

CONSEQUENCES OF FAMILY SOCIALIZATION IN THE SPANISH CULTURE

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Consequences of family socialization in the Spanish culture. A socialization model with two dimensions – demandingness and responsiveness – and four typologies – authoritative, indulgent, authoritarian and neglectful – has different implications for children in the Spanish culture than for those in English-speaking cultures. The aims of the present research were to confirm that these differences are not due to the effect of the method, and also to replicate previous Spanish studies in which these differences were obtained. Two studies (400 Spanish adolescents in the first one and 4369 in the second one) showed that Spanish children who have received authoritative socialization have the same, or lower, self-concept than children who have received indulgent socialization, the reverse of the relationship found in “Anglo-Saxon” samples in previous research. These results suggest that the effects of different socialization styles cannot be directly generalized to different cultures.

El modelo de socialización con dos dimensiones –exigencia y responsividad– y cuatro tipologías –autoritativo, indulgente, autoritario y negligente– tiene diferentes implicaciones para los hijos en la cultura española que tiene en la anglosajona. Con este trabajo se pretende, por una parte, constatar que estas diferencias no se deben a un efecto del método, y por otra, replicar dos estudios españoles previos en los que se reflejan estas diferencias. Se constata, a partir de dos estudios con dos muestras diferentes (la primera de 400 adolescentes españoles y la segunda de 4369) que los beneficios en el autoconcepto de la socialización autoritativa en los hijos de padres españoles son menores o iguales que los de la socialización indulgente, lo contrario de lo que sucede en la cultura anglosajona. Estos resultados cuestionan la idea de que los efectos de los tipos de socialización parental sean directamente generalizables entre las diferentes culturas.

The basic objective of the present work is to determine whether the effects of parental socialization in Spanish children follow the same empirical pattern as in children from English-speaking contexts. Whilst the “optimum” type of socialization in the latter type of culture is *authoritative* (Baumrind, 1967, 1971; Smetana, 1995), some results obtained with Spanish samples suggest that the optimum type of socialization here is *indulgent* (Marchetti, 1997; Musitu & García, 2001).

In 1983, Maccoby and Martin proposed, from Baumrind’s (1967, 1971) tripartite model – authoritative-authoritarian-permissive – a bidimensional model of parental socialization in which the dimensions *demandingness* and *responsiveness* were theoretically orthogonal (Darling & Steinberg, 1993: 491–492; Smetana, 1995: 299). These dimensions have meanings similar to those of the traditional dimensions of coercion and affect, and to other, more recently proposed dimensions,

such as those of Chao (2001), or Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg and Dornbusch (1991); Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts and Dornbusch (1994) refer to the two dimensions severity/control and acceptance/commitment.

From the combination of the two dimensions of demandingness and responsiveness, four typologies emerge: *authoritative* parents – high coercion and high affect; *neglectful* parents – low coercion and low affect; *indulgent* parents – low coercion and high affect; and *authoritarian* parents – high coercion and low affect (see Fig. 1). This four-typology or quadripartite model stresses, according to Lamborn et al. (1991), the need to consider the effects of the interaction of the two parenting dimensions in the analysis of effects on children’s self-concept and behaviour.

For example, the classic *authoritative* rearing style, defined by parents who “provide clear norms and reason with their children in an affectionate and flexible way, at the same time as demanding fulfilment of the norms” (Baumrind, 1971; Bersabé, Rivas, Fuentes & Motrico, 2002), coincides with the *authoritarian* style in that both are demanding and impose control, but differs from it in that the latter approach is less affective.

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In general, research in this field has been based on the traditional tripartite, or the subsequent quadripartite model; results reported in English-speaking literature reinforce the prototype of *authoritative* parents and, up to now, no studies have questioned the greater relevance given to the authoritative style with respect to the others. A theoretical discrepancy, not regarding the validity of the results, but in relation to their theoretical interpretation, comes from Lewis (1981), who pointed out that bi-directional communication and affect help children to internalize the norms of family functioning, as predicted by the theory of attribution, whilst the opposite occurs in the case of external control.

In Spain, it has been customary for researchers to use directly the dimensions of control and affect or similar ones – for example, in the cases of Gracia (2002) and Díez & Peirats (1997) –, or the initial tripartite model (Bersabé, Fuentes & Motrico, 2001), no substantial discrepancies being found with respect to the results obtained with samples from English-speaking cultures. However, two studies that used the quadripartite model (Marchetti, 1997; Musitu & García, 2001) indicate that the positive effects on children of the indulgent style are superior to those of the authoritative style. In the present work, two objectives are set: (1) to confirm that the divergent results between the “Anglo-Saxon” and Spanish literature are not due to an effect of the method. For this purpose we use the same design with different instruments; and (2) to replicate the results obtained in the studies by Marchetti (1997) and Musitu & García (2001) with the instruments they used, results that are in the same line as referred to in the previous objective. The hypothesis of our study is that, using different methodological approaches, it will be found that in the Spanish culture the indulgent type of socialization is associated with equal, or even with better, self-concept in children than the authoritative type – just the opposite of what is found in English-speaking cultures.

METHOD

Participants

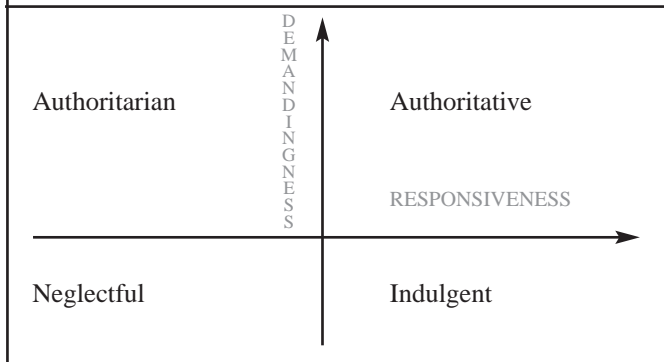
In the first study, participants were 400 Spanish adolescents – 189 boys (47.3%) and 211 girls (52.8%) – from public (state-run) schools (278, 69.5%) and private schools (122, 30.5%), aged between 14 and 17 (14-year-olds, 48; 14.5-year-olds, 126; 16-year-olds, 153; and 17-year-olds, 73).

The Spanish adolescents participating in the second study numbered 4369, of which 1984 (45.4%) were boys and 2385 girls (54.6%), from public (3125, 71.5%), private (348, 8.0%) and grant-assisted schools (896, 20.5%), with ages ranging from 10 to 18 years. There were 65 ten-year-olds (1.5%); 163 eleven-year-olds (3.7%); 525 twelve-year-olds (12.0%); 610 thirteen-year-olds (14.0%); 841 fourteen-year-olds (19.2%); 809 fifteen-year-olds (18.5%); 751 sixteen-year-olds (17.2%); 409 seventeen-year-olds (9.4%); and 196 eighteen-year-olds (4.5%). The figure of 3030 participants used by Musitu and García (2001) is increased upon so that the statistical power of the replication is even greater than that of the original. Power was fixed a priori at 0.95, α at 5%, and the effect size, allowing for a highly unfavourable case, at 1% (h^2). The estimated sample for these conditions was 4300 participants (considering that on defining the typologies it would be reduced by almost 60%). Since, finally, the analyses of variance were applied with 1942 degrees of freedom in the error (see final part of Table 1), the power obtained, even in the case of some populational effect size being so low, would be 0.972.

Procedure

The instruments were applied collectively to the whole class after corresponding parental and head teacher’s permission had been obtained. In all cases pupils were told that their responses would be anonymous, and that they were not obliged to answer. No pupil refused to fill out the questionnaire. The instruments were applied by several researchers, who took great care to ensure that all the questions were answered. On all occasions the instruments were applied sequentially, in the same order as they appear in the following section, and in a single session. The instruments were given out in sealed envelopes.

Figure 1
Bidimensional model of family socialization and typologies



lopes, and were returned to the researchers in envelopes sealed by the participants.

Measures

First study: The Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (Fitts, 1965). This multidimensional scale comprises 100 elements that assess eight factors of self-concept, three internal (Self-concept, Self-esteem and Self-behaviour) and five external (Family, Physical, Moral/Ethical, Personal and Social Self-concept), using three response options (never, sometimes, and always). For all the scales of all the instruments we calculated internal consistency by means of Cronbach's alpha. The coefficient of internal consistency with all the items was 0.897; that of the five external factors was: Physical, 0.712; Moral/Ethical, 0.677; Personal, 0.750; Family, 0.728; and Social, 0.615.

AFA Multidimensional Self-Concept Scale (Musitu, García & Gutiérrez, 1994). Developed, validated and normalized in Spain, this instrument measures four self-concept dimensions – Social, Academic, Family and Emotional – with a three-point scale (never, sometimes, and always). Its factorial structure was confirmed empirically by the authors, since this scale is widely used in the Spanish context. Coefficient of internal consistency was 0.753; that of Social Self-concept, 0.772; Academic Self-concept, 0.658; Family Self-concept, 0.610; and Emotional Self-concept, 0.710.

CF Family Communication Scale (García, Gracia and Musitu, 1988). This assesses family communication from the child's perspective through 12 topics (television, entertainment, studies, friends, drugs, sexuality, politics, religion, current affairs, personal projects, family life, and culture) in two communicational channels – with the father and with the mother – and in two directions for each of them – from parent to child and from child to parent –, establishing four different paths: Child–Mother, Mother–Child, Child–Father, and Father–Child. Level of communication is measured for each topic, channel and direction and using a five-point scale: 1 “I don't talk to him/her about this topic”, 2 “I talk to him/her, but he/she doesn't listen”, 3 “I talk to him/her and he/she listens, but he/she doesn't put him/herself in my position to try and see my side of things”, 4 “I talk to him/her, he/she listens and puts him/herself in my position to try and see my side of things, but we don't reach an understanding”, and 5 “I talk to him/her, he/she listens, he/she sees my side of things and we reach an understanding”. This instrument

was applied with the aim of checking with another instrument the discriminant validity of the affect dimension. Internal consistency of the 48 situations was 0.915; for Child to Mother, 0.733; for Child to Father, 0.772; for Mother to Child, 0.743; and for Father to Child, 0.782.

The *SOC30 family socialization scale* is a shorter version (reduced to 30 items) of the EMBU instrument by Perris, Jacobsson, Lindstrom, Von Knorring and Perris (1980). This brief version has four dimensions: Support, Punishment/Coercion, Overprotection/Control and Reproof. The first of these measures the degree of affect and support in relation to parents, and the other three the amount of coercion and control they exercise. It is a classic instrument that has been widely employed both in Spain and internationally. Total internal consistency of all the elements was 0.803, in the Support dimension, 0.847, and in the Coercion dimension, 0.701.

Second study: AF5 Multidimensional Self-concept Scale (García and Musitu (1999). This instrument is a revised version of its predecessor, the AFA, incorporating substantial technical improvements. Among these improvements are, first of all, that it deals with the problem of acquiescence by using a 99-point response scale; secondly, that it measures the physical dimension of self-concept; and thirdly, that the factorial structure has been given balance through the measurement of each dimension with 6 elements (Academic, Social, Emotional, Family and Physical). Structural validity of the five dimensions is backed up by factorial analyses (García & Musitu, 1999). Internal consistency of the 30 elements was 0.844, that of Academic Self-concept, 0.887, that of Social Self-concept, 0.729, that of Emotional Self-concept, 0.731, that of Family Self-concept, 0.801, and that of Physical Self-concept, 0.776.

ESPA29 Parental Socialization Scale (Musitu & García, 2001). This instrument assesses the socialization styles of the two parents in different natural scenarios representative of everyday family life in Western culture. A child rates separately the behaviour of his/her father and his/her mother in 29 significant situations, obtaining a global mean for each parent in the dimensions of Acceptance/Implication and Coercion/Imposition (similar to those of demandingness and responsiveness). From the scores in the two dimensions, the socialization style of each parent is typified as authoritative, indulgent, authoritarian or neglectful. This instrument differs substantially from the previous one, the SOC30, in that it measures family styles on the basis of specific situations, rather than

asking about attitudes, and in that it provides independent measures for each parent. Internal consistency of Acceptance/Implication was 0.951 for the mother and 0.945 for the father; for Coercion/Imposition it was 0.929 in the mother and 0.927 in the father.

Classification by typologies of family socialization

Family socialization style was determined on the basis of the terciles (centiles 33.33 and 66.66) of the two dimensions that measure the degree of *Demandingness* and *Responsiveness* perceived by the children in the two family socialization instruments applied, controlling for age and sex in calculating the terciles. If family score on the two axes is in the third tercile its style is defined as *authoritative*, and if both are in the first, it is considered *neglectful*; when it is in the first of *Responsiveness* and the third of *Demandingness*, it is defined as *authoritarian*; and if it is in the third of *Responsiveness* and the first of *Demandingness*, it is considered *indulgent* (see Figure 1). This procedure is widely used for determining family socialization style (Chao, 2001; Lamborn et al., 1991; Musitu & García, 2001; Steinberg et al., 1994).

In the first phase the terciles were calculated with the *Support* and *Coercion* dimensions of the EMBU, classifying 191 adolescents (47.8%) in one of the four typologies: Neglectful, 34 (17.8% of the total classified); Indulgent, 61 (31.9%); Authoritarian, 62 (32.5%); and Authoritative, 34 (17.8%).

Family communication. In family communication, significant differences were found in the four analyses of variance ($F_{Me\ to\ my\ mother,\ 3,\ 187} = 26.90, p < 0.05$; $F_{Me\ to\ my\ father,\ 3,\ 187} = 20.77, p < 0.05$; $F_{My\ mother\ to\ me,\ 3,\ 187} = 19.67, p < 0.05$; and $F_{My\ father\ to\ me,\ 3,\ 187} = 17.8, p < 0.05$). It was found through the Tamhane test that the four variables followed a common pattern: family communication scores higher when parents are characterized as indulgent and authoritative than when they are authoritative and neglectful. These results validate the congruence – with a different instrument, the CF – of the process of definition of family styles from the EMBU.

In the second phase we used the average of *Acceptance/Implication* and *Coercion/Imposition* of the father and of the mother on the ESPA29 scale, classifying 1946 participants (44.5%) in four typologies: Neglectful, 535 (27.5%, of the total classified); Indulgent, 414 (21.3%); Authoritarian, 437 (22.5%); and Authoritative, 560 (28.8%).

RESULTS

In the first study we applied an analysis of variance to the four socialization styles, using as dependent variable the dimensions of the two self-concept scales: Form A (AFA) and Tennessee (TEN). When statistically significant differences were found, we applied the Tamhane test, which does not assume homogeneity of the variances or equality of sample size of the conditions. Results

Table 1
Means, standard deviations, and results of the ANOVA and Tamhane test ($\alpha = 0.05$; $1 > 2 > 3 > 4$; $a > b$) in the variables of the Family Communication (CF) questionnaire and the three self-concept scales: Form A (AFA), Tennessee (TEN) and Form 5 (AF5)

FIRST STUDY	Indulgent	Authoritative	Authoritarian	Neglectful	F _{3,187}	P
Me to my mother [CF]	47.28 (7.09) ¹	44.32 (7.13) ¹	37.11 (9.83) ²	33.56 (8.51) ²	26.90	<0.001
Me to my father [CF]	43.61 (10.42) ¹	40.74 (9.65) ¹	32.11 (9.33) ²	30.29 (10.37) ²	20.77	<0.001
My mother to me [CF]	45.77 (8.83) ¹	44.00 (8.37) ¹	36.55 (9.89) ²	32.68 (10.03) ²	19.67	<0.001
My father to me [CF]	44.00 (10.72) ¹	41.91 (9.91) ¹	34.03 (10.37) ²	30.50 (10.34) ²	17.28	<0.001
Academic [AFA]	23.57 (2.16) ¹	23.41 (2.69)	22.11 (2.78) ²	21.38 (3.59) ²	6.35	<0.001
Social [AFA]	12.92 (1.94) ¹	12.29 (2.55)	11.65 (2.25) ²	10.94 (2.35) ²	6.69	<0.001
Emotional [AFA]	17.41 (3.08)	16.88 (3.25)	16.73 (3.26)	17.65 (3.05)	0.87	0.460
Family [AFA]	15.34 (1.44) ¹	14.03 (1.95) ²	12.89 (2.33) ^{2b}	14.53 (2.18) ^a	16.21	<0.001
Physical [TEN]	43.30 (4.68) ¹	41.24 (4.97)	39.66 (4.16) ²	40.53 (4.57) ²	6.91	<0.001
Ethical/Moral [TEN]	45.05 (3.85) ¹	42.06 (3.67) ²	40.66 (4.46) ²	40.68 (5.17) ²	13.05	<0.001
Personal [TEN]	43.43 (3.59) ¹	40.62 (4.60) ²	38.89 (4.71) ²	40.65 (4.59) ²	11.42	<0.001
Family [TEN]	44.49 (2.71) ¹	43.03 (2.79) ¹	37.82 (3.24) ²	38.97 (3.86) ²	56.14	<0.001
Social [TEN]	39.97 (3.79) ¹	38.47 (3.85)	38.10 (3.80) ²	37.88 (3.74)	3.36	0.020
SECOND STUDY	Indulgent	Authoritative	Authoritarian	Neglectful	F _{3,1942}	P
Academic [AF5]	6.94 (1.79) ¹	6.35 (1.91) ²	5.76 (1.95) ³	5.95 (2.02) ³	31.80	<0.001
Social [AF5]	7.60 (1.34) ¹	7.47 (1.41) ^a	7.08 (1.66) ^{2b}	7.27 (1.42) ²	10.95	<0.001
Emotional [AF5]	5.72 (2.03) ¹	5.01 (1.83) ²	5.01 (1.91) ²	5.76 (1.80) ¹	24.28	<0.001
Family [AF5]	9.06 (0.89) ¹	8.54 (1.18) ²	6.74 (2.18) ⁴	7.92 (1.58) ³	188.08	<0.001
Physical [AF5]	6.28 (1.86) ¹	6.09 (1.95) ¹	5.48 (2.02) ²	5.51 (1.89) ²	20.39	<0.001

are shown in the first part of Table 1. The same analytical process was followed in the second study, this time with the five self-concept dimensions measured by the AF5, in order to reappraise the results obtained in two Spanish studies (Marchetti, 1997; Musitu & García, 2001) that used the same instruments as those employed in the present study.

First study

Academic Self-concept (AFA Questionnaire): The results of the analysis of variance indicated differences in the factor *Academic* ($F_{\text{Academic}, 3, 187} = 6.35, p < 0.05$); the pattern of means, according to the Tamhane test, significantly distinguished the indulgent group from the authoritarian and neglectful groups, with the authoritative group in a position similar to that of “indulgent”, but without being significantly different from the other two. Thus, *Academic* self-concept was higher in children perceiving their parents as indulgent than in those who considered them authoritarian or neglectful. *Social Self-concept (AFA Questionnaire)*: The same interpretation can be made in relation to this dimension. Significant differences were found in the analysis of variance ($F_{\text{Social}, 3, 187} = 20.77, p < 0.05$); the Tamhane test only differentiated significantly the indulgent group from those of authoritarian and neglectful. *Emotional Self-concept (AFA Questionnaire)*: In this dimension no significant differences were found in the analysis of variance ($F_{\text{Emotional}, 3, 187} = 0.87, p > 0.05$). *Family Self-concept (AFA Questionnaire)*: In this dimension significant differences were found ($F_{\text{Family}, 3, 187} = 12.21, p < 0.05$), the Tamhane test determining that the Family Self-concept of the children of indulgent parents was higher than those of the children of authoritative and authoritarian parents. This self-concept was also found to be higher in the children of neglectful parents than in those of authoritarian parents.

Physical self-concept (Tennessee Questionnaire): In this factor statistically significant differences were found ($F_{\text{Physical}, 3, 187} = 6.91, p < 0.05$), and the Tamhane test indicated that Physical Self-concept in the indulgent group was higher than in the authoritarian and neglectful groups; the authoritative group was situated in an intermediate position, statistically undifferentiated. *Moral, Ethical and Personal Self-concept (Tennessee Questionnaire)*: The significant differences in these factors ($F_{\text{Moral/Ethical}, 3, 187} = 6.91, p < 0.05$; $F_{\text{Personal}, 3, 187} = 6.91, p < 0.05$) follow an identical pattern, with the indulgent group differentiated significantly and favourably with respect to the other three groups: authoritative, authoritarian and neglectful. *Family Self-concept (Tennessee*

Questionnaire): In this dimension there were differences in the ANOVA ($F_{\text{Family}, 3, 187} = 56.14, p < 0.05$), and these differences corresponded to a higher Family Self-concept in the indulgent and authoritative groups with respect to the authoritarian and neglectful groups. *Social Self-concept (Tennessee Questionnaire)*: In this dimension there were also differences in the ANOVA ($F_{\text{Social}, 3, 187} = 3.36, p < 0.05$), differences that according to the Tamhane test corresponded to higher Social Self-concept in the children of indulgent parents than in those of authoritarian parents.

The results of this first study confirmed that the authoritative group in Spanish culture were less favoured than the indulgent group in relation to adjustment, which, as indicated, was assessed on the basis of self-concept. These results contradict those obtained in research in English-speaking cultures, where scores for the authoritative style on adjustment were systematically higher than, or at the very least equivalent to, those obtained by the children of indulgent parents.

Second study

Results of the analysis of variance showed significant differences in the five factors of the AF5 ($F_{\text{Academic}, 3, 1942} = 31.80, p < 0.05$; $F_{\text{Social}, 3, 1942} = 10.95, p < 0.05$; $F_{\text{Emotional}, 3, 1942} = 24.28, p < 0.05$; $F_{\text{Family}, 3, 1942} = 188.08, p < 0.05$; and $F_{\text{Physical}, 3, 1942} = 20.39, p < 0.05$). In Academic Self-concept, the Tamhane test distinguished three levels: highest Academic Self-concept was for the indulgent group, followed by the authoritative group, and finally by the children of authoritarian and neglectful parents. In Social Self-concept, two clearly differentiated levels emerged: the mean of the indulgent group was clearly higher than those of the authoritarian and neglectful groups. The authoritative group was situated in an intermediate position, in which it was only distinguishable from the authoritarian group. Emotional Self-concept in “indulgents” and “neglectfuls” was higher than that of “authoritatives” and “authoritarians”. In Family Self-concept the four groups were all clearly distinguished: indulgent, authoritative, neglectful and authoritarian. Finally, the Physical Self-concept of the indulgent and authoritative groups was higher than that of the neglectful and authoritarian groups.

DISCUSSION

With two different samples and with different instruments of family socialization and self-concept, the results confirm the research hypothesis; moreover, the

results of two previous works carried out in Spain (Marchetti, 1997; Musitu & García, 2001) are replicated. In general, children who perceive their parents as indulgent – with high affect and low coercion – present equal, or even better, self-concept with respect to the children of authoritative parents – high affect and firm control. These results do not coincide with those obtained in samples from English-speaking cultures.

We consider that the family socialization model with two dimensions and four typologies allows more rigorous differentiation of the consequences of parental socialization parental on children's adjustment than models with separate dimensions or that which only identifies three typologies. This quadripartite model has a considerable advantage over the initial, tripartite (authoritative–authoritarian–permissive) model of Diana Baumrind (1967, 1971), in the sense that it divides the original “permissive” category in two, differentiating theoretically between neglectful and indulgent according to degree of affect, in the same way as the distinction is drawn between authoritarian and authoritative. Studies carried out with samples from the USA using four socialization styles have concluded that the authoritative style corresponds to higher measures of social competence and academic performance (González, Holbein, & Quilter, 2002; Bean, Bush, McKenry, & Wilson, 2003) and lower indices of psychological dysfunction in children (Steinberg et al., 1994).

However, the results obtained with ethnic minorities living in the United States do not clearly confirm the advantages of the authoritative parenting style (Steinberg, Dornbusch & Brown, 1992), so that some authors advocate a model that considers situational (Smetana, 1995) and contextual aspects (Darling & Steinberg, 1993), such as that employed in the present work. A highly significant case, which has been called “paradoxical”, is that children of authoritarian parents who are American but of oriental origin obtain better academic and self-concept results than the children of authoritative native parents. This paradox has been attributed by Chao (1994) to the lack of transcultural validity of the affect and control dimension, arguing that these concepts have different meanings in some oriental cultures from those they have in the American culture. In a later work, Chao (2001) found that the discordant results came basically from first-generation oriental immigrants, but that from the second generation onwards the results became homogeneous with those of the ethnic

majority, in support of the hypothesis of cultural differences. In a similar line, cross-cultural studies in the US and Germany (for a review, see Barber, Chadwick & Oerter, 1992) have also revealed that in German society the authoritative style is not associated with higher academic self-concept and better adjustment, though these are positively related to parental affect. This hypothesis of cultural differences would explain the discrepancies between the results of the present work and those obtained in research in “Anglo-Saxon” cultures with native samples. Future research should examine the influence of culture in parent-children relations, and this highlights the need for more cross-cultural studies (e.g., Wang & Li, 2003).

Integrating the results from the different cultures, it appears that similar parental socialization styles have different repercussions on children's adjustment depending on the cultural environment in which the socialization takes place. In the Spanish context, it seems to be clear that a parental style based on firm control and tough discipline, even if combined with reasoning and affect, has more negative implications for self-concept or adjustment than one based on simply correcting children's negative or non-normative behaviours, which makes much greater use of dialogue, explanation and reasoning than of coercive practices.

The results of the present work reinforce the idea that, at times, direct generalization of results to other cultures may lack the necessary rigour and foundation. We would echo the warning of Chao (2001: 1841), that “authoritative parents should not be considered the prototype for some groups of Asian-Americans”, applying it to the Spanish context, and particularly in the light of our findings. Just as different levels of affect have proved to be the key to differentiating the consequences for children of the authoritarian and authoritative styles in English-speaking cultures, the results of this work confirm that in the Spanish culture the degree of coercion, low or high, is the factor that permits us to differentiate the authoritative approach from the indulgent.

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