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Urban–Rural Influences on Parenting and Theory of Mind Development: An Intracultural Comparative Study in Indonesia

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Abstract

Culture has a significant influence on parenting and the Theory of Mind (ToM). The impact of intracultural aspects requires greater investigation. Our research explores the intracultural influence of the location of the domicile of families on young children's acquisition of ToM and parenting practices. Surveys were given to 350 children (ages 3 to 6) and their parents. Domiciles were divided into three groups: i) the urban area of Jakarta, ii) the suburbs in satellite cities near Jakarta (Bogor and Tangerang), and iii) the rural area of Bukittinggi. This research aims to determine whether there are significant differences in parenting practices and ToM between the three groups. Most participants are of a low socioeconomic level. The comparative results show significant differences in the ToM performance of children living in the three areas; children living in rural areas tend to have higher scores on ToM, followed by urban areas and then the suburbs. This result may be influenced by parents' parenting practices, where parents in rural Bukittingi have a higher score on conformity and collectivist parenting than the other two groups.

Keywords

Parent's Education, Parenting, Rural, Theory of Mind, Urban

Theory of Mind (ToM) is a complex construct consisting of many abilities, but generally, it refers to a set of cognitive skills that enable reasoning about cognitive (e.g., beliefs) or affective (e.g., emotions) mental states (Beaudoin et al., 2020). Wellman and Liu's (2004) five-step ToM Development emphasizes that the ToM is an ability to understand mental states acquired in five steps: diverse desire, diverse belief, knowledge access, false belief, and hidden emotion.

ToM is a quintessential ability that makes us human (Baron-Cohen, 2000). Research also shows that ToM is positively correlated with prosocial behavior, moral judgment, a better social life, and high academic achievement (Ball et al., 2017; Imuta et al., 2016; Lecce et al., 2014, 2017). Prior research showed that children with a better ToM ability could manage their facial emotions and reactions during peer interactions, making them more accepted by their peers, more popular, and more friendly (Fink et al., 2015; Slaughter et al., 2002). Finally, ToM and empathy are strongly related and were found to have the same genetic factors and to activate the same part of the brain (Kanske et al., 2015; Schurz et al., 2020; Singer & Tusche, 2014). Meanwhile, the lack of ToM was highly related to peer victimization, aggression, and adolescent bullying (Clemmensen et al., 2020; Holl et al., 2018; Liu et al., 2018; Smith, 2017).

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Two factors that robustly influence the ToM abilities in several studies are age (Giovagnoli, 2019; Henry et al., 2013; Spenser et al., 2020) and language ability (Atkinson et al., 2017; Conte et al., 2019; Ebert, 2020; Wellman, 2018). Stimulation and intervention by storytelling significantly improve children's language ability and, in the end, increase their ToM performance (Attawibulkul et al., 2019; Solichah & Suminar, 2018; Wulandini et al., 2018). Other factors that may influence ToM abilities are Social Economic Status (SES) level, as in the studies by Shahaeian (2015) and Shahaeian et al., (2013) that found Iranian and Australian children with lower SES levels would have lower ToM scores than children with higher SES levels. A similar result was also found in Ecuador, a low-income country in South America; the higher the SES level of the parents, the higher the children's language ability and the greater influence on ToM abilities (Pluck et al., 2021).

Children's ToM abilities were also influenced by sociocultural context, resulting in different timetables of ToM sequence development between Western and non-Western countries (Hughes et al., 2018; Kuntoro et al., 2013, 2017; Shahaeian et al., 2013; Wellman, 2018). In Western countries such as Australia, the United States, Canada, and Germany, the sequences are diverse desires (DDs), diverse beliefs (DBs), knowledge access (KA), false beliefs (FBs), and, finally, hidden emotions (HEs) (Kristen et al., 2006; Peterson et al., 2005; Wellman & Liu, 2004). Research on non-Western countries such as China (Zhang et al., 2016), Iran (Shahaeian et al., 2013), and Turkey (Selcuk et al., 2018) found different ToM sequences, such as DD, KA, DB, FB, and HE.

However, our previous research in Indonesia found that the sequences in middle-class families, trash-picker families (low-class families), and Jakarta-based Javanese are similar to those in Western countries (Kuntoro et al., 2013, 2017). A similar result was also found by Qu et al. (2013) with Singaporean parents and children. These research findings are intriguing; how could non-Western countries, known to have collective cultures, have the same ToM pattern as that of western countries. The answer may lie in the intercultural aspects of the culture itself, such as how globalization, acculturation, and openness have become characteristics of urban societies such as Jakarta and Singapore, which, in turn, leads to these societies adopting some cultural features from western countries that influence their values and norms that affect how they nurture their children (Riany et al., 2017).

There is limited literature, however, that compares intracultural aspects of ToM performance, including rural and urban culture. Shahaeian's (2015) research on Iranian mothers showed that children living in rural areas achieve lower scores than children living in urban areas, even though they have the same pattern of ToM development. Even though our previous research comparing Javanese (living in Jakarta) and Sundanese (living in Bogor) found a similar result, that is that children living in Jakarta outperformed children living in Bogor, they have different ToM patterns. While the children living in Jakarta have the same pattern as children from Western societies, the children in Bogor exhibit the same sequence as children from eastern societies (Kuntoro et al., 2017). Another research study in Vanuatu comparing rural and urban ToM performance found that children in urban areas outperformed children living in rural areas (Dixson et al., 2018).

Another factor that has a significant influence on ToM development is parental practices or parenting styles (Kuntoro et al., 2017; O'Reilly & Peterson, 2014; Ruffman et al., 2006; Vinden, 2001). Research correlating parenting style and ToM usually focuses on two types of parenting styles: authoritarian and authoritative (Wellman, 2017). Research in western countries shows that authoritative parents are significantly correlated with their children's high ToM performances (O'Reilly & Peterson, 2014; Vinden, 2001). In contrast, research on Indonesian children shows that authoritarian parenting style is significantly correlated with their children's lower ToM performances in Javanese and Sundanese communities in Jakarta and Bogor (Kuntoro et al., 2017).

Similarly, with ToM, parenting style is also known to be influenced by culture, whose impact is more complex; there is also a reciprocal relationship between these factors (Kuntoro et al., 2017; Riany et al., 2017). Research with Anglo-American children whose parents are more authoritative outperformed on the ToM score compared with Korean-American children whose

parents are more authoritarian (Vinden, 2001). However, our recent research showed that parents in urban (Jakarta) and suburban areas (Bogor) of Indonesia tend to be more individualist, with urban children outperforming suburban children (Kuntoro et al., 2017). Another research study in Indonesia found that parents from rural or urban environments have similar levels of individuality in parental practices, the study shows that parents living in urban areas are more collectivist than participants from rural areas, parents from rural areas are found to be more conforming (authoritarian) in their parental practices (Wiswanti et al., 2020).

From the previous studies on ToM and parenting, we can conclude that ToM performance varies across intracultural contexts, especially children's domiciles. However, only a few research studies involved participants from lower SES levels, such as a study on Iran (Shahaeian, 2015) and Indonesia (Kuntoro et al., 2013). Most studies, including our own prior research (Kuntoro et al., 2017), have involved participants from the middle-high SES level and do not compare ToM performance and parental practices with those of rural areas. Continuing our studies in the intracultural context of ToM and parental practices, this research aims to compare the ToM performance and parental practices of three groups: those of urban areas, the suburbs, and rural areas. Based on the limitations of Kuntoro et al. (2017), we have improved our study by increasing the number of samples and controlling the parents' SES status by selecting participants from families from the middle-lower socioeconomic level from the three areas. The maximum household consumption requirement is less than Rp 1.200.000,00 per month per person; this number is a reference from the World Bank (2020).

We have developed two research hypotheses based on our literature review. First, we hypothesize that children from urban areas will differ from children from suburban and rural areas. We predict that children's average ToM performance will be higher than the performance of the suburban and rural groups. Second, we hypothesize that there will be a significant difference in parenting practices between parents in urban areas and the suburban and rural areas. In this study, we predict that the parenting pattern of urban parents would indicate a higher mean score in autonomy and individuality than those variables of suburban and rural parents.

This study also assesses ToM sequences of the three groups and compares the success rate of the 5 Step ToM Scale. We also correlate the parenting variables with the ToM as a variable influenced by intracultural factors to provide a more comprehensive explanation of the result and compare the three area parenting styles to add another explanation of the findings.

Method

This research is a quantitative cross-sectional study that uses an interview-based measurement to acquire the children's Theory of Mind. This study uses a nonexperimental research design and employs a comparative study of the three participant groups. The groups were targeted; thus, there was no need to randomize the samples. The groups are the urban group (Jakarta), the suburban group (Bogor and Tangerang Regency), and the rural group (Bukittinggi).

Before presenting the principal results, we conduct a preliminary descriptive analysis on the development of ToM in the three groups, especially the sequence of ToM development, by comparing the success rate from each subtest. We then conduct a correlational analysis to determine the relationships between parental practices (autonomy, conformity, individuality, and collectivity) and total ToM scores. The study uses ANOVA to compare the total ToM score and the four dimensions of parental practices by the three groups of participants.

Participants

This research uses convenience sampling as the sampling method, in which we choose several public kindergarten schools in Jakarta, Bogor Tangerang, and Bukittinggi. We choose East Jakarta as representative of a middle-lower-class area of urban Jakarta, having the lowest income per capita of the main areas in Jakarta, including South, Middle, and West Jakarta (BPS DKI Jakarta, 2019).

Meanwhile, we define a suburb as an area on the edge of a large town or city where people who work in the larger metropolitan area live

(SUBURB | Meaning in the Cambridge English Dictionary, 2019). We choose Bogor Recency and Tangerang Recency as suburban areas because the residents usually still commute to Jakarta to work, and the percentage of the residential area is still more prominent than the commercial area. The data show that more than 1.3 million people commute daily from cities outskirt Jakarta (Indra, 2015). The participants are from Bogor Regency and Tangerang recency, which are located further from Central Jakarta than any other satellite city near DKI Jakarta.

We determine that Bukittinggi is a rural area because our participants mostly live on the outskirts of Bukittinggi, where rice fields and farms are common, and their principal occupation is farmer, even though the near-by canyon dominates the terrain. We selected a public kindergarten in each area because children who attend public schools because parents of such children usually have lower levels of income because public schools are typically cheaper than private schools.

Participants of this study were 269 typically-developed children and their parents: 109 participants are from urban areas, while there are 80 participants each from the suburbs and rural areas. They are all considered middle-lower class in Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang, and Bukittinggi. The education of the fathers was at the level of vocational diploma (33%), senior high school graduate (26.9%), or junior high school graduate (18.8%). Mothers also had vocational diplomas (39%) or were high school graduates (27.2%). Fathers' occupations are mostly skilled jobs (50.5%), while the mothers are mostly housewives (74.7%). Of the children participants, 125 were boys, and 144 were girls with an age of 48–85 months (M = 67.34; SD = 9.31). Most children have one sibling (49%), followed by those who are firstborn (45.7%).

Measures

This study employed three research instruments: 1) parent demographic and family background questionnaire, 2) Parenting Attitudes Inventory, and 3) 5-step Theory of Mind Scale

Questionnaire for parent and family background. Parents were asked to report their background information, including parental ages, education, occupation, and family background (birth order, siblingship, number of people living at home/family size, and language used at home). Responses regarding education level were coded as follows: 1) Primary education; 2) Secondary Education; 3) Diploma; 4) Bachelor's degree; and 5) Post-graduate degree. Meanwhile, parents' occupation was classified based on the Indonesian Classification of Occupations (BPS & Kementerian Ketenagakerjaan, 2014) using the following codes: 1) unskilled; 2) partly skilled; 3) skilled; 4) managerial and technical; and 5) professional and high-rank officers (legislative/executive officers and commissioned armed forces officers).

Parenting Attitudes Inventory (PAI). We adapted and translated the PAI revised by O'Reilly and Peterson (2014) into Bahasa Indonesia. The pilot study for adapting PAI to the Indonesian context was conducted with 1,000 participants. The internal consistency in the previous study was 0.75 and 0.78 for Conformity and Autonomy, respectively. The Indonesian version of PAI consists of 12 items, six items each for conformity and autonomy dimensions. The parents are requested to answer the items by indicating their response on a Likert-like continuum (ranging from 1 to 5; with 1 = Strongly Disagree; 5 = Strongly Agree). A statement such as "My child should be encouraged to express his/her opinion" is an example of an autonomy item. A statement such as "My children should do what they are told without questioning their parents (me)" is an example of a conformity item. For this sample, the Cronbach's Alpha of the conformity dimension was 0.80; and was 0.82 for the autonomy dimension. This result indicated that PAI is a reliable research instrument.

5-Step Theory of Mind Scales. The theory of mind scale was administered to children and was first developed by Wellman and Liu (2004). In this study, all instruction, stimulus, and procedure are similar to the original version (see Wellman & Liu, 2004); only two minor changes have been made (the band-Aid box was replaced with a crayon box, and a fence replaced the garage). Each question in the 5-step ToM Scale was read from a prepared script to ensure a standardized procedure. The Indonesian version of

the five-step ToM was also employed in previous studies (Kuntoro et al., 2013, 2017; Wulandini et al., 2018). In both studies, the coefficient reproducibility (CR) was considerably high (0.92 and 0.98), indicating the scale is reliable and confirmed theoretically to the sequence of ToM development. The scale consists of five subscales, assessed five different mental states: 1) desire; 2) beliefs; 3) knowledge, 4) FBs; and 5) emotion (see Kuntoro et al., 2013 for details of ToM tasks). Children's response was scored either 0 (wrong) or 1 (correct) in each subscale, with the total ToM score ranging from 0–5 calculated by summing up all the correct answers given by the child. We also analyzed the Guttman CR for this sample, and the result was 0.90, indicating that the scale was reliable for measuring theory-of-mind understanding.

Procedure

We use a nonprobability purposive sampling by inviting several public kindergartens (nonreligious affiliated or bilingual) in three areas and choose the participants by several criteria: 1) ages between 4–7 years old; 2) normally developed; 3) right-handed; 4) come from intact families (still have both parents); and 5) maximum family income of less than Rp 1.200.000,00 per month for each family member. The teachers specifically requested to exclude children who have significant problems/delays in cognitive, language, and social development. This exclusion was made by the teacher based on their assessment. After deciding on the participants, a formal invitation letter and consent form was sent to the selected children's parents. After consent was granted, the self-report questionnaire was distributed. The parents were asked to complete a questionnaire about their backgrounds and parenting inventory while the children were interviewed and tested. Before the individual meetings and testing sessions, the principals/ teachers introduced the experimenter to the children and familiarized them with the tester for three days. The children were tested once in a quiet room at the kindergartens without teachers or parents for 15–20 minutes.

Data Analysis

The IBM SPSS 22 statistical program was used to analyze the data collected. 1) Preliminary analysis consists of descriptive statistical analysis to obtain an overall description of the participant's demographic background, the success rate of children's theory of mind, and the ToM sequences in the three groups of this research. 2) Correlational analysis using Pearson's Product Moment on SPSS was conducted to measure the strength and direction of every variable. 3) Our primary data analysis was performed using ANOVA to compare the three participant groups' total ToM scores and parental practices.

Results

Preliminary Analysis

The result of descriptive statistical analysis for the ToM sequence is presented in Table 1. The table shows that 94% of children succeed in the diverse desire (DD) task, followed by other ToM components as follows: DD>DB>KA>FB>HE.

The analysis indicated that the ToM sequence in total participants and participants from the urban area in this research is DD>DB>KA>FB>HE. In contrast, the rural and suburban participants show a different pattern, i.e., DD>KA>DB>FB>HE.

The false belief acquisition in the urban and suburban areas is lower than the average per-

Table 1. *The sequence of TOM development in three groups*

Areas	Diverse Desires (DD)	Diverse Beliefs (DB)	Knowledge Access (KA)	False Beliefs (FB)	Hidden Emotions (HE)
Urban - Jakarta	88.3%	83.3%	70%	27.5%	14.2%
Suburban Bogor Tangerang	95.4%	74.8%	75,9%	26.1%	24.7%
Rural - Bukittinggi	100%	71%	81,3%	43.8%	41.3%
Total	94.57%	76.4%	75,73%	32.47%	26.73%

Table 2. *Correlation matrix on variables related to TOM*

Variables	1	2	3	4	5
1. ToM total score	1				
2. Conformity (PAI1)	.170**	1			
3. Autonomy (PAI1)	-.121*	-.572**	1		
4. Collectivity (PAI2)	.127*	.427**	-.667**	1	
5. Individuality (PAI2)	-.020	-.099	.110*	-.387**	1

centage total, and participants in the rural area (43.8%) show the highest percentage of false beliefs. This result is not a rank order; the descriptive result only provides a success rate between subtests and between groups to confirm which ToM sequence of the three groups could be categorized and whether it is similar to the Western or non-Western sequence.

Before conducting the primary analysis, we correlate the total ToM score with parenting attitudes that consist of the four dimensions from PAI 1 and PAI2, i.e., autonomy, conformity, individuality, and collectivity. The result shows that, with the exception of the individuality dimension of PAI 2, the other three dimensions are statistically significantly correlated with ToM performance, where conformity and collectivity are positively correlated with ToM and autonomy is negatively correlated with ToM.

Main Analysis of Research Variables

Our main analysis compares the ToM task and parental practices of the three groups. The results are displayed using graphic bars (see Figure 1); they show mean differences and error bars of the three groups. The error bars are standard errors obtained from ANOVA using SPSS 22. A normality test using Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Levene's test was conducted for five variables (total ToM, conformity, autonomy, individuality, and collectivity) and showed that the data were normally distributed and homogenous. The result of the ANOVA shows that ToM performance is significantly different in each group research $F(2,266) = 11.521$; $p < 0.0001$), post hoc Tukey's (Table 3) shows that participant ToM scores in Rural-Bukittinggi ($M = 3.35$, $SD = 1.026$) are significantly the highest compared to the suburban area ($M = 2.61$, $SD = 1.100$), with those of the urban area ($M = 2.41$, $SD = 1.075$) in third place. The parental practices (PAI 1&2) that show a significant difference between the three groups are conformity and collectivity. Where the result of ANOVA shows that dimension conformity is significantly different between the three groups $F(2,266) = 126.432$; $p < 0.0001$), post hoc Tukey's (Table 3) shows that participants from the rural area Bukittinggi ($M = 19.72$, $SD = 2.773$) are significantly higher compared to the suburban area ($M = 13.94$, $SD = 3.061$), and urban Jakarta ($M = 12.82$, $SD = 3.296$) is in third place. The result of ANOVA shows that the dimension of collectivity is significantly different between the three research groups $F(2,266) = 127.951$; $p < 0.0001$), post hoc Tukey's (Table 3) shows that participants from the rural area Bukittinggi ($M = 19.72$, $SD = 2.773$) have a significantly higher score compared to the suburban area ($M = 15.04$, $SD = 3.061$) and the urban area ($M = 12.82$, $SD = 3.296$), which is in third place.

Discussion

This research aims to study the differences between participants living in urban, suburban, or rural areas in Indonesia on their ToM and parental practices. The result showed that children's ToM performance varies significantly depending on whether they live in urban, suburban, or rural areas. There are also significant differences in parental practices between urban, suburban, and rural areas. This finding confirms both of our hypotheses.

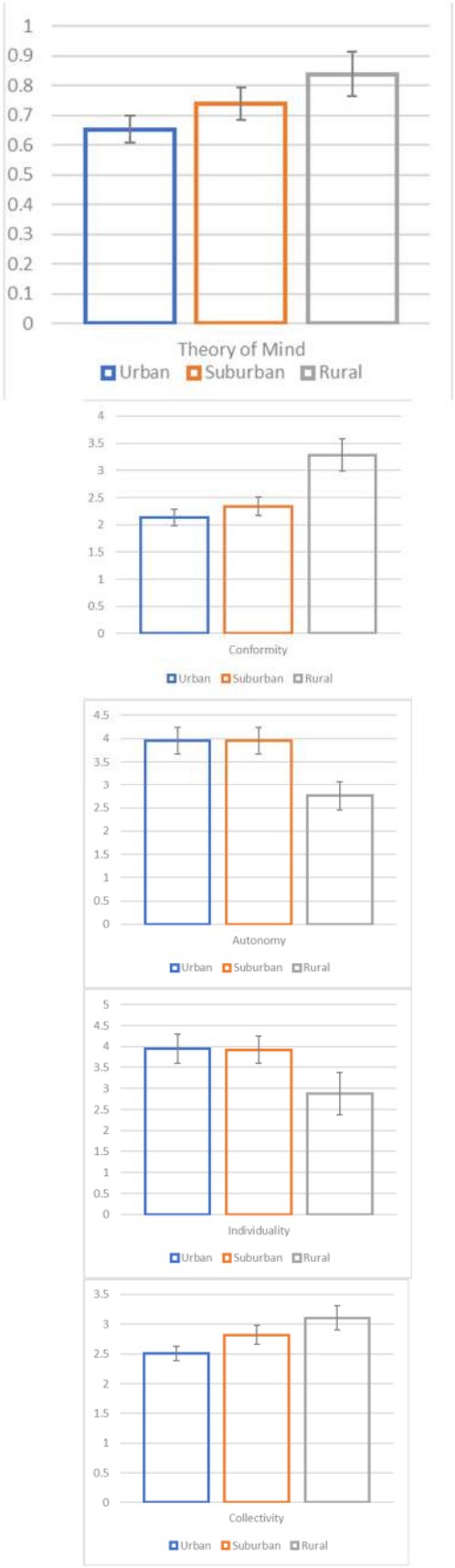
Although the ANOVA result indicates a significant difference between children's ToM in the three areas, confirming our hypothesis, the post hoc analysis showed that rural children's ToM performance was the highest, followed by the scores of children from suburban and urban areas. This result is different from our prediction and previous research comparing children from Jakarta and Bogor, in which Jakarta children

Table 3. *Post hoc Tukey analysis among three groups on TOM and parental practices*

Variable	(I) Domicile	(J) Domicile	Means Differences (I-J)
Theory of Mind	Urban	Suburban	-.343*
		Rural	-.743*
	Suburban	Urban	.343*
		Rural	-.400**
	Rural	Urban	.743*
		Suburban	.400**
Conformity	Urban	Suburban	-1.210**
		Rural	-5.685**
	Suburban	Urban	1.210**
		Rural	-5.685**
	Rural	Urban	6.895**
		Suburban	5.685**
Autonomy	Urban	Suburban	-.006
		Rural	7.118**
	Suburban	Urban	.006
		Rural	7.125**
	Rural	Urban	-7.118**
		Suburban	-7.125**
Collectivity	Urban	Suburban	1.310*
		Rural	-2.778**
	Suburban	Urban	1.310**
		Rural	1.468**
	Rural	Urban	2.778**
		Suburban	1.310*
Individuality	Urban	Suburban	.217
		Rural	8.555**
	Suburban	Urban	-.217
		Rural	8.338**
	Rural	Urban	-8.555**
		Suburban	-8.338**

Note. N = 269; ** Significant, $p < 0.001$, one-tailed; * Significant, $p < 0.05$, one-tailed

Figure 1. *Result of a comparison (ANOVA) between three groups (urban, suburban, rural) in ToM and parenting practices, using error bars as standard error*



outperformed the Bogor children (Kuntoro et al., 2017). Participant demographic characteristics may explain this novel result; in the current study, research participants were all from the middle-lower class compared to the middle-class participants in the previous study by Kuntoro et al. (2017). We agree with the necessity of controlling the SES level in ToM research as suggested by several researchers (Dixson et al., 2018; Kuntoro et al., 2017; Shahaeian, 2015). Children with a higher SES may have more access to toys, books, and private education through daycare and extracurricular classes than children with a lower SES. This type of access could be categorized as a privilege that stimulates children's development, including ToM (Attawibulkul et al., 2019).

We controlled the SES level by only recruiting participants from the middle-low socioeconomic level; still, the same income may provide different levels of access and facilities for children in the three different areas. The same amount of income translates into different levels of access based on where people live; for example, with 1 million rupiahs, urban parents could only afford primary needs because of the high cost of living in Jakarta. Jakarta is one of the most expensive cities in Indonesia, with an average household consumption of 7.5 million rupiahs per month for a family with four members (BPS DKI Jakarta, 2019)

Meanwhile, parents in the suburban area may afford several secondary needs with the same amount of money, and the average household consumption is around four to five million rupiahs per month per family (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2021). Finally, parents from rural areas (Bukittinggi) may afford several tertiary needs such as toys, books, and leisure. The average household consumption in Bukittinggi is less than three million rupiahs per month (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2021b), less than half of Jakarta's household consumption.

Parents with lower levels of SES may also have lower expectations of their children's achievement and may not be aware of the most suitable stimulus for optimizing their child's language development (Shahaeian, 2015; Shahaeian et al., 2013). Perkins et al. (2013) proposed a model of how a low SES level not only influences the home literacy environment (the availability of books or other literacy sources) but also influences home language use; parents from low the socioeconomic stratum usually do not stimulate their children's language ability by talking to them often, asking about daily activities, and teaching new vocabulary or language complexities through conversation. Ultimately, this condition results in children's language ability being inferior to that of children from rural areas; it also influences their ToM performance because language ability is one of the most significant contributing factors to ToM performance (Atkinson et al., 2017; Conte et al., 2019; Ebert, 2020; Wellman, 2017, 2018).

The ANOVA result shows significant differences in the parental practices of individuality, collectivity, autonomy, and conformity between the three areas, which confirms our hypothesis. This result of the post hoc analysis also aligns with our prediction and previous studies (Kuntoro et al., 2017; Wiswanti et al., 2020) that parents from urban areas have higher scores in individuality and autonomy. However, slightly different from the previous study by Wiswanti et al. (2020) that showed that rural parents' individuality dimension has a higher score compared to urban parents, our study showed a significantly lower score in individuality for rural parents than that of urban parents.

The high ToM performance of rural children with more conformist and collectivist parents in this research is a new finding. Even though some previous research has found that ToM performance is related to parenting style (Hughes et al., 2018; Kuntoro et al., 2017), our result still varies from those of several previous studies (Dixson et al., 2018; Kuntoro et al., 2017; Shahaeian, 2015) that found that urban children with more authoritative parents have better ToM scores. However, in this research, we reached a different result. One possible explanation may be the culture in Bukittinggi, which has high expectations in the area of social interactions that children must obey and be polite to older people and to love and care for those who are younger (Diradjo, 2015). This makes children in Bukittinggi more considerate of others, whether younger or older, resulting in a better ToM performance than that of the urban children. Also, much parenting research in Asia has found the benefits of authoritarian parenting styles, and it was reasoned that authoritarian parenting style emphasizes obedience and re-

spect for authority in collectivist cultures; thus, it would have a minor negative and even a positive impact on children's ToM outcomes (Masud et al., 2015; Watanabe & Hibbard, 2014).

This study shows a unique result where parenting practices in suburban areas include scores on the values of autonomy and individualism as high as those of urban parents, as well as high scores on collectivity and conformity. A possible explanation is that parents who live in the suburbs (Bogor and Tangerang) may originally come from several rural areas in Indonesia that migrate and work in Jakarta. The data shows that more than 2,000 families move their domicile to Tangerang Regency each month, they predominantly work in Jakarta and originally comes from outside Jabodetabek (Irawan, 2019). Parents who moved to the cities on the outskirts of Jakarta may still raise their children with the rural parenting value of authoritarianism. Wiswanti et al. (2020) showed that parents in rural areas are more authoritarian than urban parents. In their workplace (in urban Jakarta), there is intense social mobility (Hendriati & Okvitawanli, 2019), leading to them living with diverse values and increased levels of tolerance. Tolerance incorporates new values such as individualism and autonomy from other cultures.

After controlling the SES level of the parents by recruiting participants with middle-lower SES, the research results show that parenting styles of urban parents from Jakarta are still consistently more authoritative (high scores in individuality and autonomy). This result is consistent with previous studies from Wiswanti et al. (2020) and Kuntoro et al. (2017) but different from several studies in Western countries on parenting that have found that parents from low SES levels are more authoritarian (Bradley & Corwyn, 2005).

Additionally, we assessed the false belief success rate to capture the big picture of false belief acquisition in children, as Wellman (2018) reported as being at the core of ToM. This study shows that FBs are acquired by only 32.47% of the children, while rural children have a higher success rate in FBs (44%) than the other two groups. Even though the research participants are from middle-low-class families, this result is relatively higher than recent research in Jakarta and Bogor, where the success rate was shown to be only 27% (Kuntoro et al., 2017).

We also found that the pattern of ToM acquisition in rural, suburban, and urban children with middle-lower SES level parents is unique. The analysis indicated that the ToM sequence in all the participants and those from the urban area is DD>DB>KA>FB>HE—the same pattern found in Western countries (Kristen et al., 2006; Peterson et al., 2005; Wellman & Liu, 2004). Meanwhile, participants in rural and suburban areas show different patterns (DD>KA>DB>FB>HE), similar to the pattern found in non-Western countries such as China (Zhang et al., 2016), Iran (Shahaeian et al., 2014), and Turkey (Selcuk et al., 2018).

To determine whether parenting correlates with ToM performance, we conducted a correlational analysis; the result shows that, with the exception of the individuality dimension, the other three dimensions of parenting are significantly correlated with ToM, consistent with previous research conducted in Indonesia (Kuntoro et al., 2017). In this study, all three dimensions besides individuality are significantly correlated with ToM with a higher significance level ($p < 0.05$); even conformity and collectivity meet the significance requirements ($p < 0.01$). This result strengthens previous research on parenting and ToM in Indonesia (Kuntoro et al., 2017). We can conclude that children from middle-lower-class families may have a more prominent influence on their parents' parental practices than children from the middle-upper class. Even though we have expanded our samples compared to previous studies in parenting and ToM (Kuntoro et al., 2017), the correlational result is still consistent.

This study was only conducted in small samples that are nonrepresentative of rural areas across Indonesia. We suggest further research on the effect of parenting, SES level, and ToM in Indonesia with larger samples from populations of several cities and rural areas in Indonesia. Therefore, these research results are insufficient to draw generalized conclusions about parenting patterns and ToM across the Indonesian territory.

Because this research was not an experimental or longitudinal study, we are unable to determine if parenting has a significant cause and effect on ToM development. However, this study illustrates how parenting could differ in intracultural settings, influencing children's

ToM performances. Also, the proportion of the three groups is unbalanced, which may influence the statistical result even though the data is normally distributed and homogenous.

Nevertheless, since Indonesia consists of more than 1,340 ethnic groups with different cultures and subcultures, future research must explore other places and cities outside Java and Sumatra Islands. Further research may include some cultures and subcultures using the variables included in this study and extending the samples to the western part of Indonesia, such as Papua or Maluku. Even though the sample has already been extended, the SES level, like consumption household, also needs to be considered. For example, even though a city like Jayapura (in Papua) is considered a rural area in Indonesia, the average household consumption per person is higher compared to that of Bandung, which is considered an urban area (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2021a) .

Conclusions

In conclusion, this research study has several interesting findings. First, there is a significant difference in the ToM performance of urban, suburban, and rural children in Indonesia. Second, parental practices are also significantly different in the three areas. Third, ToM and FBs are more developed in rural areas where parents value conformity and collectivity (authoritarian) parenting styles.

Meanwhile, parents in urban areas are more autonomous than those in the other two groups, and the children have the lowest success rate in ToM and in developing FBs. Parents in suburban areas have high scores in conformity and collective parenting practices as well as in individual and autonomous parenting. Their children acquire FBs less quickly than rural children, nor as late as urban children. Third, we also conclude that ToM is positively correlated with parenting approaches, especially conformity, collectivity, and autonomy but not individualism.

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