapable rituals in Persian interactions. Beeman (1986) defined Taarof as the language of politeness and praise in Persian culture, and he claims that the notion of Taarof goes back to the pre-Islamic, Zoroastrian religion, of which one of the basic principles was "kind words." In the same line, Koutlaki (1997) stated that the root of Taarof is considered to be in the teachings of Islamic religion (humility, hospitality, and generosity). However, Taarof's origins and its fundamental values have existed in pre-Islamic times.

The current study's finding is in line with previous research (e.g., Izadi, 2016; Koutlaki, 2002; Shishavan & Sharifian, 2013) which have repeatedly found that Taarof is rooted deeply in

Persian culture and is a ritual of which both participants are completely aware. Taarof can be seen as outward expressions of positive qualities (e.g., hospitality, warmth, and respect), and does not necessarily accompany genuine feeling. However, Taarof gestures convey respect and enrich the face of both speakers. Current findings about Taarof as a unique, acceptable form of deception may be embedded in Persian (high-context) communication style and its cultural tendencies towards collectivism as mentioned earlier. As noted before, indirect speech and hidden meanings are characteristics of high-context communication style (HC) in collectivist cultures such as Persian (Rosenthal, Archer, Hall, DiMatteo, & Rogers., 1979), and these elements can be found in Taarof. Particularly, the dishonesty in Taarof is for demonstrating politeness, respect, and modesty in the course of daily communications (Koutlaki, 2010).

This study is the first of its kind to address the effect of culture on children's moral evaluations of Taarof. The significant positive ratings of Taarof lies are likely due to the socialization of norms and conventions from an early age in Persian culture. As children gain more experience with these norms and conventions, they learn that some lies are more socially acceptable than others. Particularly, lies that imply respect, kindness, and humility are truly valued in Persian culture.

Age and Taarof lies. Age played a key role in Persian children's moral evaluations of Taarof lies. An increase in age did predict a more positive rating of Taarof lies among Persian children. Persian children, from early ages, are exposed to Taarof on a daily basis. During the enculturation process, Persian children learn about Taarof from socializing agents in social interactions. Therefore, children's awareness of the need to be polite and respectful increases with age and exposure to the concepts of Taarof. However, during enculturation in an individualist society such as Canada, no emphasis is placed on the broad concept of Taarof (e.g.,

self-lowering, excessive politeness, and humility). Thus, Canadian and Persian-Canadian children's negative ratings of such statements did not change with age. In other words, with age, children's moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling grew to be more in line with their culture's values and norms. This study's findings suggest that the enculturation processes may play an important role in children's development of moral distinctions between truthful and untruthful communications. In addition, communication styles that are embodied in different cultures and deceptive statements in communication styles can be fully understood in the context of their own culture.

Importance of Maternal Disciplinary Methods and Culture in the Prediction of Children's Moral Evaluations of False Statements

While it was hypothesized that parenting practices would be more impactful than culture, the result of the current study revealed that neither maternal disciplinary methods nor cultural groups were significant predictors of children's moral evaluations of collective lies. However, parenting effect was found significant for antisocial and politeness lies. These findings are consistent with findings from studies presented in previous sections (impact of maternal disciplinary methods and enculturation impact on moral evaluations of lie- and truth-telling).

Antisocial lies. The current results showed that while culture has no effect on children ratings of antisocial lies, power assertion as a parental disciplinary method is a significant predictor. This finding is congruent with previous studies that antisocial deeds were consistently found to be rated negatively across cultures (e.g., Fu et al., 2001; Lee & Ross, 1997; Lee et al., 2001). With regard to disciplinary method, present finding in line with past studies (e.g., Lewis, 1993; Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986; Talwar & Lee, 2011) indicates that the exposure to power assertion disciplinary method might be a predictor in the increase of antisocial dishonesty. These

results aligned with previous findings suggest that false statements that are motivated by self-interest, intend to harm others, or used to avoid punishment are evaluated negatively in different cultures. For now, one can conclude that as antisocial false statements are perceived negatively in different cultures, then parenting practices may affect antisocial lies significantly in comparison with culture.

Collective lies. Even though it was hypothesized that parenting practices would affect children's moral evaluations of collective lies significantly than culture, results indicate that there is no significant effect of culture or parental disciplinary methods. Aligned with previous results section, unlike past cross-cultural findings on collective lies in East Asia (e.g., Fu et al., 2001; Fu et al., 2007), this study found no differences regarding parenting or cultural effect on children's moral evaluations of collective lies. This current finding echoes the relative collectivism that exists in Persian culture and the extent to which it is dissimilar from East Asian collectivist cultures. As mentioned in previous set of results, it can be explained by changes that Iran has undergone in few past decades and the movement towards industrialism and modernism. Overall, it can be inferred that since collective lies are not emphasized in either Canadian or Persian cultures, the effect of culture or parenting practices could not be examined.

Modesty lies. As stated in the result section, both parenting practices (power assertion) and culture were significant predictors of children's moral evaluations of modesty lies. "Modesty effect" is well-documented in the previous cross-cultural research (e.g., Fu et al., 2007; Fu et al., 2010; Lee et al., 1997, Lee et al., 2001; Cameron et al., 2012). In Iran, modesty effect (Tavaazo) as a quality of Persian culture (collectivism) is stressed during enculturation process from early ages. Moreover, as here was found the negative relations found between power assertion and children's moral evaluations of modesty lies, it can be concluded that power assertion as a

dominant parenting practices may have adverse effects in instilling socio-moral values in children (e.g., Grogan-Kaylor, 2005; Pinquart, 2017; Talwar et al., 2017; Talwar & Lee, 2011). These findings suggest that both cultural and parenting factors may significantly impact children's moral understanding false statements in modesty situations.

Politeness lies. As it was expected, induction as a dominant parental disciplinary method had a greater effect on children's moral evaluations of politeness lies. As stated in the results section, no significant effect of culture was found. Current findings are consistent with previous research (e.g., Fu et al., 2001; Lee et al., 1997; Ma et al., 2011; Talwar et al., 2007b; Xu et al., 2010) that across culture children evaluate lie-telling more positively in prosocial situations. Overall, it appears that politeness lies are more affected by parental disciplinary methods than culture since there is a relative universal acceptance of politeness lies.

Taarof lies. As expected, culture is a significant factor in the prediction of children's moral evaluations of Taarof lies compared to parental disciplinary methods (e.g., induction, power assertion). The reason behind this phenomenon can be traced back to how Taarof is rooted deeply in Persian culture and its value system, which is emphasized during the Persian socialization process. Thus, it can be concluded that culture plays a more significant role in children's moral evaluations of Taarof lies compared to parenting practices.

Overall, these findings combined indicate the extent that sociocultural factors (including parenting practices) may be influential on children's moral evaluations of false statements. To clarify, the mixed findings in the investigation of the relative importance of culture and parenting on children's moral evaluations of false statements, it is noteworthy to highlight that sociocultural factors such as parental disciplinary methods are explicitly or implicitly affected by culture. Upon examining the importance of culture and parenting practices on children's moral

evaluations of different untrue statements, this (either explicit or implicit) effect of culture on parenting cannot be ignored. Therefore, the segregation of parenting practices regardless of cultural contexts may not be effective in broadening the understanding of children's moral evaluations but warrants further investigations across cultures.

Limitations and Future Directions

Limitations of the current research include the use of instruments that have been used only on North American samples. While the instruments were translated into Persian by bilingual researchers with experience in the field, they might not necessarily be aligned with characteristics of the interactions among Persian children. Since the sample included participants from the capital city of Iran, this may limit the results to only children living in cities and may not be representative of children living in smaller towns or rural areas. For future studies, cross- cultural research including other populations will contribute to a better understanding of the phenomenon of children's moral evaluations of lie-and truth-telling.

The present findings have important implications for theorizing about moral development in the domain of truthful versus untruthful statements and communications. There are several topics of interest that demand further empirical research. Future studies should be conducted with participants from other Western countries as well as other Asian countries (including Middle Eastern countries) that have been classified as collectivist, since the extent and nature of collectivism and individualism in different countries vary (Oyserman et al., 2002). Further work could also involve emigrants from Asia who live in Western countries to establish the impact of enculturation on children's moral judgments of lie-and truth-telling.

In the present research, all communications in the vignettes took place in a school environment, which is a more public setting, and it is not clear whether the results will generalize

to other contexts. It is important to further examine the impact of private or familiar settings, such as in the home or among peers, in a manner that better taps into different types of lies. Furthermore, the composition of audiences in public situations needs to be explored. For example, children may tell different types of lies if they are in front of a group of teachers than when they are in front of a group of classmates or family-friends. Moreover, systematic research is needed to examine how and to what extent responses from parents can be influential in children's moral evaluations of lie-and truth-telling, and if parental responses vary according to the age of their children.

Empirical evidence concerning these possibilities is of important theoretical significance, not only for obtaining a more comprehensive understanding of truthful and untruthful statements and communication in children, but also for presenting the impact of cultural factors on the gaining of general social knowledge.

Conclusion

In summary, the present study was carried out to investigate Canadian, Persian, and Persian-Canadian children's evaluations of lie- and truth-telling, and the impact of cultural groups and parental disciplinary methods. Current findings suggest that societal factors contribute significantly to children's moral understanding of lie- and truth-telling. However, earlier studies suggested moral development to be mainly determined by children's levels of cognitive development rather than social and situational factors (e.g., Colby et al., 1983; Kohlberg, 1964). Current findings coupled with other recent studies (e.g., Talwar & Crossman, 2011; Talwar et al., 2017; Talwar & Lee, 2002a, 2002b, 2008; Xu et al., 2010) contribute new evidence to the issue of the universality of moral development. As such, certain forms of lie- and truth-telling, regarded negatively in one culture, may be evaluated positively in another.

Also, present findings provide more evidence that moral development is a highly contextualized process and is affected by the cultural and/or social settings in which children are socialized. The aforementioned cross-cultural findings indicate that the observed differences are due to the socialization of norms and conventions. As children gain more experience with these social norms and conventions, they learn that some lies are more socially acceptable than others are.

It must be taken into consideration that although children's cognitive ability plays a significant role in their moral development and evaluations of lie-and truth-telling, the extent of cultural and social factors' influence cannot be neglected.

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Appendix A

Parental Demographic Questionnaire

Your answers will be kept strictly confidential and only used for statistical purposes. Thank you for your participation.

What is your child's name, date of birth (year/month/day), and gender?

_____

1. To which ethnic or cultural group(s) does your child (children) belong to?

   _____

2. What is your current relationship status? (Please circle one)
   - Single
   - Married
   - Divorced
   - Widowed
   - Common law
   - Separated

   What, if any is yours and your child's religion? _____

3. What is the highest level of education that you have attained?
   - ____ Some trade, technical or vocational school, or business college
   - ____ Some community college, CEGEP, or nursing school
   - ____ Some University courses
   - ____ Diploma/ certificate from trade, technical or vocational school, or business school
   - ____ Diploma/certificate from community college, CEGEP, or nursing school
   - ____ Bachelor or undergraduate degree, or teacher's college (eg. B.A, B.SC)
   - ____ Master's Degree (M.A, M.SC, M.ED)
   - ____ Degree in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine or optometry (eg. M.D)
   - ____ Doctorate (PhD, D. SC)
   - ____ Other: Please Specify _____

4. Can you estimate in which of the following groups your household income falls?
   - ____ Less than $20 000
   - ____ $ over 20 000 to 30 000
   - ____ $ over 30 000 to 40 000
   - ____ $ over 40 000 to 50 000
   - ____ $ over 50 000 to 60 000
   - ____ $ over 60 000
   - ____ $ currently no income

Appendix B

Vignettes for Different Types of Lies

Modesty lies:

1) Lie-telling about a prosocial act (modesty lies)

- Here is Natasha. Natasha had to stay inside at recess time because she was getting over a cold, so Natasha decided to clean up the classroom for her class. So Natasha cleaned the classroom. When her classmates returned after recess, one of her classmates, Sarah, said to the class, 'Oh, I see that someone has cleaned the classroom.' Sarah then asked Natasha, 'Did you clean the classroom?' Even though Natasha cleaned the classroom, Natasha said to Sarah, 'No, I didn't do that.'

- Here is Catherin. When Catherin was out at recess, she saw that the school yard was littered with garbage, so she picked up all the pieces she could find and threw them in the trash can. So Catherin cleaned the schoolyard. At the end of recess, Catherin's classmate, Mary, said to the class, 'I see that the schoolyard is now clean.' Mary then asked Catherin, 'Did you clean the yard?' Even though Catherin cleaned the schoolyard, Catherin said to Mary, 'No, I didn't do that.'

2) Truth-telling about a prosocial act (immodest truths)

- Here is Alex. Alex had to stay inside at recess time because he was getting over a cold, so Alex decided to clean up the classroom for his class. So Alex cleaned the classroom. When his classmates returned after recess, one of his classmates, John, said to the class, 'Oh, I see that someone has cleaned the classroom.' John asked Alex, 'Did you clean the classroom?' Alex cleaned the classroom. Alex said to John, 'Yes, I did that.'

- Here is Sarah. When Sarah was out at recess, she saw that the school yard was littered with garbage, so she picked up all the pieces she could find and threw them in the trash can. Sarah cleaned the schoolyard. At the end of recess, one of her classmates, Jean, said to the class, 'I see that the schoolyard is now clean.' Jean asked Sarah, 'Did you clean the yard?' Sarah cleaned the schoolyard so she said to Jean, 'Yes, I did that.'

Antisocial lies:

1) Antisocial behavior/truth-telling story

- Here is Katie. Katie wanted to play with the skipping rope during gym class but discovered that one of her classmates, Sherry, was already playing with it. Katie told Sherry that she wanted the skipping rope. Sherry said 'no'. Katie then pushed Sherry to the ground and made her cry. The teacher saw Sherry crying and she said, 'Oh dear, Sherry's been hurt.' The teacher asked Katie, 'Did you hurt Sherry?' Katie said to her teacher, 'yes, I did it.'

- Here is Ryan. Ryan wanted to make paper airplanes so he tore some pages out of a storybook from the library. So Ryan tore the pages from a storybook, the teacher noticed the missing pages in the book; she said to the class, 'I see that someone has torn some pages from this book.' The teacher then asked Ryan, 'Did you tear out the pages?' Ryan said to his teacher, 'I did it.'

2) Antisocial behavior/lie-telling story

- Here is Anna. Anna wanted to play with the skipping rope during gym class but discovered that one of her classmates, Lily, was already playing with it. Anna told Lily that she wanted the skipping rope. Lily said 'no'. Anna then pushed Lily to the ground and made her cry. The teacher saw Lily crying and she said, 'Oh dear, Lily's been hurt.' The teacher asked Anna, 'Did you hurt Lily?' Anna said to her teacher, 'No, I did not do it.'

- Here is Shelly. Shelly wanted to make paper airplanes and gave it to her friend so she took one of the storybooks from the library and tore some pages out of a book. The teacher noticed the missing pages; she said to the class, 'I see that someone has torn some of the pages in this book.' The teacher then asked Shelly, 'Did you tear out these pages?' Shelly said to her teacher, 'No, I did not do it.'

Politeness lies:

1) Politeness behavior/lie-telling story

- Ellen was eating cake when her classmate, Ben, came over to see her. Ellen offered Ben a piece of cake and he began to eat it. Ellen asked him, 'Do you like the cake?' Ben thought that the cake was too dry and he didn't like it. Ben said, 'Yes, I like it.'

- Mina's father gave his daughter a new watch for her birthday. Mina brought her new watch to the school. She showed it to her friend Matthew and asked him, 'Do you like my new watch?' Matthew thought the watch was too big and did not like it. Matthew said, 'Yes, I like it.'

2) Politeness behavior/truth-telling story

- Daniel was eating an apple when his classmate, Liz, came over to see him. Daniel gave Liz a half of apple and she began to eat it. Daniel asked Liz, 'Do you like the apple?' Liz thought that the apple was too sour and she didn't like it. Liz said, 'No, I don't like it.'

- Kathy's father bought her new sunglasses for her birthday. Kathy brought her new sunglasses to the school. Kathy let her friend Cindy see her new sunglasses in the break at school. After she saw the sunglasses, Kathy asked Cindy, 'Do you like the sunglasses?' Cindy thought the glasses looked pretty and liked them. Cindy said, 'Yes, I like them.'

Collective lies:

1) Telling the truth to help the individual, harm the collective

- Here is Collin. Collin's class had spaces available in the class choir for more singers to represent the class at school's singing competition. Collin's friend, Shannon, couldn't sing very well, but she really wanted to be in the group, so she asked Collin to sign her up for it. Collin thought to himself, 'If I sign Shannon up for the class, we will not do well at the competition, but Shannon is my friend, and if I don't sign her up, she will be very upset.' When Shannon asked Collin if he had signed her up for the class, Collin decided to help his friend. Collin told Shannon, 'I have signed you up for the class.'

- Here is Jason. Jason's class had spaces available in the basketball team for more players to represent the class at school annual competition. Jason's friend, Ella, couldn't play very well, but she really wanted to be in the basketball team, so she asked Jason to sign her up for it. Jason thought to himself, 'If I sign Ella up for the basketball team, we will not do well at the competition, but Ella is my friend, and if I don't sign her up, she will be very upset.' When Ella asked Jason if he had signed her up for the basketball team, Jason decided to help his friend, Jason told Ella, 'I have signed you up for the class'

2) Lying to help the collective, harm the individual

- Here is Casey. Casey's class had spaces available in the class choir for more singers to represent the class at school's singing competition. Casey's friend, Maria, couldn't sing very well, but she really wanted to be in the choir, so she asked Casey to sign her up for it. Casey thought to herself, 'If I sign Maria up for the choir, we will not do well at the competition, but Maria is my friend, and if I don't sign her up, she will be very upset.' When Maria asked Casey if she had signed her up for the choir, Casey decided to help her class, Casey told Maria, 'I couldn't. There were no spaces left.'

- Here is Sam. Sam's class had spaces available in the basketball team for more players

to represent the class at school annual competition. Sam's friend, Luke, couldn't play very well, but he really wanted to be in the group, so he asked Sam to sign him up for. Sam thought to himself, 'If I sign Luke up for the basketball team, we will not do well at the competition, but Luke is my friend, and if I don't sign him up, he will be very upset.' When Luke asked Sam if he had signed her up for the basketball team, Sam decided to help his class. Sam told Luke, 'I couldn't. There were no spaces left.'

Taarof:

1) Truth-telling about Taarof (True statement)

- Tina and Sarah are friends. Tina wore proudly a new shining ring that day at school. Sarah saw the ring and really wished she had a ring like that. In the recess time, Sarah for the first time told her friend Tina how much she likes the shining ring. Tina offered Sarah the ring to keep. Tina told Sarah that she didn't need that ring any more. Sarah said: 'Oh, no. Do you really mean it?' Tina told her: 'Sorry, I really love my ring and want to keep it.'

- Julie and Nicki are classmates. Julie brought a new colorful bag that day at school. Nicki saw the bag and wished she had had a bag like that. In the recess time, Nicki for the first time told her friend Julie how much she likes the colorful bag. Julie offered Nicki the colorful bag to keep. Julie told Nicki that she didn't need that bag any more. Nicki said: 'Oh, no. Do you really mean it?' Julie told her; 'Sorry, I really love my bag and want to keep it.

2) Lie-telling about Taarof (False statement)

- Emily and Vanessa are classmates and friends. Emily wore proudly a new shining ring that day at school. Vanessa saw the ring and really wished she had a ring like that. In the recess time, Vanessa for the first time told her friend Emily how much she likes the shiny ring. Emily

offered Vanessa the ring to keep. Emily told Vanessa that she didn't need that ring any more. Vanessa said: 'Oh, no. Do you really mean it?' Emily told her; 'Yes, it's all yours.'

- Jill and Anna are friends. Jill brought a new colorful bag that day at school. Anna saw the bag and wished she had had a bag like that. In the recess time, Anna for the first time told her friend Jill how much she likes the colorful bag. Jill offered Anna the colorful bag to keep. Jill told Anna that she didn't need the bag any more. Anna said: 'Oh, no. Do you really mean it?' Jill told her; 'Yes, it's all yours'.

List of Tables

Table 1

Means (SDs) of Cultural Tendencies Towards Collectivism Vs. Individualism and Parental Disciplinary Methods

	Cultural groups		
	Canadian	Persian	Persian-Canadian
Disciplinary method			
Power assertion	-.21 (.38)	-.21 (.03)	-.26 (.05)
Induction	-.45 (.03)	.75 (1)	3.61 (.54)
Cultural tendencies			
Collectivism	1.64 (.34)	3.82 (.46)	3.72 (.68)
Individualism	1.47 (.34)	-.68(.04)	.68 (.49)

Note: Standard deviations are in parentheses.

Table 2

Regression Analyses on Children's Moral Evaluations of Modesty and Antisocial Lies and Maternal Power Assertion Method

	Power assertion method		
	df	*r df*	*F*
Modesty lies			
Power assertion	17	834	4.94*
Antisocial lies			
Power assertion	1	834	.63*

Note. *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 3

Regression Analyses on Children's Moral Evaluations of Politeness Lies and Maternal Induction Method

	Induction method		
	df	*r df*	*F*
Politeness lies			
Induction	1	834	2.27***

Note. *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 4

Canadian, Persian, and Persian-Canadian Children's Moral Evaluations of Antisocial Truthful and Untruthful Statements

	Age (years)							
	5		7		9		11	
Cultural groups	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Truth-telling about antisocial (true statement)								
Canadian	3.76	1.52	3.82	1.8	3.75	1.29	3.91	1.31
Persian	3.81	1.4	3.72	1.78	3.82	1.3	3.93	1.34
Persian-Canadian	3.79	1.4	3.82	1.78	3.82	1.3	3.93	1.52
Lie-telling about antisocial (false statement)								
Canadian	1.79	.86	1.76	.98	1.8	.87	1.76	.76
Persian	1.76	.85	1.82	.98	1.76	1.86	1.69	.69
Persian-Canadian	1.38	.33	1.5	.48	1.35	.36	1.33	.36

Table 5

Canadian, Persian, and Persian-Canadian Children's Moral Evaluations of Collective Truthful and Untruthful Statements

	Age (years)							
	5		7		9		11	
Cultural groups	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Truth-telling about collective (true statement)								
Canadian	6.23	.32	6.14	.57	6.03	.57	6.02	.91
Persian	6.26	.83	5.95	.38	5.06	1.18	4.02	1.67
Persian-Canadian	6.26	.25	6.25	.25	5.92	.26	6.00	.32
Lie-telling about collective (false statement)								
Canadian	1.86	1.02	2.13	1.01	2.09	.93	2.24	.82
Persian	1.86	1.48	1.35	.6	2.26	.98	2.5	.78
Persian-Canadian	1.35	.60	1.78	.57	1.92	.73	2.8	.41

Table 6

Canadian, Persian, and Persian-Canadian Children's Moral Evaluations of Modest Truthful and Untruthful Statements

	Age (years)							
	5		7		9		11	
Cultural groups	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Lie-telling about Modesty (false statement)								
Canadian	1.98	.96	2.32	.76	2.39	.54	2.64	.69
Persian	1.11	.32	1.55	.75	4.11	.95	4.63	.53
Persian-Canadian	1.05	.24	1.42	.64	1.85	.66	3.03	.37
Truth-telling about Modesty (true statement)								
Canadian	5.19	.95	4.95	.95	5.2	1	4.97	1.11
Persian	5.88	.32	5.66	.67	4.75	.95	3.39	.57
Persian-Canadian	5.76	.43	5.85	.36	6	.0	5.53	.74

Table 7

Canadian, Persian, and Persian-Canadian Children's Moral Evaluations of Politeness Truthful and Untruthful Statements

	Age (years)							
	5		7		9		11	
Cultural groups	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Truth-telling about politeness (true statement)								
Canadian	1.23	.43	4.6	1.28	3.11	1.26	1.64	.8
Persian	1.76	1.82	1.85	.66	2.99	.26	1.2	.41
Persian-Canadian	4.29	1.84	3.24	1.33	2.35	.48	1.21	.41
Lie-telling politeness (false statement)								
Canadian	1.93	.95	2.11	.74	3.47	1.24	5.62	1.74
Persian	1.94	.55	2.78	.42	3.85	1.02	5.8	.41
Persian-Canadian	2.25	1.01	2.62	1.33	5.68	1.27	6.41	.85

Table 8

Canadian, Persian, and Persian-Canadian Children's Moral Evaluations of Taarof Truthful and Untruthful Statements

	Age (years)							
	5		7		9		11	
Cultural groups	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Truth-telling about Taarof (true statement)								
Canadian	2.54	1.74	2.02	.86	2.06	.89	2.33	1.27
Persian	2.36	.65	1.64	1.02	1.13	.34	1.14	.74
Persian-Canadian	3.94	1.02	2.00	.55	1.71	.46	1.86	.63
Lie-telling about Taarof (false statement)								
Canadian	4.86	1.45	4.64	1.26	5.02	1.42	5.15	1.47
Persian	4.7	1.39	4.35	1.36	4.66	1.04	5.04	1.91
Persian-Canadian	4.76	.83	4.04	.74	5.0	.67	5.66	.61