

Understanding the Effects of Parental Extrinsic versus Intrinsic Goal Promotion and
Parental Educational Level on Adolescent Ethnic Prejudice

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Abstract

Based on self-determination theory, the role of parental extrinsic versus intrinsic (E / I) goal promotion for adolescent ethnic prejudice and the mechanisms underlying this effect were examined in a sample of middle adolescents and their parents. Primary analyses using structural equation modeling indicated that paternal and maternal E / I goal promotion had a significant positive effect on ethnic prejudice that could be accounted for by adolescent right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) and social dominance orientation (SDO). Ancillary analyses showed that parental goal promotion also accounted for the negative association between parental educational level and adolescent ethnic prejudice. It is discussed how E / I goal promotion constitutes an important aspect of the socialization process.

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Some adolescents hold ethnically prejudiced attitudes that impact on other individuals, groups and the larger community. Because ethnic prejudice is still present in contemporary (European) society (Vala, Lima & Lopes, 2004), it is important to explore its antecedents. In the past, two research lines have dominated the quest for its antecedents. The first has viewed ethnic prejudice as resulting from group processes (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The second has regarded it as a result of dispositional factors making people more or less prone to adopt ethnic prejudice. Within the latter tradition, two individual difference dimensions have been identified as important and relatively independent predictors of (ethnic) prejudice: Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) and the Social Dominance Orientation (SDO). RWA is defined as the covariation of an adherence to conventional norms and values, an uncritical submission to authority, and feelings of aggression towards norm violators (Altemeyer, 1981). SDO delineates the extent to which one desires the ingroup to dominate outgroups (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). Recently, several authors have argued that RWA and SDO do not represent core personality characteristics, but should be conceptualized as sets of relatively malleable cognitive beliefs (e.g., Duckitt, 2001) or surface personality traits (Asendorpf & van Aken, 2003) that only become relatively stable in late adolescence (e.g., Duckitt, Wagner, du Plessis, & Birum, 2002). Therefore, the present research focuses on middle adolescents whose formation of RWA, SDO and ethnic prejudice is likely to be affected by the social environment, an issue that has received little empirical attention.

Because parents represent the most important socialization agents for adolescents (Maccoby, 1984), the present research focuses on the impact of the type of goals that parents promote in the development of RWA, SDO and ethnic prejudice. Based on self-determination theory (Ryan & Deci, 2000), the primary aim of the present research was to examine whether parents who emphasize extrinsic goals, such as financial success, physical attractiveness, and social recognition, rather than

intrinsic goals, such as self-development, affiliation, and community contribution (Kasser & Ryan, 1996), promote RWA and SDO, and subsequent levels of ethnic prejudice in adolescents. A secondary aim was to examine whether and how parents' level of education relates to adolescent ethnic prejudice.

Parental Extrinsic versus Intrinsic Goal Promotion

Previous research (e.g. Kasser & Ryan, 1996) has primarily examined the correlates of *personal* E / I goal pursuits. An extrinsic goal focus pertains to a concern with making a good impression through acquiring external indicators of worth, such as financial success, physical attractiveness, and social recognition. Extrinsic goals have been labeled 'extrinsic' because of their outward orientation and because they tend to be unrelated or even negatively related to the satisfaction of the basic needs for autonomy, competence and relatedness (Ryan, 1995). In contrast, an intrinsic goal focus reflects a more inward-oriented frame aimed at realizing basic growth tendencies, such as developing one's talents, building up satisfying interpersonal relations, and helping people in need.¹ As an intrinsic goal orientation is more conducive to basic need satisfaction, it should be associated with higher personal and relational well-being and various studies have confirmed this (for an overview, see Kasser, 2002).

Recently, it has been argued that E / I goals can not only be pursued to different degrees by individuals, but can also be spread, reinforced and promoted to a different extent by teachers, parents, managers, and cultures and societies as a whole (Vansteenkiste, Lens, & Deci, 2006). Furthermore, it was suggested that differences in E / I goal promotion should have implications for individuals' functioning similar to the effects of the individual goal pursuit. Consistent with this, recent studies (e.g., Vansteenkiste, et al., 2004) indicated that framing a learning activity in terms of the attainment of an intrinsic goal resulted in better learning and higher achievement compared to portraying the learning as serving an extrinsic goal. The present work extends this line of research by focusing on the implications of E / I goal promotion for ethnic prejudice instead of learning. Moreover, instead of using an experimental design, we surveyed adolescent perceptions of parental tendencies to promote extrinsic and intrinsic goals. Similarly, we asked parents to indicate to what extent they attempt to promote these

different goals. Hence, we focused on the concept of *parental extrinsic versus intrinsic goal promotion*.

In line with Kasser and Ryan's (1996) earlier conceptualization of E / I goals, it is argued that parental extrinsic goal promotion tends to orient adolescents' attention towards external signs of success, such as being wealthy and rich (i.e., financial success), being slim and attractive (i.e., physical attractiveness), or being well-known and admired (i.e., social status). Parents who promote extrinsic goals convey the message that adolescents' self-worth depends upon attaining these goals, so that adolescents are likely to be concerned with making a good impression on others. In contrast, parental intrinsic goal promotion encourages adolescents to build up satisfying relationships (i.e., affiliation), to develop their talents (i.e., self-development), and to help people in need (i.e., community contribution). In this way, rather than promoting goals that imply an outward orientation, parents stimulate their adolescents to focus on realizing their inherent potentials. The idea that the social milieu can spread messages that reflect different values has also been proposed by Inglehart (1977), but these ideas received little direct empirical attention (but see Ahuvia & Wong, 2002 for an exception).

The present research examines whether parental E / I goal promotion affects adolescent ethnic prejudice. In contrast to a strict individual difference approach (e.g., Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950; Whitley, 1999), which suggests that only individual dispositions matter in explaining prejudice, we are primarily concerned with examining its contextual antecedents (see also Guimond, Dambrun, Michinov, & Duarte, 2003). A focus on contextual antecedents does, however, not imply that there would be no room for individual differences. In fact, we suggest that the individual difference dimensions of SDO and RWA can be integrated in a contextual analysis, so that SDO and RWA would play an explanatory role between parental E / I goal promotion and ethnic prejudice.

Parental Goal Promotion and Ethnic Prejudice

A first aim of the present study is to examine whether parental E / I goal promotion predicts adolescent ethnic prejudice. We argue that adolescents raised in extrinsic goal environments are more likely to objectify others (Kasser, 2002) and to consider them as exchangeable products (rather than as

individuals per se) that should be used efficiently to get ahead in life. Such a self-centered, instrumental approach towards others should help these people to attain the materialist ambitions that follow from being raised in a family that primarily promote extrinsic goals. As a result of this self-centered attitude, individuals raised in extrinsic goal environments are more likely to experience immigrants in particular and individuals from other ethnic minorities in general as potential competitors and, hence, as a threat for their own well-fare and material success in life. Therefore, they would display higher levels of prejudice against ethnic minorities. Conversely, adolescents who are raised in an environment that primarily promotes intrinsic goals are more likely to be concerned with the welfare of others and, hence, to take an empathic perspective. Because high empathy levels relate negatively to ethnic prejudice (e.g., Duriez, 2004), adolescents who are raised in intrinsic goal environments are expected to display lower ethnic prejudice levels. A recent study by Guimond et al. (2003) provides indirect evidence for this hypothesis. Consistent with social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), Guimond et al. (2003) demonstrated that being placed in an experimental condition that highlights one's dominant social position, which is characterized by material success and social status (i.e., extrinsic goals), is sufficient to generate prejudice compared to a control-group (see also Guimond & Dambrun, 2002).

Parental Goal Promotion and Prejudice Dispositions

A second aim was to shed light on the mechanisms explaining the predicted relation between parental E / I goal promotion and adolescent ethnic prejudice. We propose that adolescent SDO and RWA can account for this effect. SDO is said to arise from perceiving the world as a competitive jungle (i.e., a "dog-eat-dog" world) characterized by a ruthless struggle for resources and power in which the fit succeed and the unfit fail (Duckitt, 2001; Duckitt et al., 2002). Such a worldview is said to be adopted by individuals who are socialized in an unaffectionate climate, which lacks attention, love and caring. Unfortunately, Duckitt (2001) reported that unaffectionate socialization was unrelated to SDO. Hence, the effect of other socialization practices that might predict SDO needs further examination. The present study therefore focuses on the types of goals that are transmitted within families.

Following Duckitt (2001), we propose that social environments that stimulate interpersonal competition induce SDO. According to self-determination theory, E / I goal environments represent such a condition. Consistent with this, Vansteenkiste et al. (2004) demonstrated that framing a learning activity in terms of the attainment of an extrinsic compared to an intrinsic goal increased the desire to outperform others on a subsequent test. Further, Guimond et al. (2003) reported that occupying a social position characterized by material success and social status predicted SDO. Together, these studies provide preliminary evidence for our claim that parents who regularly draw their adolescents' attention onto extrinsic instead of intrinsic goals are more likely to prompt SDO.

In addition to SDO, we also predict RWA to partially explain the relationship between parental E / I goal promotion and ethnic prejudice. RWA is often thought to reflect the motivational goal of social control and to be activated by fear, insecurity, and a view of the world as dangerous and threatening (Duckitt, 2001; Duckitt & Fisher, 2003). Adopting authoritarian attitudes would help people to overcome feelings of inadequacy and vulnerability (Adorno, et al., 1950), so that out-group members are no longer perceived as a threat to in-group values (Whitley, 1999). From this perspective, RWA represents a compensatory mechanism that arises in times of psychological insecurity and serves to reduce intrapsychic threat. In line with such an interpretation, Doty, Peterson, and Winter (1991) demonstrated, at the national level, that increases in the main components of the original authoritarian syndrome appear in times of economic and political threat. At the individual level, Duckitt and Fisher (2003) showed that inducing social threat increased RWA, and Duriez et al. (Duriez & Van Hiel, 2002; Duriez, Van Hiel, & Kossowska, 2005) found that Schwartz' (1992) security value predicts RWA.

If the adherence to RWA is prompted by feelings of insecurity, the question can be raised which socialization practices engender such feelings. Duckitt (2001) suggested that punitive and harsh versus permissive and tolerant parenting activates the view that the world is threatening and dangerous, which, in turn, would predict adherence to RWA. From a self-determination theory perspective, E / I goal environments can be expected to give rise to feelings of intra-individual threat and insecurity. Such

feelings might arise because E / I goal promotion is likely to prompt stressful interpersonal comparisons, as people are likely to get concerned with how they appear compared to others in extrinsic goal environments. In line with this, Vansteenkiste et al. (2004) found that portraying a learning activity as serving the attainment of an extrinsic rather than an intrinsic goal increased participants' stress level. Further, Schimel, Arndt, Pyszczynski, and Greenberg (2001) demonstrated that the activation of participants' extrinsic rather than intrinsic self induced defensive behavior, which presumably helped participants to suppress their intra-individual insecurities. Together, these studies provide initial support for our claim that parental E / I goal promotion predicts RWA, which, in turn predicts ethnic prejudice.

Parental Goal Promotion and Adolescent Goal Pursuit

A third aim was to shed light on the mechanisms mediating the predicted effects of parental E / I goal promotion on adolescent RWA and SDO. We suggest that the type of goals that parents promote is likely to shape adolescent goal-strivings. Specifically, when parents draw attention to extrinsic goals, adolescents are more likely to organize their lives around the attainment of such goals. In contrast, parental intrinsic goal promotion is likely to result in an increased focus on intrinsic goals. A few studies have examined the parental antecedents of adolescents' own E / I goal pursuit (e.g., Kasser, Koestner, & Lekes, 2002; Kasser, Ryan, Zax, & Sameroff, 1995) and found that adolescents reared in cold and controlling social environments were more likely to adopt an extrinsic goal orientation, presumably because such environments fail to support self-expression and are likely to engender a sense of personal insecurity. The development of a materialist goal focus would then represent one attempt to cope with the environmentally activated insecurities (Kasser, 2002). The present study examines whether the type of goals that parents promote, rather than the child rearing styles they employ, predicts adolescents' goal pursuit. We expect adolescent goal pursuit to mediate the effect of parental goal promotion on RWA and SDO. Specifically, we expect that E / I goal oriented adolescents are more likely to adopt SDO, because SDO would help them to attain the extrinsic goals that are shaped by their parents. In addition, we expect that E / I goal oriented adolescents are more likely to endorse RWA,

because RWA would help them to overcome the intra-individual threat and insecurity that is likely to arise from the parentally induced materialist goal pursuit. Duriez et al. (2006) provided some support for this by showing that an E / I goal pursuit predicts SDO, which, in turn, predicts ethnic prejudice.

Parental Educational Level and Ethnic Prejudice

In a set of supplementary analyses, we examined the role of parents' educational level in the development of adolescent ethnic prejudice. Several studies have shown that level of education is negatively related to prejudice (e.g., Hagendoorn & Nekuee, 1999), and that higher educated parents have less ethnically prejudiced children (e.g., Hello, Scheepers, Vermulst, & Gerris, 2004). Different mechanisms have been proposed to interpret this (see e.g., De Witte, 1999; Hagendoorn & Nekuee, 1999). One interpretation that seems particularly useful in the context of the present study deals with the transfer of values. Education would have a liberalizing effect in the sense that longer education would imply longer exposure to values such as tolerance, humanism and solidarity (e.g., De Witte, 1999; Peri, 1999), which reduce ethnic prejudice. These values share considerable overlap with the intrinsic value of community contribution within self-determination theory. Further, Miller, Kohn and Schooler (1986) proposed that schooling promotes the values of self-initiative and self-direction, which are quite similar to the concept of self-development within self-determination theory. In addition to this direct effect of schooling on E / I goal promotion, we propose, on the basis of Sherif's (1967) realistic conflict theory, that parental educational level might also indirectly affect the type of goals that parents promote in the family. As people with a low education need to compete more often with immigrants and other ethnic minority members for scarce jobs, they are more likely to experience them as a threat to their personal socio-economic position and material interests (Peri, 1999). As a way of coping with this, lowly educated parents may teach their children that material success is important, because they believe that material success will help their offspring to avoid the competition and threat they are confronted with themselves. Thus, education would affect parents' goal promotion because lowly, relatively to highly, educated parents more often have to compete with members of other ethnic groups for material goods.

Present Research

The present research introduces the concept of parental E / I promotion and examines its effect on adolescents' own E / I goal pursuit, adolescent RWA, SDO, and ethnic prejudice. Ethnic prejudice was operationalized as the degree to which adolescents hold negative attitudes towards immigrants (xenophobia; e.g., McLaren, 2003) and towards individuals of a different race (racial prejudice; e.g., Hagendoorn & Nekuee, 1999). Both types of prejudice can be grouped under the label of ethnic prejudice, because immigrants and individuals of a different race both belong to a different ethnicity than one's own (e.g., Hello, et al., 2004). Adolescents indicated to what extent they felt their parents promoted E / I goals and parents filled out a questionnaire assessing the extent to which they promote E / I goals in their son or daughter. Adolescents' and parents' goal promotion reports were then used as indicators of the same construct in order to circumvent the problems of shared method variance that may arise when measures are administered from a single source of information (i.e., the adolescent). By taking the common variance of parent and adolescent reports, a better estimation of the actual E / I goal promotion level is likely to be obtained (Schwarz, Barton-Henry, & Pruzinsky, 1985).

The integrated model is depicted in Figure 1. Three primary hypotheses form its basis. First, parental E / I goal promotion is expected to relate positively to ethnic prejudice. Second, the effect of parental E / I goal promotion on ethnic prejudice is expected to be mediated by adolescent RWA and SDO. Third, the effect of parental E / I goal promotion on adolescent RWA and SDO is expected to be mediated by adolescents' own E / I goal pursuit. In a set of supplementary analyses, we examined the effects of parental education. More highly educated parents are expected to promote more intrinsic and less extrinsic goals, which would result in less ethnically prejudiced adolescents (Hello et al., 2004).

Method

Participants and Procedure

Participants were high-school students following either an academic track ($N = 474$), an arts education ($N = 223$) or a technical education ($N = 232$) who were recruited in various secondary schools

($N = 27$) in the Flemish speaking part of Belgium and who took part during school hours (mean age = 17.6; 42% male). All students received additional questionnaires for their mother and father, and were asked to return these in a closed envelop ultimately two weeks later. In each school, one person was responsible for collecting these questionnaires. In total, 546 mothers (58%) and 466 fathers (50%) of Belgian nationality participated in the research. Parents reported their level of education by encircling one of 6 categories (primary education; education till 9th grade; education till 12th grade; higher education short term; higher education long term; university level). Twenty-one percent of the fathers and 18% of the mothers had dropped out of school before the end of ninth grade; 38% of the fathers and 38% of the mothers had completed high school; and 41% of the fathers and 46% of the mothers had completed some higher education. After list wise deletion of missing values, 536 mother-child and 446 father-child dyads were retained. All children in these dyads were born in Belgium.

Measures

Parental Extrinsic versus Intrinsic Goal Promotion. The items that are used in Kasser and Ryan's (1996) Aspiration Index to assess personal E / I goal pursuits were used to construct the perceived parental E / I goal promotion questionnaire. However, rather than assessing the personal importance individuals ascribe to the intrinsic and extrinsic goals, we asked adolescents to what extent they felt that their mothers and fathers attached importance to these 18 different intrinsic and extrinsic goals in their child rearing by encircling a number between 1 (*Not important at all*) and 5 (*Very Important*). Three intrinsic goals, that is, self-development (e.g., 'My mother finds it important that I develop my talents'), community contribution (e.g., 'My mother places high importance on helping other people in need'), and affiliation (e.g., 'My mother finds it important that I develop close relationships with a few friends'), and three extrinsic goals were assessed, that is, financial success (e.g., 'My father finds it important that I'm financially successful in my life'), social recognition (e.g., 'My father finds it important that I'm admired by several people'), and physical attractiveness (e.g., 'My father finds it important that I'm physically attractive and appealing for others'). Parental ratings of E / I goal promotion were obtained by having

parents rate to what extent they promoted each goal with respect to their son or daughter who participated in the study. Items of the adolescent report were slightly revised to make them amenable to parental self-report (e.g., the item “My father finds it important that I help other people in need” was changed to “I find it important that my son/daughter helps other people in need”).

Each intrinsic and extrinsic goal was measured with three items. Although the original Aspiration Index (Kasser & Ryan, 1996) includes 28 items, previous research (Duriez et al., 2005) indicated that this shortened 18 item version is equally valid. Across targets (mothers versus fathers) and across informants (parents versus adolescents), Cronbach’s alpha of the six different subscales varied between .60 and .84 with a mean of .75. To control for systematic response sets, an individual’s mean score on the perceived maternal goal promotion subscales was subtracted from the individual scores. The same procedure was repeated for the perceived paternal goal promotion scores. Two higher order Principal Component Analyses were then conducted on the six subscales. The scree plot pointed to a one-factor solution for both the perceived maternal and perceived paternal goal promotion scores, explaining 49% of the variance. Each perceived extrinsic goal promotion scale had a minimal positive loading of .60 and each perceived intrinsic goal promotion scale had a minimal negative loading of -.60 on this factor. Subsequently, a perceived maternal and paternal E / I goal promotion score was computed by averaging the extrinsic and (reversed) intrinsic scales (alphas = .84; Means = -1.26. and -1.17; SDs = 0.91 and 0.89 for perceived maternal and paternal goal promotion, respectively). A positive score indicates that adolescents perceive their parents to attach more importance to extrinsic goals, whereas a negative score indicates that they perceive their parents to attach more importance to intrinsic goals. As for the parent E / I goal promotion reports, after controlling for systematic response sets, higher order Principal Component Analyses indicated that only one factor needed to be retained to cover the variance of both the maternal and paternal E / I goal promotion scales (explaining 54% and 55% of the variance, respectively). For both mothers and fathers, each extrinsic goal promotion scale had a minimal positive loading of .60 and each intrinsic goal promotion scale had a minimal negative loading of -.60 on

this factor. The paternal (Mean = -1.34, $SD = 0.79$) and maternal (Mean = -1.55, $SD = 0.78$) E / I goal promotion scores were created in the same way as the perceived E / I goal promotion scores. Cronbach's alpha was .83 for both the maternal and the paternal E / I goal promotion report.

Personal E / I Goal Pursuit. Adolescent E / I goal orientation was assessed with a shortened 18-item version Aspiration Index, which had been successfully employed in previous research (Duriez et al., 2006). After controlling for systematic response sets, a second order Principal Component Analysis yielded one factor (explaining 45% of the variance). Each extrinsic goal scale had a minimal positive loading of .60 and each intrinsic goal scale had a minimal negative loading of -.60 on this factor. A personal E / I goal score was created by summing the extrinsic and reversed intrinsic goal scales (Mean = -1.13, $SD = 0.84$). Cronbach's alpha was .83.

Right-Wing Authoritarianism. Participants completed a shortened and balanced 14-item RWA-scale (Altemeyer, 1981) that assesses the extent to which individuals adhere to societal norms and rules, uncritically submit to authority figures, and display signs of hostility towards norm violators. The scale was translated into Dutch by Meloen, Van der Linden and De Witte (1996; e.g. 'Obedience and respect for authority are among the most important virtues children should learn') and has been used in various studies (e.g., Duriez et al., 2005). After reversing the negatively worded items, and after deleting three items that reduced the internal consistency. Cronbach's alpha was .71 (Mean = 2.85, $SD = 0.50$).

Social Dominance Orientation. Participants completed a balanced 14-item SDO-scale (Pratto et al., 1994) that assesses the extent to which individuals want the ingroup to dominate outgroups. The scale was translated into Dutch by Van Hiel and Duriez (2002; e.g., 'It's sometimes necessary to step on others to get ahead in life'). Cronbach's alpha was .85 (Mean = 2.34, $SD = 0.65$).

Ethnic Prejudice. A 6-item ethnic prejudice scale, developed by Billiet and De Witte (1991), was used to assess participants' overt ethnic prejudice. Although this scale was originally intended to measure the conceptually different aspects of xenophobia, or negative attitudes towards immigrants (e.g., 'In general, immigrants are not to be trusted'), and racism, or negative attitudes towards people of

a different race (e.g., 'We have to keep our race pure and fight mixture with other races'), previous studies have shown that these two aspects cannot be distinguished in a factor analysis (e.g., Soenens, Duriez, & Goossens, 2005; Van Hiel et al., 2004). This was also the case in this study. Hence, items were averaged (Mean = 1.84, $SD = 0.77$) to form an ethnic prejudice score ($\alpha = .85$).

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Univariate ANOVA-analyses indicated that boys scored higher than girls on both E / I, $F(1, 936) = 27.81, p < .001$, SDO, $F(1, 936) = 54.59, p < .001$, and ethnic prejudice, $F(1, 936) = 20.00, p < .001$. No differences were found with respect to RWA. Although no gender differences occurred in the parental E / I goal promotion reports, differences did emerge in the adolescent reports. Boys perceived their mothers, $F(1, 931) = 13.84, p < .001$, and fathers, $F(1, 896) = 7.32, p < .01$, to promote extrinsic rather than intrinsic goals to a greater extent than girls. Both paternal and maternal educational level related negatively to parent and adolescent reported E / I goal promotion, E / I goal pursuit, RWA and ethnic prejudice, $r(466) = -.24, -.16, -.11, \text{ and } -.13, ps < .05$ for fathers and $r(535) = -.25, -.09, -.18, \text{ and } -.14, ps < .05$ for mothers, respectively. No significant differences were found for participants coming from intact versus divorced families. Therefore, in the primary analyses, we controlled for adolescent gender and parental level of education.

Primary Analyses

Measurement Model. To adjust for measurement error, Structural Equation Modeling with latent variables (Bollen, 1989) was performed using Lisrel 8.54. Latent variables were represented by parcels rather than items. Parceling has several advantages relative to the use of items: It results in a smaller number of indicators per latent factor, parcels are likely to have a stronger relationship to the latent variable, are less likely to suffer from method effects, and are more likely to meet assumptions of normality (Marsh, Hau, Balla, & Grayson, 1998). In line with previous research (e.g., Soenens, Elliot et al., 2005), the latent constructs of paternal and maternal E / I goal promotion were indicated by two

indicators, that is, parents' reports of E / I goal promotion and adolescent reports of E / I goal promotion. Father-reported E / I goal promotion was positively correlated with adolescent-reported paternal E / I goal promotion, $r(446) = .39, p < .001$. Mother-reported E / I goal promotion was also positively correlated with adolescent-reported maternal E / I goal promotion, $r(530) = .28, p < .001$. The strength of these correlations is similar to what has been found in previous research on parenting styles (e.g., Schwarz et al., 1985; Soenens, Elliot, et al., 2005). Concerning the personal E / I strivings, three parcels containing one randomly selected extrinsic and one randomly selected (reversed) intrinsic scale were created. For RWA, SDO and ethnic prejudice, three parcels were created by randomly splitting these scales in three parts. Hence, parceling resulted in 16 indicator variables (i.e., 14 parcels, adolescent gender, and fathers' educational level). Despite this procedure, data screening using Prelis 2.54 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1996) revealed partial data non-normality at the univariate and multivariate level. Therefore, in all subsequent models, in addition to the covariance matrix, the asymptotic covariance matrix was also used as input, and the Satorra-Bentler Scaled chi-square (SBS- χ^2 , Satorra & Bentler, 1994) instead of the common chi-square was inspected. Solutions were generated on the basis of maximum-likelihood estimation (Bollen, 1989), and several fit indices were used to evaluate model fit: The Comparative Fit Index (CFI; Bentler, 1990), with values $\geq .95$ indicating excellent model fit (Bentler, 1990), the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA; Steiger & Lind, 1980), with values $\leq .06$ indicating excellent model fit (Byrne, 2001), and the Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR; Steiger, 1990), with scores $\leq .06$ indicating excellent model fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999).

Estimation of both the paternal and maternal measurement model with 16 observed variables and 7 latent factors by means of Confirmatory Factor Analysis yielded adequate fit, SBS- $\chi^2(85) = 229.28$; SRMR = .049; RMSEA = .062; CFI = .96 for fathers, and SBS- $\chi^2(85) = 281.46$; SRMR = .054; RMSEA = .066; CFI = .95 for mothers. All parcels had a strong loading on their corresponding latent factor (mean lambda = .74 for fathers and .73 for mothers). Table 1 shows the correlations between the latent variables for both the paternal and maternal model. All variables were positively related.

Structural Model. Our primary hypotheses were tested in three steps. In each step, we controlled for gender effects by allowing paths from gender to each of the constructs, as gender has been found to differentially affect ethnic prejudice and SDO (e.g., Lippa & Arad, 1999). Further, in line with the recommendations of Holmbeck (1997), for each of the mediation hypotheses, two models were compared, one model in which the independent variable (e.g., paternal E / I goal promotion) is only indirectly related to the dependent variable (e.g., ethnic prejudice) through the hypothesized mediating variable (e.g., SDO), representing a full mediation model, and one model in which there is an additional path from the independent to the dependent variable (i.e., a partial mediation model).

The first step consisted of testing the direct path from parental E / I goal promotion to ethnic prejudice. The structural models involving a direct path from paternal E / I goal promotion, $SBS-\chi^2(10) = 21.69$; SRMR = .033; RMSEA = .051; CFI = .99, and maternal E / I goal promotion, $SBS-\chi^2(10) = 23.21$; SRMR = .042; RMSEA = .050; CFI = .98, to ethnic prejudice, revealed a significant effect of paternal ($\beta = .39, p < .001$) and maternal ($\beta = .51, p < .001$) E / I goal promotion on ethnic prejudice.

In a second step, we examined whether RWA and SDO would account for the effect of parental E / I goal promotion on ethnic prejudice. The errors of RWA and SDO were allowed to correlate. Both the initial paternal and maternal model (without a direct path from parental E / I goal promotion to ethnic prejudice) showed good fit to the data, $SBS-\chi^2(53) = 115.76$; SRMR = .042; RMSEA = .052; CFI = .97 and $SBS-\chi^2(53) = 146.39$; SRMR = .049; RMSEA = .057; CFI = .97, respectively. Adding a direct paths did not significantly improve model fit, $SBS-\chi^2_{diff}(1) = 1.91, p > .01$, and $SBS-\chi^2_{diff}(1) = 1.17, p > .01$, and the direct paths were no longer significant ($p > .01$). Moreover, the indirect effect of both paternal and maternal E / I goal promotion to ethnic prejudice through SDO and RWA was significant ($z = 6.01$ and $7.20, ps < .01$), providing evidence for a full mediation model. All coefficients related to the structural paths were significant: Both paternal and maternal E / I goal promotion predicted RWA, $\beta_s = .27$ and $.37, p < .01$ and SDO, $\beta_s = .47$ and $.61, p < .001$, which, in turn, independently predicted ethnic prejudice, $\beta_s = .23$ and $.19, p < .01$ and $\beta = .59$ and $.62, p < .001$, respectively.

In a final step, adolescents' personal E / I goal pursuit was added to the model to examine whether it would account for the effect of parental E / I goal promotion on RWA and SDO. This final model fitted both the paternal data, SBS- χ^2 (89) = 239.29; SRMR = .050; RMSEA = .062; CFI = .96, and the maternal data, SBS- χ^2 (89) = 290.17; SRMR = .055; RMSEA = .065; CFI = .95. Adding a direct path from paternal E / I goal promotion to SDO or RWA did not improved model fit, SBS- χ^2_{diff} (1) = .32 and SBS- χ^2_{diff} (1) = 4.37, $ps >.01$, respectively, and none of the direct paths were significant ($ps >.01$). Similarly, allowing a direct path from maternal E / I goal promotion to SDO or RWA did not improve model fit, SBS- χ^2_{diff} (1) = .47 and SBS- χ^2_{diff} (1) = 1.57, $ps >.01$, respectively, and none of the direct paths were significant ($ps >.01$). Moreover, the indirect paths from paternal and maternal E / I goal promotion to SDO ($z = 7.97$ and 7.29 , $ps < .01$) and RWA ($z = 3.89$ and 4.39 , $ps < .01$) through personal E / I goal pursuit were significant, which is in line with the hypothesis of full mediation. All coefficients associated with the structural paths were significant ($ps < .01$). The model is displayed in Figure 2.

Supplementary Analyses

In a set of supplementary analyses, we examined whether the effect of parental level of education on adolescent ethnic prejudice would be mediated by E / I goal promotion. In a first step and after controlling for gender, educational level predicted ethnic prejudice in both the paternal (SBS- χ^2 (4) = 5.00; SRMR = .014; RMSEA = .023; CFI = 1.00; $\beta = -.16$, $p <.01$) and maternal model (SBS- χ^2 (4) = 5.00; SRMR = .013; RMSEA = .021; CFI = 1.00; $\beta = -.19$, $p <.01$). In a second step, parental goal promotion was entered as a mediator. The full mediational models yielded acceptable fit for both the paternal (SBS- χ^2 (12) = 22.13; SRMR = .034; RMSEA = .044; CFI = .99) and maternal data (SBS- χ^2 (12) = 27.13; SRMR = .049; RMSEA = .049; CFI = .97). Adding a direct path from parental education to ethnic prejudice did not improve the fit of either the paternal, SBS- χ^2_{diff} (1) = .18, $p >.01$, or the maternal model, SBS- χ^2_{diff} (1) = .04, $p >.01$, and the direct effects were no longer significant, $ps >.01$. Moreover, the indirect effects of paternal ($z = -4.34$, $p <.01$) and maternal ($z = -4.51$, $p <.01$) education through E / I goal promotion were significant. These models are graphically displayed in Figure 3.²

Discussion

Research has shown that ethnic prejudice is prominent in many countries of the European Union (Vala et al., 2004), that extreme-right wing parties have gained considerable following in Europe in general and Flanders in particular (e.g., Hainsworth, 2000), and that ethnic prejudice is the most important determinant of this political ethnic prejudice (e.g., Lubbers, Gijsberts & Scheepers, 2004). Because ethnic prejudice has an important impact on other individuals, groups and the larger community, it is important to explore its antecedents. In addition to focusing on the individual differences that relate to ethnic prejudice, our primary goal was to examine whether parental extrinsic versus intrinsic (E / I) goal promotion is associated with ethnic prejudice, and which processes account for this link. A number of intriguing findings were revealed.

First, parental E / I goal promotion was consistently found to predict adolescent ethnic prejudice. Second, a 3-step model shed light on the mechanisms mediating this effect. Specifically, parental E / I goal promotion stimulates adolescents to pursue extrinsic over intrinsic goals (Step 1), which, in turn, leads them to adopt socially dominant and authoritarian attitudes (Step 2), which, in turn, predict ethnic prejudice (Step 3). Third, the negative effect of parental level of education on ethnic prejudice was accounted for by E / I goal promotion: parents with a lower educational level promote more extrinsic and less intrinsic goals, which, in turn, leads their offspring to be more ethnically prejudiced. We believe that these results extend previous research within self-determination theory, within socialization research, and within the literature on prejudice. They also yield important conceptual and applied implications.

Previous research within the self-determination theory tradition has focused on the negative consequences of framing a learning activity in terms of the attainment of an extrinsic relative to an intrinsic goal for adolescents' learning and achievement (Vansteenkiste et al., 2006). The present research extends this work by considering the implications of parental E / I goal promotion for a number of outcomes that have high relevance for the society as a whole, but that have received less attention from self-determination theory researchers. Specifically, we hypothesized that parents who teach their

offspring that attaining materialist goals is an important life task are likely to stimulate them to adopt an “objectifying” stance towards other people (Kasser, 2002), in the sense that others should be used in the most efficient fashion to attain one’s desired materialist goods. Adolescents reared in such climates are likely to lack the empathic skills to fully grasp other people’s perspective, so that they display discriminative attitudes towards any group that might threaten the attainment of their materialist ambitions. Consistent with this, we found a substantial average correlation between parental E / I goal promotion and ethnic prejudice ($r = .45, p < .001$). These results confirm other researchers’ (e.g., Guimond et al., 2003) suggestion that an individual’s level of ethnic prejudice is partly shaped by the social environment, and, hence, is not only a function of deeply ingrained personality characteristics.

The present research also suggests that a personality view on prejudice (e.g., Altemeyer, 1998), which highlights the role of individual differences in the prediction of ethnic prejudice, can be integrated with a view on its social antecedents, as suggested by Guimond et al. (2003). Specifically, adolescent RWA and SDO, which reflect the most important attitudinal difference variables in this respect (Duriez et al., 2005, Van Hiel et al., 2004), seem to largely take root in the type of goals that are emphasized within the family. If parents emphasize the attainment of extrinsic over intrinsic goals, adolescents are more likely to adopt socially dominant attitudes, presumably because such attitudes help them to attain their materialist ambitions. In addition, parental E / I goal promotion was found to predict right-wing authoritarianism attitudes. Consistent with other authors (e.g., Duckitt, 2001), we suggest that the endorsement of RWA reflects a compensatory reaction that helps to deal with personal insecurities engendered by parents’ promotion of materialist ambitions. Adopting an evaluative and critical stance towards norm violators and strongly adhering to societal norms and rules might help individuals in extrinsic goal climates to (temporarily) overcome their personal insecurities. Future research might want to examine this hypothesized mechanism in greater detail.

Socialization is the process through which individuals learn the social percepts, mores and values that allow effective functioning in society (Maccoby, 1984). Researchers in the parenting domain (e.g.,

Grusec & Goodnow, 1994) have paid attention to *how* norms and values are introduced to adolescents by examining the impact of parenting dimensions such as psychological control (Barber, 1996) and responsiveness (Maccoby, 1984). The present research focused on another important aspect of socialization, that is, the *type of values and goals* that are transmitted in the family context. Although substantial attention has been paid to this issue (e.g., Schönplflug, 2001), less attention has been paid to whether the content of the transmitted goals (i.e., intrinsic vs. extrinsic) yields different consequences for adolescents' functioning. The present research indicates that the type of goals that parents promote has important implications for adolescents' adoption of RWA and SDO.

Another goal of the present research concerned the question how parental E / I goal promotion affects RWA and SDO. The present results suggest that adolescents' personal E / I goal pursuit can explain this link. The effect of parental E / I goal promotion on both RWA and SDO was fully mediated by personal E / I goal pursuit. Notably, the relationship between parental E / I goal promotion and individual E / I goal pursuit was quite strong, suggesting that parents function as important role models in adolescents' adoption of extrinsic and intrinsic goals.

Finally, the present study revealed that highly educated parents have less ethnically prejudiced adolescents (cf. Hello et al., 2004), because they- tend to promote more intrinsic and less extrinsic goals in their child-rearing. We believe this is an interesting finding that helps to shed light on the mechanisms underlying the effect of educational socialization on ethnic prejudice that has received lots of theoretical, but less empirical attention (Hagendoorn & Nekuee, 1999). Following others (e.g., De Witte, 1999; Kohl, et al., 1986), we suggest that the effect of parental educational level on E / I goal promotion is due to the fact that longer schooling yields a direct effect on the goals individuals endorse and subsequently spread and promote. Specifically, schooling leads individuals to value intrinsic goals such as universalism, community contribution and self-direction and to de-emphasize extrinsic goals that signal a lack of self-direction. However, as can be derived from realistic conflict theory (Sherif, 1967), schooling might also indirectly affect parental goal promotion. Because lowly educated parents more

often need to compete with immigrants for scarce material goods, these parents are more likely to promote extrinsic goals, because they believe that material success will help their adolescents to avoid the conflicting and threatening situation they are facing. An unfortunate side effect of this E / I goal promotion is, however, that their adolescents embrace more prejudiced attitudes.

Limitations

The present research has a number of limitations. First, although we proposed a process model to account for the effect of parental E / I goal promotion on ethnic prejudice, all relations are correlational and cross-sectional in nature. Longitudinal research is needed to explore whether parental E / I goal promotion leads to an actual increase in RWA, SDO and ethnic prejudice over time and to examine whether adolescent RWA, SDO or ethnic prejudice provoke changes in parental E / I goal promotion over time, as suggested by transactional socialization theories (e.g., Caspi, 1998). Such research is currently being conducted. Second, although both parents and adolescents provided assessments of parental E / I goal promotion, all other variables were reported by adolescents only. Future research might want to include observer ratings of these variables (e.g., Lippa & Arad, 1999), or include peer-nomination procedures (Mounts, 2001) to explore whether parental E / I goal promotion also predicts affiliation with socially dominant, authoritarian and prejudiced friends. Third, the present research assessed directly and openly expressed ethnic prejudice. Numerous authors have argued that prejudice can also be expressed in a more covert and subtle fashion, which has been variously labeled symbolic racism (Sears, 1988), modern racism (McConahay, 1983), and subtle racism (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). Future research might measure this type of ethnic prejudice. However, if E / I goal promotion yields a strong effect on the type of ethnic prejudice that was used in the present study, we would predict it to certainly have an effect on more subtle forms because open expressions of prejudice are likely to be accompanied by subtle expressions, whereas the opposite is not necessarily true. Fourth, future research might want to examine whether the current integrated model is generalizable across younger children and late adolescents. We suggest that parental E / I goal promotion will only

affect children's' SDO, RWA and ethnic prejudice once children are able to cognitively grasp these concepts and to differentiate between intrinsic and extrinsic goals. Recent evidence by Vansteenkiste, Simons, Lens, Soenens, and Matos (2005) indirectly suggests that children at the age of 11-12 years might already be susceptible for the type of goals that are promoted by their parents. Further, based on socialization theories (e.g., Macoby, 1984), we expect that parents might even have a greater impact earlier in life, because, as adolescents grow older, they are increasingly exposed to other socialization agents, such as peers, teachers, political and religious value systems (e.g., Altemeyer, 1998), and the culture at large. These agents might co-determine adolescents' E / I goals, prejudice dispositions, and ethnic prejudice (see also Vollebergh, Iedema, & Raaijmakers, 2001).

Conclusion

The present research identified one important social-contextual factor that helps to understand why some adolescents embrace ethnic prejudice. If parents, consistent with the mass media's continual focus on the 'goods life' (Kasser, 2002), promote the attainment of material acquisitions, social status, and physical attractiveness, their offspring is more likely to adopt a discriminatory stance. These effects occur because parental E / I goal promotion leads adolescents to internalize these goals, which, in turn, leads them to adopt socially dominant attitudes, to rigidly focus on the adherence to societal norms and to be critical of norm transgressors. Hence, if parents want their children to become socially adapted individuals with an ability to take other people's perspective and without an excessive concern with their own self-centered materialist ambitions, they might do well in downplaying the importance of extrinsic goal contents. Instead, parents might try to create a socialization environment that highlights the importance of building up satisfying relationships, being willing to freely help others in need without expecting something in return, and developing one's talents and potential.

Footnotes

1. It should be noted that the distinction between intrinsic vs. extrinsic goal orientations is different from the extensively researched concepts of intrinsic vs. extrinsic motivation (Deci & Ryan, 2000). While the former pertains to the type of goals people hold (the “what” of goal pursuit), the latter refer to the motives or reasons that are underlying people’s goal pursuit (the “why” of goal pursuit). As such, people can be intrinsically or extrinsically motivated to reach intrinsic or extrinsic goals, and both have been found to independently predict well-being (Sheldon, Ryan, Deci, & Kasser, 2004).
2. In a second set of supplementary analyses, we examined whether the proposed model could be generalized across gender and parents’ level of education by running a series of multi-group analyses in which a comparison was made between a constrained and unconstrained model. With respect to gender, no significant differences were found, neither for the maternal (SBS- χ^2_{diff} (5) = 8.85, $p > .01$) nor the paternal data (SBS- χ^2_{diff} (5) = 4.18, $p > .01$). As for parents’ educational level, after performing a median split on educational level, we found no significant difference with respect to mother’s educational level (SBS- χ^2_{diff} (5) = 7.00, $p > .01$). With respect to father’s educational level, a significant difference emerged (SBS- χ^2_{diff} (5) = 44.55, $p < .01$). Follow-up analyses indicated that this was due to a moderating effect of father’s educational level in the relation between paternal E / I goal promotion and personal E / I goal pursuit (SBS- χ^2_{diff} (1) = 8.26, $p < .01$) and in the relation between RWA and racism (SBS- χ^2_{diff} (1) = 10.45, $p < .01$). Paternal E / I goal promotion was significantly related to personal E / I goal pursuit among both fathers with low ($\beta = .62$, $p < .001$) education and fathers with high education ($\beta = .91$, $p < .001$), but this relation was more pronounced in the latter group. RWA positively predicted racism in families of lowly educated fathers ($\beta = .35$, $p < .01$), but this effect was not significant in families of fathers with a high level of education ($\beta = .10$, $p > .01$). Thus, with few exceptions, the integrative model could be generalized across gender and parental educational level.

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Table 1 *Correlations between Latent Variables (Paternal Ratings Below Diagonal, N = 446; Maternal Ratings Above Diagonal, N = 536)*

Variables	1	2	3	4	5
1. Parental E / I goal promotion	--	.85***	.26***	.53***	.48***
2. Personal E / I goal pursuit	.82***	--	.35***	.63***	.57***
3. Right-wing authoritarianism	.21**	.34***	--	.25***	.36***
4. Social dominance orientation	.41***	.48***	.23***	--	.67***
5. Ethnic prejudice	.39***	.54***	.37***	.65***	--

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$. E / I = extrinsic relative to intrinsic

Figure Captions

Figure 1. Hypothesized theoretical model

Figure 2. Structural model of the relationships between paternal and maternal extrinsic relative to intrinsic goal promotion (E/I), adolescents' extrinsic relative to intrinsic goal pursuit (E/I), social dominance orientation (SDO), right-wing authoritarianism (RWA), and ethnic prejudice. The coefficients are standardized estimates between latent constructs. The first coefficient is for the father model, the second coefficient is for the mother model. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Figure 3. Structural model of the relationships between paternal and maternal educational level, paternal and maternal extrinsic relative to intrinsic goal promotion (E/I), and adolescents' ethnic prejudice. The coefficients are standardized estimates between latent constructs. The first coefficient is for the father model, the second coefficient is for the mother model. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Figure 1

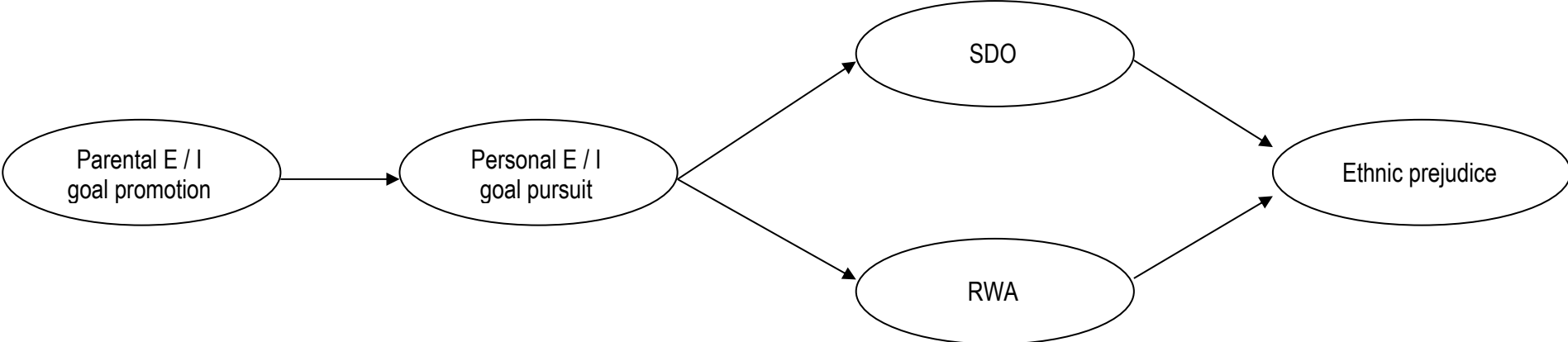


Figure 2

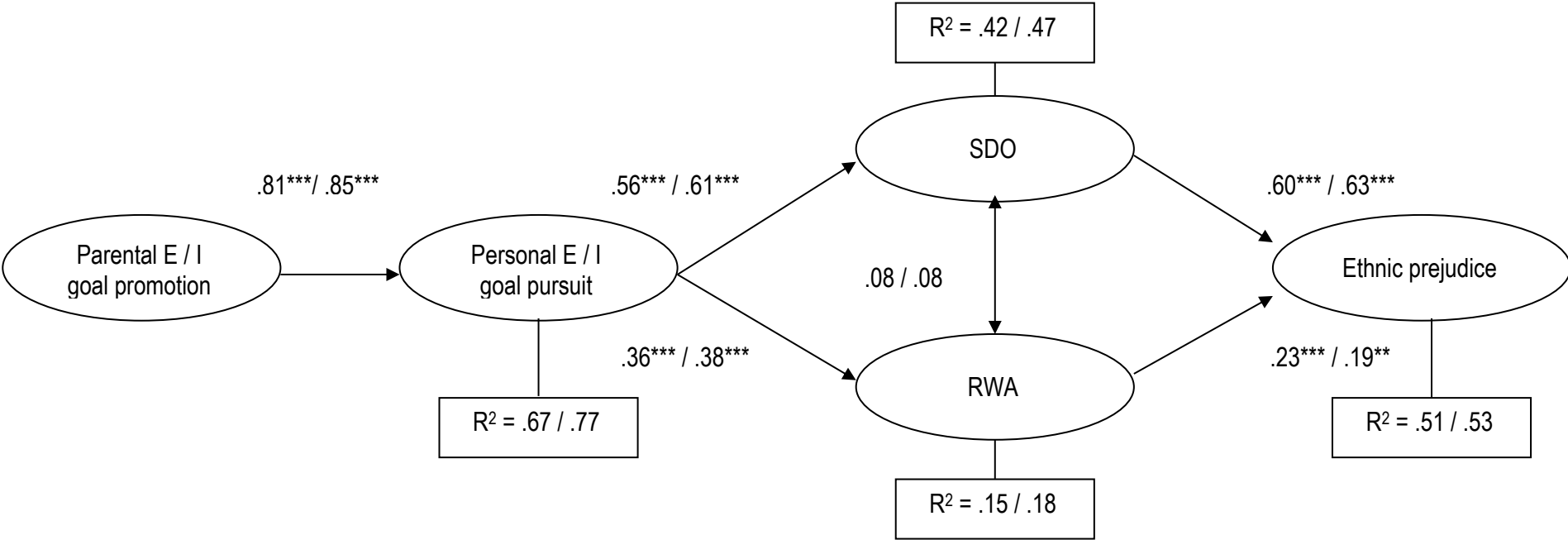


Figure 3

