

**Programa de Doctorado en Psicogerontología:
Perspectiva del Ciclo Vital**



**Socialización parental en España a lo largo del
Ciclo Vital**



TESIS DOCTORAL

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**Parental socialization in Spain across the Life-
Span**



PhD THESIS

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Nota previa: En la presente tesis doctoral se utiliza el género gramatical en su forma neutra para facilitar la lectura.

“The idea that "the child is father to the man" goes back to biblical times and probably before. So does the idea that an adult's rectitude depends on having received proper training earlier in life from parents and other educators”.

Eleanor Maccoby (1992)

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Prefacio

LA tesis doctoral representa para muchos una meta pero confieso que para mí más bien ha sido un camino que he tenido la suerte de recorrer acompañado de personas maravillosas.

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Esta tesis doctoral es el resultado de parte del trabajo realizado por el doctorando durante su periodo de formación predoctoral en el Departamento de Psicología Evolutiva y de la Educación, en la Facultad de Psicología de la Universitat de València, dirigido por la Dra. Emilia Serra y la Dra. Olatz López-Fernandez. Se presenta como un compendio de tres estudios empíricos:

- García, O. F.**, Serra, E., Zacarés, J. J., & García, F. (2018). Parenting styles and short- and long-term socialization outcomes: A study among Spanish adolescents and older adults. *Psychosocial Intervention*, 27, 153-161. doi:10.5093/pi2018a21 (Impact factor 2018 = **2.614**; 28/137; **Q1**, Psychology, Multidisciplinary; Times cited in WOS September 2019: **21**).
- García, O. F.**, Lopez-Fernandez, O., & Serra, E. (2018). Raising Spanish children with an antisocial tendency: Do we know what the optimal parenting style is?. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. doi:10.1177/0886260518818426 (Impact factor 2018 = **3.064**; 5/46; **Q1**, Family Studies; Times cited in WOS September 2019: **9**).

Garcia, O. F., & Serra, E. (2019). Raising children with poor school performance: Parenting styles and short- and long-term consequences for adolescent and adult development. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 16, 1-24. doi:10.3390/ijerph16071089 (Impact factor 2018 = **2.648**; 38/162; **Q1**, Public, Environmental & Occupational Health; Times cited in WOS September 2019: **8**).

La presente tesis doctoral está estructurada en cinco capítulos y un anexo. En el **capítulo I** se ofrece un resumen global de la temática de ésta y de sus objetivos, en los **capítulos II, III y IV** se presentan los tres estudios que conforman el compendio de publicaciones, en el **capítulo V** se realiza un resumen extendido, en inglés, sobre la temática y los principales hallazgos y conclusiones, y, por último, el **anexo** recoge otras publicaciones realizadas durante el periodo de formación predoctoral relacionadas con la investigación de la esta tesis.

Es importante señalar que, de acuerdo con la normativa del Reglamento sobre Depósito, Evaluación y Defensa de la Tesis Doctoral de la Escuela de Doctorado de la Universitat de València, en cumplimiento con lo dispuesto en el artículo 3.1 sobre la tesis doctoral presentada como compendio de publicaciones, en los **capítulos I y V** se ofrece un resumen global de la temática, de los principales resultados y de las conclusiones. Asimismo, en cumplimiento del artículo 9 del citado reglamento, en relación a la mención internacional al título de doctor, el **capítulo V**, que incluye el resumen extendido y las conclusiones, ha sido redactado en inglés.

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Valencia, Octubre de 2019

Capítulo I

Introducción

Los padres tienen como una de las principales responsabilidades la socialización de sus hijos. La socialización se define como un proceso iniciado por un adulto por el cual el joven, a través de la educación, la formación y la imitación adquiere su cultura, así como los hábitos y valores congruentes con la adaptación a esa cultura. La socialización incluye un conjunto de procesos por los cuales los adultos son capaces de tener un funcionamiento adecuado dentro de las necesidades del grupo o grupos sociales particulares a los que pertenecen (Baumrind, 1978).

Más allá de variaciones culturales en el significado de funcionamiento adecuado del individuo en sociedad, para que el niño pueda convertirse en un adulto competente dentro de su contexto cultural específico, deberá adquirir una serie de hábitos, habilidades, motivaciones y valores que le permitan: (i) Evitar conductas que suponen una desviación respecto de las normas sociales porque implican una perturbación o molestia para otras personas, (ii) contribuir, a través del trabajo, a su propia autosuficiencia económica y a la de su familia; (iii) iniciar y mantener relaciones de intimidad y cercanía con otras personas; (iv) y, a su vez, ser capaz de proteger, cuidar y ejercer la socialización de su descendencia (Maccoby, 1992).

Modelos de socialización parental

A pesar de las variaciones a lo largo de décadas de investigación, el estudio de la socialización parental, desde principios del siglo XX hasta nuestros días, dos cuestiones de gran relevancia ocupan a los investigadores. La primera, identificar y definir el patrón de actuación de los padres sobre los hijos. La segunda, examinar las consecuencias

de los diferentes patrones de actuación parental sobre el desarrollo de los hijos (García & Gracia, 2009; Steinberg, Mounts, Lamborn, & Dornbusch, 1991; Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts, & Dornbusch, 1994).

Para entender los procesos que explican la influencia y el impacto de los padres sobre el desarrollo de los hijos, generalmente se distinguen tres aspectos claves de la socialización parental: (i) los objetivos o metas hacia los que se dirige dicha socialización, por ejemplo, conseguir que el niño, inmaduro y dependiente, se convierta en un adulto autónomo y competente, así como que consiga internalizar los valores sociales; (ii) las prácticas parentales más específicas para ayudar a que los hijos alcancen esas metas; y (iii) el estilo parental, también identificado como clima emocional, dentro del cual se produce la socialización llevada a cabo por los padres. Es importante señalar que el estilo parental representa una característica o atributo global de los padres que altera la eficacia de los esfuerzos de socialización mediante la moderación de la eficacia de determinadas prácticas modificando la apertura del hijo a la socialización. Es decir, las actuaciones específicas de los padres (i.e., prácticas parentales) no se producen de manera aislada, sino que se integran en un nivel más general, que es el clima emocional o estilo parental (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; García & Gracia, 2009; García et al., 2015). Por ejemplo, Darling y Steinberg (1993) ofrecen la siguiente definición de estilo parental:

«The model we offer defines parenting style as a constellation of attitudes toward the child that are communicated to the child and that, taken together, create an emotional climate in which the parent's behaviors are expressed. These behaviors include both the specific, goal-directed behaviors through which parents perform their parental duties (to be referred to as parenting practices) and non-goal-directed parental behaviors, such as gestures, changes in tone of voice, or the spontaneous expression of emotion». (p. 488).

En las diferentes formas de conceptualizar cómo los padres influyen sobre los hijos para que éstos consigan los objetivos de la socialización y puedan tener un desarrollo óptimo, se ha señalado una tensión histórica entre los investigadores interesados en las actuaciones más específicas de los padres (i.e., prácticas parentales) y aquellos interesados en características más globales (i.e., estilos parentales). Suele identificarse la confluencia de dos teorías que

pretenden explicar la influencia de los padres en el desarrollo del niño: la conductista (“Behaviourism”) y la psicoanalítica (“Freudian theory”) (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Maccoby, 1992; Maccoby & Martin, 1983). En líneas generales, mientras que los teóricos conductistas consideraban que el niño era una suerte de tabula rasa (salvo por algunos reflejos innatos y por estados fisiológicos como hambre y sed), los teóricos del psicoanálisis entendían que los niños abordaban su primera infancia equipados por un conjunto de impulsos primitivos que necesitaban ser canalizados de manera socialmente adecuada. Sin embargo, para ambas corrientes, es a través de los padres la forma en que la cultura y los valores sociales son transmitidos por unos adultos (i.e., padres) a las nuevas generaciones (i.e., hijos).

Los teóricos conductistas estaban especialmente interesados en cómo el patrón de refuerzo en el ambiente más cercano al niño moldeaba su desarrollo. La socialización del hijo, argumentaban, se regía por los principios comunes a cualquier proceso de aprendizaje: los padres actuaban como maestros y los hijos como aprendices. Los padres, principales responsables de la tarea de enseñanza, debían guiar el aprendizaje de sus hijos por medio de recompensas y castigos para fortalecer (reforzar) aquellas conductas socialmente deseables y eliminar (extinguir) las no deseables. Asimismo, los padres también debían establecer las contingencias adecuadas a fin de facilitar que los hijos fuesen capaces de discriminar entre aquellas situaciones en las que un comportamiento determinado es correcto, y aquellas situaciones en que no lo es. Aunque los principios del aprendizaje eran considerados invariantes por edad, cuanto más joven era el aprendiz (i.e., el hijo) mayor era el rango de conductas que debía aprender. Los teóricos del psicoanálisis, por el contrario, argumentaban que los determinantes básicos del desarrollo del hijo eran esencialmente biológicos (con dos fuerzas intrapsíquicas, la sexualidad o libido y la agresión) y que, inevitablemente, se encontraban en claro conflicto con las demandas de los padres y con los requisitos sociales. Las diferencias individuales en el desarrollo del niño venían marcadas por la interacción entre las necesidades libidinales del niño y la actuación de los padres. La teoría era dinámica porque prestaba especial atención a los estados emocionales de los niños (ira o amor) más que a los detalles del comportamiento. El desarrollo del niño era considerado especialmente plástico en los primeros años de vida,

seguía unas etapas definidas evolutivamente y se encontraba muy ligado a las primeras experiencias en el hogar familiar. Para una socialización exitosa, argumentaban los teóricos psicoanalíticos, los padres debían imponer restricciones y limitaciones a la libre expresión de los deseos e impulsos de los niños.

En la aproximación teórica y empírica de los investigadores de la socialización parental, considerando una perspectiva histórica, Darling y Steinberg (1993) señalan que, tanto desde la orientación más psicoanalítica como desde la perspectiva más conductista o vinculada a los teóricos del aprendizaje, se reconocía e identificaba un nivel más específico, que incluía conductas de los padres (prácticas), y otro más general, que incluía las actitudes hacia los hijos (estilos). El grado de interés y análisis conceptual y empírico de cada uno de estos niveles, sin embargo, era diferente.

Los investigadores que trabajaron desde una perspectiva psicodinámica, siguiendo los postulados de las posiciones analíticas, creían que las diferencias individuales en desarrollo psicosexual, psicosocial y de la personalidad de los niños podían deberse a la relación emocional que mantenían con sus padres (Erikson, 1943; Freud, 1933). Es decir, las actitudes (i.e., clima familiar o relación emocional) eran las que daban forma tanto a las prácticas más generales como a los comportamientos más sutiles. Sin embargo, este enfoque teórico estaba asociado a una dificultad empírica, que era la manera de medir esas actitudes. Aunque el comportamiento de los padres estuviera determinado o causado por sus actitudes, la expresión de las mismas tenía lugar a través del comportamiento; empíricamente la única manera de estudiar esas actitudes era midiendo las conductas de los padres (Orlansky, 1949; Schaefer, 1959; Sears, 1943; Symonds, 1939).

Los investigadores más vinculados a la orientación psicoanalítica encontraron una alternativa para estudiar empíricamente los procesos emocionales implícitos en el proceso de socialización parental: añadir el comportamiento en lo que Schaefer (1959) denominó como nivel molar. De esta manera, era posible una agrupación de las prácticas parentales en categorías más amplias en base a su efecto modificador del clima emocional de la familia (Schaefer, 1959; Schaefer, 1965). Entre otros atributos molares, se identificó deferencia, afiliación, cuidado, retención, dominio, agresión, rechazo, y disciplina

caprichosa (e.g., Schaefer, 1959). Cabe señalar la propuesta teórica de Schaefer (1959) que utiliza dos dimensiones (amor/hostilidad y autonomía/control) para organizar actitudes y prácticas (véase Figura 1).

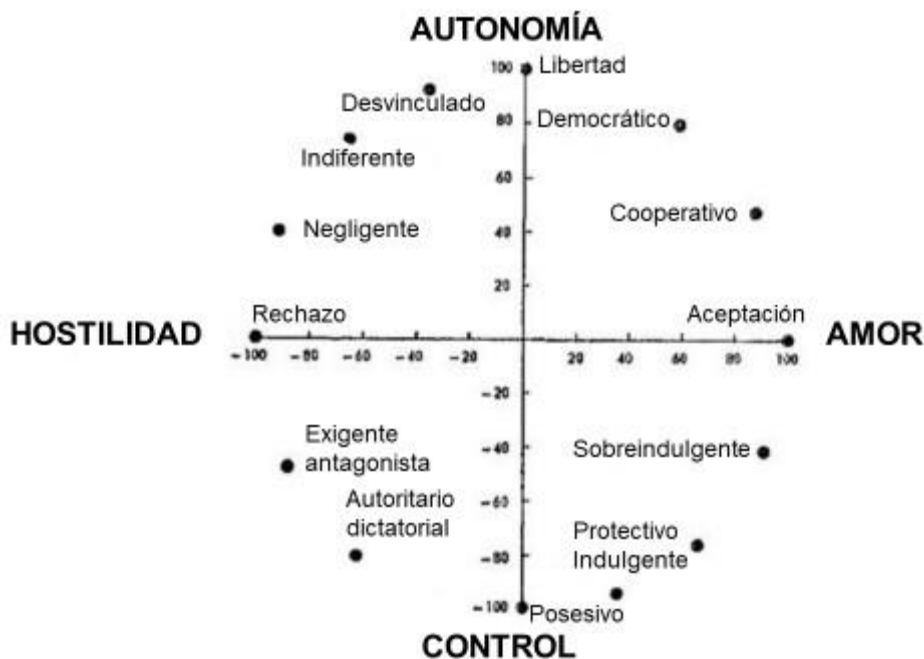


Figura 1. Modelo teórico de Schaefer sobre los ejes amor/hostilidad y autonomía/control. Traducido de Schaefer (1959, p. 232).

Los investigadores de aproximaciones conductistas y del aprendizaje social pensaban que las diferencias en el desarrollo de los niños reflejaban las diferencias en el ambiente de aprendizaje al que habían estado expuestos (Sears, Maccoby, & Levin, 1957; Whiting & Child, 1953). El foco de interés estaba en conocer los patrones de conducta de los padres. El análisis factorial se utilizaba también para identificar el control como un atributo de comportamiento subyacente a un patrón de correlaciones entre prácticas como castigo físico,

establecimiento de reglas o sanciones cuando se transgreden normas. El estilo parental se entendía más una suerte de radiografía que resumía los resultados de los análisis factoriales, pero sin que el estilo fuese examinado como una entidad en sí misma de la manera en que lo estudiaban los investigadores de orientación más psicoanalítica.

En síntesis, aunque los primeros investigadores diferían en la explicación teórica de si los padres conseguían el desarrollo de sus hijos por el control (Watson, 1928) o por el cuidado (Freud, 1933), en los modelos de socialización aparece un denominador común: la socialización parental es capturada a través de dos grandes dimensiones que, con diferentes etiquetas según autores, comparten, en esencia, un mismo significado: Symonds (1939) identificó aceptación/rechazo y dominio/sumisión; Baldwin (1955) calor emocional/hostilidad e indiferencia/compromiso; Schaefer (1959) amor/hostilidad y autonomía/control; Sears, MacCoby y Levin (1957) calor y permisividad/inflexibilidad y Becker (1964) calor/hostilidad y restricción/permisividad.

A partir de los años sesenta y setenta, los trabajos de Diana Baumrind, del Instituto de Desarrollo Humano de la Universidad de California (Barkelys, California, Estados Unidos), representaron una contribución decisiva para el avance del conocimiento. Baumrind explicaba que, para el éxito en la socialización, los padres tenían que conseguir que el hijo se adaptase a las demandas y normas sociales, aunque, al mismo tiempo, debían ayudarle a conservar un sentido de individualidad personal. El modelo teórico tripartito de Baumrind (véase Figura 2) permitía distinguir tres tipos de padres: los autoritarios (caracterizados por el uso del control, pero no del afecto), los permisivos (que no utilizaban el control) y los autorizativos (quienes, además del control, utilizaban el afecto). Sus investigaciones examinaron la influencia que las variaciones en los patrones normativos de autoridad parental tenían sobre el desarrollo del niño (Baumrind, 1966; Baumrind & Black, 1967; Baumrind, 1967; Baumrind, 1968; Baumrind, 1971). Los resultados mostraban que los hijos de padres autorizativos (afecto y control), en comparación con los hijos de padres autoritarios (control pero no afecto) y permisivos (sin control), presentaban los mejores índices de desarrollo y ajuste. Sin embargo, al extender el estudio de la socialización más allá de familias europeas-americanas Baumrind (1972) encontró que, en

familias afroamericanas, el estilo autoritario de los padres proporcionaba beneficios para el desarrollo infantil de asertividad e independencia.

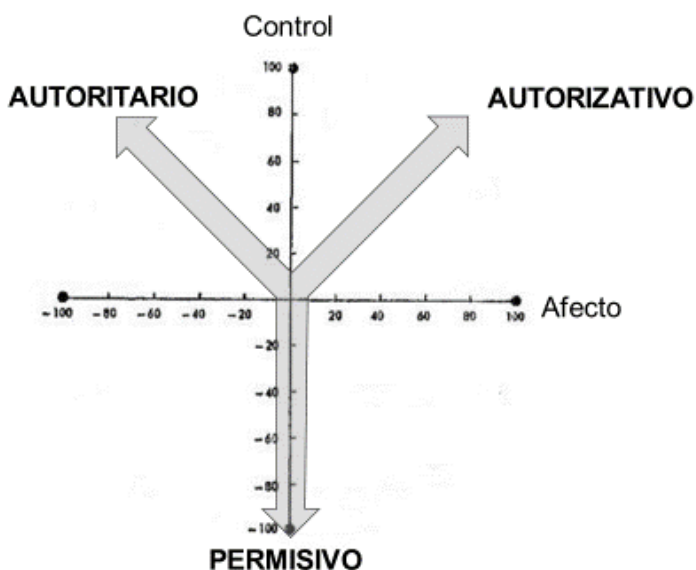


Figura 2. Modelo teórico “Y” propuesto por Baumrind (1967; 1971).
Elaboración propia.

Lewis (1981) realizó una fuerte crítica a los hallazgos de Baumrind argumentando que eran contradictorios con un conjunto acumulado de resultados teóricos y empíricos en el área de la atribución. Lewis planteó cómo era posible que un fuerte control externo como el utilizado por los padres autoritativos facilitase que sus hijos internalizasen los valores sociales cuando, según la teoría de la atribución, los controles externos fuertes pueden socavar o, al menos, dificultar el proceso de internalización. Lewis reinterpretó los mecanismos y procesos que podrían explicar los resultados de Baumrind de acuerdo a la teoría de la atribución; la clave podría estar no tanto en el alto control característico de las familias autoritativas

como en la comunicación abierta y bidireccional entre padres e hijos (componente de afecto). Como respuesta, también en la misma publicación que Lewis, *Psychological Bulletin*, Baumrind (1983) argumentó que, como mostraban los resultados empíricos, junto con la comunicación abierta y directa (afecto), el componente de control que define el estilo autorizativo también era necesario para asegurar el éxito evolutivo de los hijos. El control de los padres autorizativos, argumentó Baumrind, era diferente del de los padres autoritarios y favorecía la internalización de los valores sociales en los hijos de familias autorizativas.

Con sus limitaciones, el modelo tripartito de Baumrind era una herramienta útil para el estudio de la socialización parental. A principios de 1980, este modelo era muy popular y utilizado por los investigadores del desarrollo infantil porque, como heurístico, permitía estudiar la socialización a partir de tres grandes categorías que, a su vez, era posible relacionarlas consistentemente con las variaciones observadas en el desarrollo de los hijos. Sin embargo, otra propuesta teórica (véase Figura 3), el modelo de dos dimensiones teóricamente ortogonales y cuatro estilos parentales, permitió avances y mejoras respecto del modelo tripartito (Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

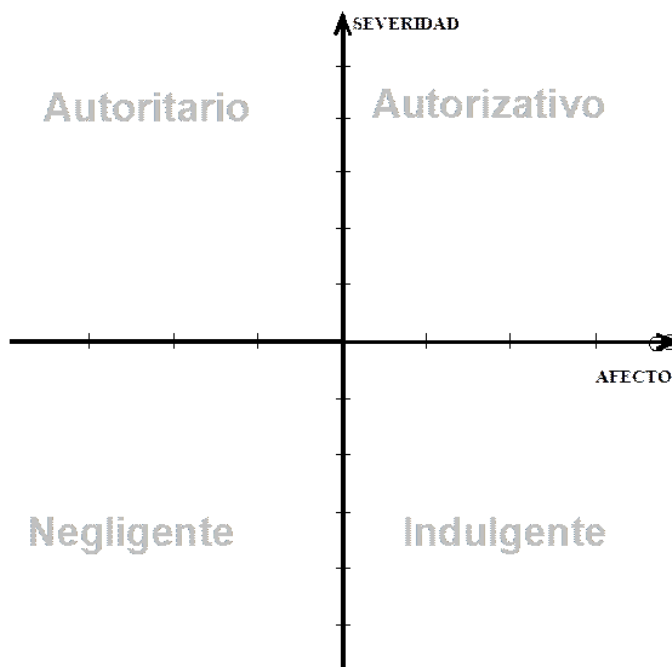


Figura 3. Modelo de la socialización parental con dos dimensiones teóricamente ortogonales y cuatro tipologías (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Adaptado de García y otros (2015, p. 25).

Muchas de las investigaciones que examinan el impacto de la socialización parental sobre el desarrollo de los hijos siguen un modelo de cuatro tipos tipologías. Este modelo cuatripartito surgió de un prestigioso e influyente trabajo publicado por Maccoby y Martin (1983) en un manual de gran éxito en los ochenta, *Handbook of Child Psychology*. Ellos revisaron el modelo tripartito inicial de Baumrind (1967, 1971) de tres estilos (autorizativo, autoritario y permisivo), que seguía un enfoque categorial para definir esos estilos, y propusieron un nuevo modelo definiendo las tipologías de padres a partir de dos dimensiones teóricamente ortogonales: Afecto (“responsiveness”) y severidad (“demandingness”). Cabe destacar que, a pesar de las variaciones en las etiquetas utilizadas por los autores para referirse a estas dos dimensiones de la socialización, su operacionalización es bastante similar. Así lo señala Steinberg (2005): “Responsiveness was

often operationalized using measures of parental warmth and acceptance, while demandingness came to be defined with respect to parental firmness" (p. 71). Los cuatro estilos parentales se definen a partir del análisis conjunto de ambas dimensiones: los padres autoritarios se caracterizan por el bajo afecto y la alta severidad; los padres autoritativos son altos en afecto y severidad; los padres negligentes, bajos en afecto y severidad; y los padres indulgentes se caracterizan por ser altos en afecto y bajos en severidad (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Martínez et al., 2019; Martínez, Cruise, Garcia, & Murgui, 2017; Steinberg, 2005).

Teóricamente, tanto el modelo tripartito "Y" (Baumrind, 1967; 1971) como el modelo de cuatro estilos (Maccoby & Martin, 1983) distinguen dos tipos de padres que tienen en común la alta severidad: los autoritativos (alto afecto) de los autoritarios (bajo afecto). Sin embargo, las variaciones en afecto entre padres que tiene de baja severidad son ignoradas por el modelo tripartito "Y" (Baumrind, 1967; 1971), con una agrupación de categoría única (i.e., padres permisivos). En cambio, el modelo de cuatro tipologías define los estilos a partir de dimensiones teóricamente ortogonales, es decir, independientes, permitiendo diferenciar, dentro de los padres de baja severidad, los indulgentes (alto afecto) de los negligentes (bajo afecto). El principal avance del modelo de cuatro estilos respecto de su predecesor tripartito es resumido así por García y Gracia (2009):

"This two-dimension four-typology model of parenting was an important advance with respect to Baumrind's initial tripartite model in the sense that it divided the original "permissive" category in two, differentiating theoretically between neglectful and indulgent according to degree of responsiveness (warmth), in the same way as the distinction is drawn between authoritarian and authoritative according to degree of demandingness (strictness)" (p. 18).

Baumrind también termina por utilizar el modelo de cuatro tipologías definidas a partir de dos dimensiones (Baumrind, 1991a; Baumrind, 1991b). El modelo de tres estilos, definidos por categorías en vez de por dimensiones, sin embargo, no desaparece de la investigación; surgen nuevas medidas para este enfoque tripartito como la de Buri en los noventa (1991), cuestionario que, utilizando ítems para los tres tipos de padres (i.e., autoritarios, autoritativos y permisivos), clasifica a los hijos en aquellas familias donde obtienen la puntuación más alta; y, hasta el día hoy, algunos investigadores

continúan utilizando este enfoque categorial tripartito (e.g., Shenaar-Golan & Goldberg, 2019). Sin embargo, también Baumrind (1991a) utiliza una conceptualización de las dos dimensiones de la socialización parental (i.e., afecto y severidad) muy similar a la de otros autores:

Demandingness refers to the claims parents make on the child to become integrated into the family whole by their maturity demands, supervision, disciplinary efforts and willingness to confront the child who disobeys. Responsiveness refers to actions which intentionally foster individuality, self-regulation and self-assertion by being attuned, supportive and acquiescent to the child's special needs and demands. (p. 748).

A principios de la década de 1990, el modelo de cuatro tipologías (Maccoby & Martin, 1983) fue validado por Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, y Dornbusch (1991). Para ello utilizaron una muestra muy amplia, de cerca de 10.000 estudiantes de los Estados Unidos. Aunque el modelo cuatripartito distingue teóricamente los padres de baja severidad que son indulgentes (alto afecto) de los negligentes (bajo afecto), estos investigadores pudieron examinar explícitamente si, dentro de los padres permisivos del modelo tripartito, el hecho de que los padres fueran fríos y distantes con sus hijos como los autoritarios (i.e., "permisividad negligente"), o por el contrario, estuvieran involucrados y cercanos emocionalmente como los padres autorizativos (es decir, "permisividad indulgente") implicaba también diferencias en el desarrollo psicosocial. Los resultados confirmaron relaciones distintas de cada uno de los cuatro estilos (en vez de los tres del modelo tripartito) con las variaciones en el desarrollo psicosocial y un estudio de seguimiento confirmó que esas relaciones se mantenían en el tiempo un año después (Steinberg et al., 1994). Con el modelo teórico de cuatro estilos empíricamente validado, el foco de interés pasó a estar en examinar el desarrollo de niños y adolescentes de diferentes contextos étnicos y culturales a fin identificar el estilo parental óptimo.

Los estudios realizados en los Estados Unidos, fundamentalmente con muestras de la clase media europeo-americanas, identifican el estilo autorizativo (afecto y severidad) como el estilo parental óptimo para favorecer que el hijo consiga los mejores índices de ajuste y desarrollo (Pinquart & Gerke, 2019; Steinberg, Elmen, & Mounts, 1989; Steinberg et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994). Los hijos de

familias autorizativas, en comparación con sus iguales de familias autoritarias (severidad sin afecto), indulgentes (afecto sin severidad) y negligentes (ni afecto ni severidad), tienen una menor probabilidad de consumir alcohol, muestran un buen rendimiento en la escuela, y desarrollan una buena autoestima y seguridad en sí mismos. Por otra parte, el estilo negligente (sin afecto ni severidad) es identificado de manera constantemente como la tipología parental asociada a las puntuaciones más bajas en desarrollo psicosocial. Los otros dos estilos parentales, el autoritario y el indulgente, se ubican en una posición intermedia entre el negligente (el peor) y el autorizativo (el mejor). Los hijos de padres autoritarios muestran obediencia y conformidad hacia las normas (tienen un rendimiento relativamente bueno en la escuela y tienden a rechazar la participación en conductas desviadas) aunque no tienen seguridad en sí mismos y tienden a desarrollar malestar somático. Los adolescentes de padres indulgentes tienen una fuerte confianza en sí mismos, pero tienden a meterse en problemas en la escuela o al consumo de drogas (Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994).

Sin embargo, estudios en diferentes países, contextos étnicos, socioeconómicos y culturales no siempre confirman los resultados encontrados fundamentalmente en familias europeo-americanas acerca del impacto positivo en el desarrollo asociado al estilo autorizativo (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Pinquart, 2017; Pinquart & Kauser, 2018; Pinquart & Gerke, 2019). Por un lado, existe evidencia procedente de estudios en contextos culturales anglosajones con minorías étnicas, así como las investigaciones transculturales realizadas en otros contextos culturales, que muestran que no siempre el componente de afecto (común en padres indulgentes y autorizativos) es necesario para promover el desarrollo de los hijos. Investigaciones en los Estados Unidos con minorías étnicas como afroamericanos (Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 1996), chinos-americanos (Chao, 2001), o hispanoamericanos (Zayas & Solari, 1994), estudios multiétnicos (Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992), así investigaciones con familias árabes (Dwairy et al., 2006), han encontrado beneficios asociados a un estilo parental autoritario (severidad sin afecto).

Por otro lado, un conjunto creciente de estudios, principalmente realizados en países europeos y latinoamericanos, muestran que el estilo parental indulgente (afecto sin severidad) se asocia con amplios

beneficios en el desarrollo psicosocial. Para el éxito de socialización parental, el componente crucial podría estar en el afecto, mientras que la severidad podría no ser necesaria e incluso perjudicial: los hijos de familias indulgentes (afecto sin severidad) obtienen iguales o incluso mejores resultados psicosociales que sus iguales de familias autoritativas (afecto y severidad), mientras que las puntuaciones más bajas corresponden a los hijos de las familias de bajo afecto (autoritarias y negligentes). El estilo indulgente se relaciona con un ajuste y competencia igual, o incluso mejor, que el autoritativo en varios criterios clave para el éxito psicosocial de los hijos como autoconcepto, prioridad por los valores sociales, autoestima, competencia personal, rendimiento académico, y protección frente a problemas de conducta y uso de sustancias (Calafat, Garcia, Juan, Becoña, & Fernández-Hermida, 2014; Fuentes, Alarcón, Gracia, & Garcia, 2015; Martínez & Garcia, 2007; Musitu & Garcia, 2004). Nuevos trabajos han extendido la evidencia empírica acerca de los beneficios del estilo indulgente a otros criterios como empatía ambiental, conectividad con la naturaleza y aprendizaje autorregulado (Fuentes, García-Ros, Pérez-González, & Sancerni, 2019; Musitu-Ferrer, León-Moreno, Callejas-Jerónimo, Esteban-Ibáñez, & Musitu-Ochoa, 2019), y también ha sido identificado como factor de protección frente a peligros y amenazas como consumo de alcohol y otras drogas o la victimización tradicional y el ciberacoso (Martínez, Murgui, Garcia, & Garcia, 2019; Riquelme, Garcia, & Serra, 2018).

Para explicar los resultados discrepantes acerca de la forma idónea para socializar a los hijos se ha formulado la hipótesis cultural: la relación entre los estilos parentales y las diferencias en ajuste y competencia psicosocial podría variar en función del contexto cultural donde tiene lugar la socialización llevada a cabo por los padres (para una revisión detallada, véase Garcia & Gracia, 2009; Martínez & Garcia, 2007, 2008; Pinquart & Kauser, 2018).

Los constructos culturales colectivismo e individualismo (vertical y horizontal) se utilizan para explicar que los mismos estilos parentales tengan un impacto diferente según el contexto cultural (Garcia & Gracia, 2009; Martínez & Garcia, 2007; Triandis, 2001). El colectivismo influye en una percepción del yo como parte de un colectivo (e.g., la familia), bien sea aceptando una relación de igualdad o desigualdad; el individualismo, en que la percepción del yo

sea como individuo autónomo del grupo, pudiendo ser mayor o menor el énfasis en relaciones igualitarias. Mientras en Estados Unidos, país caracterizado por una cultura individual-vertical, los valores culturales resaltan la independencia del individuo y su sentido de identidad frente al colectivo, en algunos países asiáticos, con una cultura caracterizada como colectiva-vertical, tanto padres como hijos podrían percibir la disciplina rígida y firme como legítima y beneficiosa, forma de disciplina que, además, podría ayudar a fomentar la armonía familiar. Por otro lado, algunos países de América Latina como México o Brasil, o del Sur de Europa como España o Italia, tienen una cultura caracterizada como colectiva-horizontal. En estos contextos culturales, las familias tienden a promover relaciones más igualitarias entre sus miembros, basadas en el uso del afecto y del diálogo.

En algunos estudios recientes se ha examinado, a la vez, en varios países, el impacto de estilos parentales sobre el desarrollo psicosocial de los hijos tomando los mismos indicadores de ajuste y competencia. Calafat y otros (2014) estudiaron el impacto de la socialización parental en una muestra de más de siete mil adolescentes de seis países Europeos: Suecia, Reino Unido, España, Portugal, Eslovenia y la República Checa. Los resultados sobre la idoneidad del estilo parental fueron idénticos en todos los países: el estilo indulgente (afecto sin severidad) se asoció consistentemente con los resultados óptimos. Los adolescentes de familias indulgentes obtuvieron igual (menos consumo de drogas y problemas personales) o incluso mejor competencia y ajuste (más autoestima y rendimiento académico) que sus iguales de hogares autoritativos (los peores resultados correspondieron a los hijos de familias autoritarias y negligentes).

Más recientemente, Garcia, Serra, Garcia, Martinez y Cruise, (2019) han propuesto un nuevo paradigma que sirve para explicar las variaciones en la idoneidad de los estilos parentales y que fue examinado y puesto a prueba en cuatro países (i.e., España, Estados Unidos, Alemania y Brasil) con adolescentes y sus familias. Este trabajo propone un nuevo paradigma en la socialización óptima con un tercer estadio (i.e., estilo parental indulgente), que amplía el paradigma tradicional de dos estadios (i.e., estilos parentales autoritario y autoritativo). Cabe destacar que los tres estadios de la socialización pueden ocurrir, a la vez, en ambientes, contextos y culturas diferentes. Tradicionalmente, la literatura ha identificado dos

estadios históricos en la socialización parental óptima. En el primer estadio (i.e., estilo autoritario), pasado el ecuador de la primera mitad del siglo XX, John B. Watson (1928) invitaba a los padres evitar muestras superfluas de afecto e insistía en recomendar el uso de severidad, con la imposición de hábitos regulares, siguiendo un estilo parental autoritario. En el segundo estadio (i.e., estilo autorizativo), para las sociedades industrializadas contemporáneas, Laurence Steinberg (2001) señalaba la idoneidad del afecto junto con la imposición parental para que los jóvenes pudieran alcanzar las mayores cotas de bienestar y desarrollo. La nueva evidencia aportada por la actual investigación emergente en la era digital, sin embargo, sugiere serias dudas sobre si el componente de severidad e imposición del estilo autorizativo todavía es necesario para el bienestar personal y social de los adolescentes. En este tercer estadio emergente en la sociedad digital (i.e. estilo indulgente), se propone la necesidad de considerar un tercer estadio para la socialización óptima. Además, este tercer estadio de la socialización puede ocurrir, al mismo tiempo, en diferentes países y contextos culturales. Para poner a prueba el tercer estadio en la sociedad digital se examinó el estilo parental óptimo (i.e., indulgente, autorizativo, autoritario o negligente) en España, Estados Unidos, Alemania y Brasil, tomándose los mismos criterios de bienestar personal y social: autoestima e internalización de valores sociales de autotranscendencia y conservación. En los cuatro países estudiados se encontró que la socialización parental óptima se encontraba en el tercer estadio (i.e., estilo parental indulgente).

La presente tesis doctoral

En esta tesis doctoral se presentan tres estudios empíricos que abordan temas que son objeto de análisis y debate en la literatura. Para estudiar la socialización parental en España a lo largo del ciclo vital se examina el impacto que ésta tiene no solamente sobre el desarrollo en la adolescencia (como en muchas investigaciones) sino su influencia, además, sobre el desarrollo en la vida adulta (en los tres estudios se incluye hijos adultos): en el Estudio 1, adolescentes y adultos mayores; en el Estudio 2, jóvenes adultos; y en el Estudio 3, adolescentes y adultos de tres grupos de edad (jóvenes, mediana edad y mayores). Asimismo, en los tres estudios se captura la socialización

parental a través del modelo bidimensional de cuatro tipologías (Maccoby & Martin, 1983), a fin de identificar el estilo parental óptimo (i.e., indulgente, autorizativo, autoritario o negligente) relacionado con los mejores criterios de competencia y ajuste en el desarrollo adolescente y adulto (véase Figura 4). El análisis del impacto de la socialización parental sobre el desarrollo a lo largo del Ciclo Vital requiere considerar dos cuestiones fundamentales: la primera, hasta qué punto pueden realmente los padres influir en el curso del desarrollo; y la segunda, qué cambia y qué permanece en la socialización parental y el desarrollo.

Comenzamos con la primera de las cuestiones. La socialización es un proceso iniciado por los adultos (i.e., padres) que permite que los hijos, desde que vienen al mundo (bebés) hasta que se alcanza la edad adulta, puedan conseguir las máximas cotas de desarrollo psicosocial. Ese desarrollo se explica, entre otras razones, por la plasticidad intraindividual (grado de maleabilidad intrapersonal); el curso que toma el desarrollo de un individuo (e.g., hijo) puede adoptar muchas formas en función de sus condiciones de vida y de sus experiencias. A lo largo de todo el proceso de socialización, y especialmente al principio, la plasticidad que condiciona el desarrollo del hijo es muy alta. Los hijos se convierten en lo que son en interacción recíproca con el medio social, y el medio social crucial para los niños muy pequeños es la familia (considerada como primer agente de socialización). Junto con otros agentes (e.g., escuela, iguales, medios de comunicación), es capital el papel de los padres, encargados de acoger, cuidar y socializar al niño, y que limitarán o ampliarán de manera importante su potencial cognitivo, afectivo, social, académico o personal.

¿Pero hasta qué punto los padres pueden alterar y modificar el desarrollo del niño? Esta cuestión forma parte de uno de los interrogantes clásicos que se abordan en el estudio del desarrollo humano: “Would the same individual develop differently if conditions were different?” (Baltes, 1987, p. 617-618). No todos los investigadores han considerado que las posibles variaciones de las condiciones familiares produjesen diferencias relevantes en el desarrollo del individuo (e.g., hijo). Scarr (1992) realizó una controvertida crítica: la familia tenía un papel muy secundario en el desarrollo normativo. Para Scarr, que un hijo fuese socializado por unos padres, en vez de serlo por otros, produciría pocas diferencias en

su desarrollo. Solamente cuando los padres estaban fuera de un rango normal (e.g., familias disfuncionales), el impacto en el desarrollo era decisivo; un ambiente familiar normal (con todas sus posibles variaciones) conducía a un desarrollo normal (y, por tanto, de poco interés para la investigación).

La réplica, un año después, también en esta misma revista, *Child Development*, fue realizada por Baumrind (1993), quien criticó especialmente que Scarr no definiese ni operacionalizase el ambiente familiar promedio (“average expectable environment”). Por otro lado, Baumrind argumentó que las grandes diferencias observadas en el desarrollo psicosocial no sólo se deben a una única fuente de influencia como puede ser la familia, sino que en el desarrollo de niños y adolescentes entran en juego múltiples condicionantes de tipo social, genético o cultural. Sin embargo, la contribución de los padres permite explicar de manera consistente (aunque su peso estadístico pueda ser pequeño) diferencias en una amplia variedad de criterios del desarrollo (y no solamente en variables aisladas). Baumrind, también en ese mismo trabajo, revisó evidencia teórica y empírica sobre el papel crucial de los padres en las grandes áreas como el desarrollo cognitivo, social (incluyendo la empatía y la interiorización de valores) o de la personalidad, abordando incluso el impacto específico de los padres sobre el desarrollo de niños vulnerables.

La segunda de las cuestiones es qué cambia y qué permanece en socialización parental y el desarrollo. La ciencia evolutiva se ocupa de examinar, en el desarrollo humano, la constancia y el cambio, la continuidad y la discontinuidad (Baltes, 1987; Brim & Kagan, 1980; Rutter & Rutter, 1993). A lo largo de la socialización parental se producen cambios importantes en el propio hijo en las áreas social, emocional, cognitiva o de la personalidad, pero también la propia socialización de los padres experimenta variaciones en la frecuencia de las prácticas, observándose una disminución de aquellas relacionadas con la severidad y la imposición a medida que el hijo va creciendo (Steinberg, 2001). Sin embargo, a pesar de estas variaciones, ¿existe una continuidad en la relación entre la socialización parental con las diferencias en competencia y ajuste observadas en el desarrollo de los hijos? Como se ha comentado anteriormente, esta cuestión es examinada habitualmente a través de

estudios longitudinales en los que se hace un seguimiento de los hijos y de las familias a lo largo del tiempo (Steinberg et al., 1994).

Una de las propuestas más ambiciosas para estudiar cómo cambian los hijos a medida que se hacen mayores, pero también cómo varían las prácticas de los padres, fue el *Family Socialization and Developmental Competence Project (FSP)*, llevado a cabo por el Instituto de Desarrollo Humano de la Universidad de California (Baumrind, 1991a). Los participantes fueron familias caucásicas, de clase media, que vivían en una tranquila zona residencial de San Francisco East Bay, en California (Estados Unidos). Los hijos habían nacido a mediados de los años sesenta y los padres en la década de 1930. Al comienzo del estudio (T1) los niños tenían 4 años, y volvieron a ser evaluados dos veces más, a la edad de 10 años (T2) y cuando cumplieron los 15 años (T3). Los resultados mostraron que, más allá de las variaciones normativas en niños y adolescentes relacionadas con el paso del tiempo, los estilos parentales y los criterios de ajuste y competencia muestran una relación teórica consistente: el estilo parental óptimo fue el mismo en los tres momentos de medida.

Como hemos visto, en general, mientras se está produciendo el proceso de socialización parental, la literatura recoge e identifica variaciones evolutivas que afectan a los hijos en su desarrollo, y también variaciones en la frecuencia de las prácticas parentales; pero las consecuencias psicosociales (positivas o negativas) de los estilos parentales se mantienen constantes. Los investigadores han prestado menos atención a lo que sucede cuando finaliza la socialización parental, una vez el hijo alcanza la edad adulta; la evidencia empírica acerca del impacto de los estilos parentales sobre el desarrollo adulto es limitada.

En contraste con lo que sucede en socialización parental, la evolución a lo largo de la vida (i.e., variaciones y similitudes) de la inteligencia (Baltes, 1987), la conducta antisocial (Moffitt, 1993), la personalidad (Costa, McCrae, & Lockenhoff, 2019) o el apego (Weinfield, Sroufe, & Egeland, 2000) ha sido y es objeto de análisis para investigadores de diferentes campos. Quizá este último sea de los temas que más atención y debate han generado, con modelos teóricos para estudiar los estilos de apego en adultos (e.g., Barthomew & Horowitz, 1991) e investigaciones en las que se examina el apego

desde la infancia hasta la vida adulta, con el objetivo de identificar patrones de estabilidad y de cambio (e.g., Weinfield et al., 2000). La estabilidad del apego se ha argumentado siguiendo las ideas de teóricos que señalan que las primeras experiencias podrían ser clave. Para Bowlby los modelos internos de trabajo deberían volverse más resistentes al cambio con el paso del tiempo, dado un entorno estable, aunque tampoco concluyó que otras experiencias posteriores no pudiesen cambiar y modificar esos modelos internos, lo que también podría explicar los patrones de cambio.

La socialización parental presenta como rasgo característico que los esfuerzos, actuaciones y correcciones socializadoras de los padres no continúan en la vida adulta, aunque muchos de sus efectos y consecuencias podrían condicionar el desarrollo adulto. Se estudia lo que hacen los padres para entender lo que les pasa a los hijos. La evidencia empírica acerca del impacto a largo plazo de la socialización parental, aunque limitada, parece sugerir que, a pesar de las múltiples influencias que afectan y moldean el desarrollo adulto, las diferencias en ajuste y competencia de los hijos presentan un patrón teóricamente consistente y predecible por el estilo parental en el que fueron socializados (e.g., Aquilino & Supple, 2001).

Una vez examinadas estas dos cuestiones clave en el análisis de la socialización parental y su impacto más allá de la adolescencia, aspecto común a las tres investigaciones empíricas de la presente tesis, analizaremos puntos particulares tratados en cada uno de los estudios.

En el Estudio 1 se analiza el impacto de la socialización parental en una muestra de adolescentes y adultos mayores españoles (véase Figura 4). La idea central es comprobar la ortogonalidad e invarianza para sexo y edad (adolescentes y adultos) de las medidas parentales de afecto e imposición. En la literatura previa apenas se ha comprobado que las medidas de la socialización parental sean homogéneas y comparables, es decir, que el significado de las prácticas parentales y su organización en torno a los dos ejes, afecto y severidad, signa un mismo patrón y estructura. Para ello son claves los análisis de invarianza para sexo y edad previos a los análisis del estilo parental óptimo. Por otro lado, además, es importante considerar si las medidas parentales de afecto y severidad se ajustan al requisito previo de ortogonalidad teórica (i.e., constructos independientes o no relacionados). También, antes de examinar la relación entre estilos

parentales y consecuencias de la socialización, se hace un análisis de la ortogonalidad de las medidas.

En los siguientes estudios se examina el impacto de la socialización parental sobre hijos que, en su adolescencia, presentaron diferente ajuste a los estándares sociales y escolares: en el Estudio 2 hijos con y sin tendencia antisocial, y en el Estudio 3 hijos con rendimiento académico bajo, medio y alto. La adolescencia es un periodo del desarrollo clave para entender el funcionamiento durante la vida adulta.

La adolescencia, generalmente descrita como un periodo de dificultad (para el hijo, pero también para sus padres), es objeto de análisis por parte de los investigadores. Se define como el período evolutivo en el que la condición psicológica y social del niño cambia a la de adulto. No es común a todos los contextos culturales, sino propios de aquellos entornos que, sin ritos de paso que permitan definir el cambio de estatus de niño por el de adulto, disponen de un largo período de transición entre la pubertad y la adultez conocido como adolescencia. Esta transición incluye cambios importantes en la posición del adolescente en relación con los demás, con una orientación hacia sus iguales; una negociación entre dos realidades, la literal y segura de la infancia, y la compleja e indeterminada propia del mundo adulto; y nuevos derechos y obligaciones dentro de la familia, la escuela y la sociedad en su conjunto. Aunque la adolescencia finaliza para todos los adolescentes, el progreso evolutivo psicosocialmente saludable hacia la adultez no está garantizado para todos ellos (Baumrind, 1991b).

En el Estudio 2 se utiliza una muestra de jóvenes adultos que, durante su adolescencia, presentaron una tendencia antisocial, para poder comparar su ajuste y competencia con la de sus iguales, también jóvenes adultos, pero sin tendencia antisocial en la adolescencia (véase Figura 4). La idea central es analizar si el impacto de los estilos parentales sobre el desarrollo en la juventud adulta es igual o diferente en hijos con o sin tendencia antisocial durante su adolescencia. De acuerdo con la hipótesis de *la tormenta y el estrés*, basada fundamentalmente de estudios clínicos tradicionales, la crisis de identidad o el proceso de individuación de los adolescentes suele implicar un cierto grado de incomodidad, perturbación y provocación hacia los padres, pero está justificado porque los adolescentes tienen

que asumir sus propios estándares para convertirse en adultos sanos y liberados de la dependencia de la familia (Steinberg, 2001). Por tanto, es clave examinar si las consecuencias de los de los estilos parentales pueden ser diferentes cuando el hijo presenta una tendencia antisocial, así como conocer si la tendencia antisocial durante la adolescencia puede implicar un desajuste y falta de competencia en el desarrollo durante la juventud adulta o, por el contrario, como sugiere la hipótesis de *la tormenta y el estrés*, ser parte de un proceso normativo, sin consecuencias negativas.

En el Estudio 3 (véase Figura 4), se utiliza una muestra que atraviesa la adolescencia y la adultez. En el Estudio 3, por tanto, se aborda el impacto de la socialización parental a lo largo del Ciclo Vital, mientras se está produciendo la socialización (en la adolescencia) y una vez ésta ha finalizado (juventud, mediana edad y vejez). La idea central es examinar, a la vez, el estilo parental óptimo en adolescentes y adultos (jóvenes, mediana edad y mayores) considerando, además, el rendimiento académico en la adolescencia, etapa en la que se han descrito variaciones, con una disminución en los primeros años de la secundaria en atributos clave como compromiso académico, autoconcepto, motivación intrínseca o interés por la escuela.

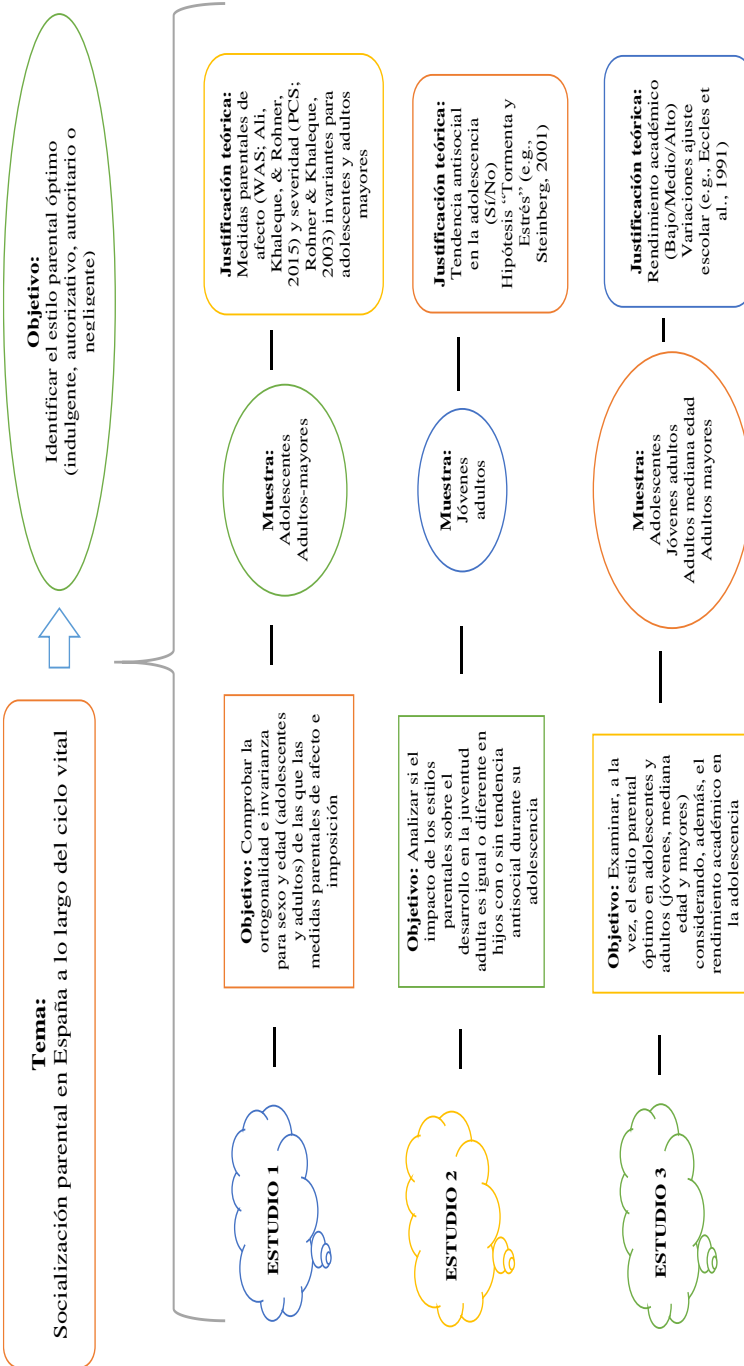


Figura 4 Esquema de los tres estudios de la tesis

Objetivos generales

Los objetivos generales de esta tesis son (i) examinar qué estilo parental (i.e., autorizativo, indulgente, autoritario o negligente) se relaciona con el mejor patrón de ajuste y competencia psicosocial, así como con los menores problemas y dificultades, en hijos adolescentes y adultos (jóvenes, mediana edad, y mayores), y (ii) analizar si el impacto (positivo o negativo) del estilo de socialización parental permanece a lo largo de la vida adulta.

Cabe señalar que, aunque el objetivo central de la socialización es conseguir que el niño se convierta en un adulto competente, existe limitada evidencia empírica acerca del impacto de la socialización parental más allá de la adolescencia. Aunque la socialización parental finaliza para todos los adolescentes, poco se sabe acerca de si todos ellos alcanzan los objetivos básicos de la socialización cuando llegan a la vida adulta. La socialización es generalmente definida como el conjunto de procesos que hacen que el niño pueda convertirse en un adulto competente y con un adecuado funcionamiento social. Sin embargo, pocos estudios han examinado si la competencia y ajuste psicosocial de los hijos en la edad adulta muestra un patrón teóricamente predecible y consistente en función del tipo de padres (i.e., autorizativo, indulgente, autoritario o negligente) que tuvieron durante su periodo de socialización, y de estas pocas investigaciones, la mayoría se han centrado en jóvenes adultos socializados en familias europeas-americanas de clase media de los Estados Unidos (e.g., (Aquilino & Supple, 2001).

Objetivos específicos

A partir de los objetivos generales, se plantean los siguientes objetivos específicos.

Objetivo específico 1

- A. Examinar la ortogonalidad subyacente a las medidas de las dimensiones de afecto y severidad.
- B. Analizar mediante análisis factoriales confirmatorios (CFA) la invarianza factorial las medidas de las dimensiones de afecto e imposición para edad y sexo.

- C. Examinar las relaciones entre los cuatro estilos parentales (i.e., autorizativo, indulgente, autoritario o negligente) y los resultados de la socialización a corto y largo plazo en **adolescentes y adultos mayores**.

En el **Estudio 1** se plantea los objetivos específicos arriba mencionados.

Garcia, O. F., Serra, E., Zacaes, J. J., & Garcia, F. (2018).

Parenting styles and short- and long-term socialization outcomes: A study among Spanish adolescents and older adults. *Psychosocial Intervention*, 27, 153-161.
doi:10.5093/pi2018a21 (Impact factor 2018 = **2.614**; 28/137; **Q1**, Psychology, Multidisciplinary; Times cited in WOS September 2019: **21**).

En el Estudio 1, como resultados de la socialización se utilizaron los mismos criterios tanto para adolescentes como para adultos mayores: autoestima e internalización de valores sociales. El Estudio 1 trata cuestiones débilmente abordadas en la literatura. Pocas investigaciones han examinado la influencia de la familia sobre los resultados de la socialización más allá de la adolescencia. En concreto, de los pocos estudios disponibles, se han utilizado diferentes criterios para examinar los resultados de la socialización en hijos adolescentes y adultos mayores, y generalmente no se utiliza un enfoque de estilos parentales, que necesita asegurar primero que las medidas utilizadas cumplen con el requisito teórico de ortogonalidad de las dimensiones de afecto e imposición (Stafford, Kuh, Gale, Mishra, & Richards, 2016). Además, la mayoría de los estudios previos no aseguran la comparación entre muestras de diferentes generaciones ni entre hombres y mujeres a través de un análisis de invarianza adecuado.

Objetivo específico 2

- A. Examinar el impacto de la socialización parental a largo plazo (i.e., indulgente, autorizativo, autoritario y negligente) en la competencia y ajuste de **jóvenes adultos** con y sin tendencia antisocial durante su adolescencia.
- B. Comprobar si los jóvenes adultos con mayor competencia y ajuste son aquellos que no mostraron una tendencia antisocial durante su adolescencia.

En el **Estudio 2** se plantea los objetivos específicos arriba mencionados.

Garcia, O. F., Lopez-Fernandez, O., & Serra, E. (2018). Raising Spanish children with an antisocial tendency: Do we know what the optimal parenting style is?. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. doi:10.1177/0886260518818426 (Impact factor 2018 = **3.064**; 5/46; **Q1**, Family Studies; Times cited in WOS September 2019: **9**).

En el Estudio 2, la competencia y el ajuste de los hijos se examinó a través de la autoestima (académica/profesional y familiar), el desarrollo psicosocial (autocompetencia y empatía) y el bajo desajuste emocional (nerviosismo y hostilidad). Asimismo, se examinan algunas cuestiones polémicas en la literatura sobre socialización parental y desarrollo. Los resultados previos sobre cómo la tendencia antisocial podría afectar al desarrollo de los hijos sugieren que las prácticas parentales podrían mejorar o exacerbar la conducta antisocial de los hijos. Sin embargo, la mayoría de estos estudios provienen de estudios clínicos más que de muestras comunitarias, y no ofrecen evidencia clara (e.g., Buchanan-Pascall, Gray, Gordon, & Melvin, 2018).

Además, en la literatura se asume ampliamente que los hijos con una tendencia antisocial muestran consistentemente una competencia psicológica más pobre y un peor ajuste; las autoridades públicas han conceptualizado esta cuestión como una pandemia que constituye un problema comunitario. Sin embargo, en general los estudios han analizado la tendencia antisocial de los adolescentes como un criterio más de ajuste en el estudio de la socialización parental, pero no como un factor de riesgo pandémico que puede minar la salud psicosocial de los adolescentes en el camino hacia una adultez sana. Como sugiere la teoría de la conducta antisocial limitada a la adolescencia (Moffitt, 1993), un gran número de jóvenes son antisociales sólo durante la adolescencia, lo que pone en duda si este grupo con una tendencia antisocial tendrá alguna dificultad psicosocial en el futuro, o si sólo están manifestando una conducta antisocial normativa adolescente de *tormenta y estrés* (Steinberg, 2001).

Objetivo específico 3

- A. Examinar los correlatos de los estilos parentales autoritativo, indulgente, autoritario y negligente con los resultados de socialización a corto y largo plazo en **adolescentes** y adultos (**jóvenes**, de **mediana edad** y **adultos mayores**), con y sin bajo rendimiento escolar durante la adolescencia.
- B. Analizar si el rendimiento académico durante la adolescencia influye en los resultados de la socialización.

En el **Estudio 3** se plantea los objetivos específicos arriba mencionados.

Garcia, O. F., & Serra, E. (2019). Raising children with poor school performance: Parenting styles and short- and long-term consequences for adolescent and adult development. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 16, 1-24. doi:10.3390/ijerph16071089 (Impact factor 2018 = **2.648**; 38/162; **Q1**, Public, Environmental & Occupational Health; Times cited in WOS September 2019: **8**).

En el Estudio 3, como resultados de la socialización se utilizaron los mismos criterios para adolescentes y adultos (jóvenes, de mediana edad y adultos mayores): autoestima multidimensional (académica/profesional, emocional y familiar), madurez psicológica (autocompetencia, competencia social y empatía) y desajuste emocional (nerviosismo, inestabilidad emocional y hostilidad). A pesar de que los teóricos del desarrollo enfatizan el impacto clave de las experiencias tempranas sobre el desarrollo más allá de la adolescencia (e.g., Barthomew & Horowitz, 1991), poco se sabe sobre la asociación entre la socialización parental y los resultados psicológicos y conductuales en la edad adulta. Por otro lado, se ha señalado la gran relevancia del rendimiento académico y del ajuste escolar como factor relacionado positivamente con el desarrollo personal y social, habiéndose descrito la adolescencia como un periodo evolutivo asociado a un descenso en la competencia académica (Eccles et al., 1993). Se reconoce que los hijos con bajo rendimiento escolar tienen más probabilidades de tener una peor competencia psicológica y un ajuste constantemente más bajo, por lo que es relevante analizar si la eficacia de las estrategias parentales

(i.e., estilos) es similar o diferente en función del rendimiento escolar del hijo durante su adolescencia. En este sentido, otros estudios previos han analizado el impacto de la socialización parental en varias circunstancias como la socialización de hijos en barrios pobres (Gracia, Fuentes, Garcia, & Lila, 2012) o incluso de hijos que son delincuentes juveniles (Steinberg, Blatt-Eisengart, & Cauffman, 2006).

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Capítulo II

Estudio 1– Parenting styles and short- and long-term socialization outcomes: A study among Spanish adolescents and older adults

Primer Artículo

O. F., Garcia, Serra, E., Zacaes, J. J., & Garcia, F. (2018). Parenting styles and short- and long-term socialization outcomes: A study among Spanish adolescents and older adults. Garcia, *Psychosocial Intervention*, 27, 153-161. doi:10.5093/pi2018a21

Abstract

In this study, the association between parenting styles and short- and long-term socialization outcomes was analyzed using a two-dimensional model of four types of parenting styles. The socialization outcomes analyzed were self-esteem and internalization of social values. Participants were a sample of Spanish adolescents ($n = 571$) and older adults ($n = 527$). Results showed that both adolescents and older adults from indulgent families reported equal or even higher self-esteem than those from authoritative households, whereas those

from neglectful and authoritarian homes were consistently associated with the lowest levels of self-esteem. Regarding internalization of social values, adolescents and older adults raised in indulgent and authoritative families prioritized self-transcendence values (universalism and benevolence) and conservation values (security, conformity, and tradition) as compared to those from authoritarian and neglectful homes, whereas those from neglectful and authoritarian families showed lower scores in all internalization of social values measures. These results suggest that the combination of high levels of parental warmth and involvement and low levels of strictness and imposition (i.e., indulgent parenting style) is an optimum parenting strategy in the cultural context where the study was conducted, and that the link between parenting styles and socialization outcomes share a common short- and long- term pattern.

Keywords: Parenting styles, Parental warmth, Parental strictness, Indulgent parenting, Authoritative parenting.

Resumen

En este estudio se analizaron los estilos parentales de socialización familiar y sus resultados a corto y largo plazo aplicando el modelo de dos dimensiones y cuatro tipologías de socialización. Los resultados de la socialización parental analizados en los hijos fueron la autoestima y la internalización de los valores sociales. Los participantes fueron adolescentes ($n = 571$) y adultos mayores ($n = 527$) españoles. Los resultados indicaron que tanto los adolescentes como los adultos mayores de las familias indulgentes mostraron igual e incluso mayor autoestima que los de las familias autoritativas, mientras que los de las familias autoritarias y negligentes se asociaban de manera consistente a los niveles de autoestima más bajos. Respecto a la internalización de los valores sociales, los adolescentes y adultos mayores de familias indulgentes y autoritativas priorizaron los valores de autotranscendencia (universalismo y benevolencia) y conservación (seguridad, conformidad y tradición) en comparación con los de hogares autoritarios y negligentes y los de las familias negligentes y autoritarias mostraron puntuaciones más bajas en todas las medidas de internalización de valores sociales. Estos resultados sugieren que la combinación de altos niveles de aceptación e implicación, junto con

bajos niveles de severidad e imposición (el estilo parental indulgente), constituye la estrategia parental óptima en el contexto cultural donde se ha realizado el estudio y que la relación entre los estilos parentales y los resultados de la socialización comparten un mismo patrón a corto y largo plazo

Palabras clave: Estilos parentales, Aceptación parental, Severidad parental, Estilo parental indulgente, Estilo parental autorizativo.

Introduction

Research has traditionally captured parenting styles using two dimensions: parental warmth and parental strictness (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Smetana, 1995; Steinberg, 2005). The parental warmth dimension refers to the extent to which parents show their affection and support for their children (mirroring other traditional labels such as responsiveness, involvement, or implication). The parental strictness dimension reflects the extent to which parents impose standards for their children's conduct (mirroring other traditional labels such as demandingness, domination, hostility, inflexibility, control, restriction, or parental firmness) (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; García & Gracia, 2009; Steinberg, 2005; Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Based on these two dimensions, four parenting styles have been identified: authoritative (warmth and strictness), authoritarian (strictness without warmth), indulgent (warmth without strictness), and neglectful (neither warmth nor strictness) (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; García & Gracia, 2009; Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1991; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Smetana, 1995; Steinberg, 2005).

Numerous studies have repeatedly observed that authoritative parenting (warmth and strictness) represents the highest parent-child relationship quality, as it has been associated with optimum developmental outcomes for children and adolescents from middle-class European-American families (e.g., Baumrind, 1971; Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts, & Dornbusch, 1994). The positive influence of this parenting style has been considered to expand even beyond adolescence, as some studies have associated authoritative parenting in childhood with positive functioning in late adulthood (e.g., Rothrauff, Cooney, & An, 2009; Stafford et al.,

2015). From this perspective, warmth and strictness (which characterize the authoritative parenting style) are considered to be critical for the optimal development of children and adolescents (Baumrind, 1983; Kerr & Stattin, 2000; Lewis, 1981; Stattin & Kerr, 2000). Warmth would provide emotional support (acceptance, involvement, and support) and strictness would provide clear guidelines and behavioral limits to their children behavior (Baumrind, 1971; Steinberg, 2001). In fact, these and other studies conducted in countries with a variety of cultural values led Steinberg (2001) to consider that the benefits of authoritative parenting transcended the boundaries of ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and household composition (García & Gracia 2009).

Is the Optimum Parenting Style always Authoritative?

As García and Gracia (2009, 2014) noted, the available evidence does not support the idea that the optimum parenting style is always authoritative. A growing body of research is consistently questioning the view that an authoritative parenting style is always associated with positive developmental outcomes in children across all ethnicities, environments, and cultural contexts (Baumrind, 1972; Chao, 1994; Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 1996; Dwairy & Achoui, 2006; García & Gracia, 2009, 2014; Gracia, Fuentes, García, & Lila, 2012; Lund & Scheffels, 2018; Martínez & García, 2007, 2008; Valente, Cogo-Moreira, & Sanchez, 2017; Wang & Phinney, 1998; White & Schnurr, 2012; Wolfradt, Hempel, & Miles, 2003). Different but related lines of argument have been suggested to explain the conflicting evidence questioning the universal optimal quality of the authoritative parenting style.

From the perspective of the Person-Environment Fit model, following the ideas of the ecology of human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1986), studies have suggested that people fit better and are more satisfied in environments that share their attitudes, values, and experiences. As poor ethnic minority families are more likely to live in dangerous communities, authoritarian parenting may not be as harmful, and it may even have some protective benefits in hazardous contexts (Furstenberg, Cook, Eccles, Elder, & Sameroff, 1999). For example, authoritarian child-rearing practices in African

American communities are associated with caring, love, respect, protection, and the benefit of the child (e.g., Randolph, 1995). In an environment where the consequences of disobeying parental rules may be serious and harmful to the self and others, an authoritarian parenting style might even be as functional as other parenting styles (Clark, Yang, McClernon, & Fuemmeler, 2015; Deater-Deckard et al., 1996). Parenting and its consequences are also context-dependent, as they can be influenced by neighborhood characteristics and processes (Bowen, Bowen, & Cook, 2000; Brody et al., 2003; Gracia & Herrero, 2006; Gracia, López-Quílez, Marco & Lila, 2017; Gracia et al., 2012; Leventhal, & Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Lila & Gracia, 2005; Simons et al., 2002).

The macro-social concepts of individualism and collectivism (vertical and horizontal) have also been called upon to explain differences observed in the association between parenting styles and children's outcomes (e.g., Rudy & Grusec, 2001, 2006; Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk, & Gelfand, 1995). On the one hand, studies in collectivist cultures, such as Asian and Arab societies, show that children understand the individual self as part of the family self. In these societies, relationships between generations are expected to be vertical and hierarchical, assuming strictness and imposition as a main part of parental responsibility. Strict authoritarian discipline is perceived as beneficial for the children, and its absence would be regarded as a lack of supervision and care (Dwairy & Achoui, 2006; Grusec, Rudy, & Martini, 1997).

On the other hand, studies carried out mainly in Spain and Brazil, suggest that in horizontal collectivist cultures the self is also conceptualized as part of a broad group (the family) but, unlike hierarchical cultures, the group is organized in an egalitarian way, rather than on a hierarchical basis (García & Gracia, 2009; Martínez & García, 2007, 2008; White & Schnurr, 2012). Horizontal collectivist cultures emphasize egalitarian relations, and more attention is placed on the use of affection, acceptance, and involvement in children's socialization. Additionally, in these cultures, strictness and firm control in the socialization practices seem to be perceived in a negative way (García & Gracia, 2009; Gracia & Herrero, 2008; Martínez & García, 2007; Martínez, Murgui, García, & García, 2019; Rudy & Grusec, 2001). In this regard, emergent research conducted in

these cultural contexts questions whether the parental strictness and imposition component of the authoritative parenting style is actually needed for optimal parenting, suggesting that an indulgent parenting style could be as optimum, or even more, than the authoritative parenting style (Calafat, García, Juan, Becoña, & Fernández-Hermida, 2014; García & Gracia, 2009; Lund & Scheffels, 2018; see García & Gracia, 2014; Pinquart & Kauser, 2018, for reviews).

Furthermore, recent evidence suggests that also in traditional vertical individualist societies (e.g., Great Britain) and horizontal individualist societies (e.g., Sweden), strictness practices do not seem to be effective, and high levels of reasoning, parental affection, acceptance, and involvement appear to be sufficient for an effective socialization (e.g., Calafat et al., 2014; García & Gracia, 2009; Lund & Scheffels, 2018). Without the authoritative component of high levels of strictness, also in these societies the indulgent parenting style would emerge as an optimal one. A study conducted with a large sample of adolescents from different European countries (Sweden, Slovenia, Czech Republic, UK, Spain, and Portugal) found that, regardless of the country, both the authoritative and the indulgent parenting style were equally protective against drug use. However, the indulgent parenting style performed better than the authoritative parenting style in terms of self-esteem and school performance, even in samples from two prototypical individualist countries in Northern Europe (e.g., UK and Sweden) (see Calafat et al., 2014; Lund & Scheffels, 2018). Furthermore, analyzing the influence of parenting beyond the adolescence, a recent study with samples from the UK found that high parental care was positively related to well-being, self-esteem, and social competence, regardless of the level of strictness, with a common short- and long- term pattern (from adolescence to early older age) (Stafford, Kuh, Gale, Mishra, & Richards, 2016). This emergent body of research suggest that the parental dimension key for optimal socialization outcomes is parental warmth, and that the parental strictness dimension of parenting appears not to be beneficial, but even harmful (García & Gracia, 2009; Grusec, Danyliuk, Kil, & O'Neill, 2017).

The Present Study

This study aims to examine the relationship between parenting styles and short- and long-term socialization outcomes among adolescents and older adults in Spain (Martínez & García, 2007, 2008; White & Schnurr, 2012). Two socialization outcomes will be analyzed: self-esteem and internalization of social values. Both outcomes are central objectives of parental socialization (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). Self-esteem has been one of the traditional positive socialization outcomes analyzed in parenting studies (e.g., Rudy & Grusec, 2006) and is considered as a key indicator of personal adjustment and well-being (Klein, 2017; Meléndez-Moral, Fortuna-Terrero, Sales-Galán, & Mayordomo-Rodríguez, 2015; Musitu, Jimenez, Murgui, 2007; Riquelme, García, & Serra, 2018; Veiga, García, Reeve, Wentzel, & García, 2015). The internalization of social values is another important socialization outcome (Grusec et al., 2017; Grusec et al., 1997; Rudy & Grusec, 2001). Internalization of values, defined as “taking over the values and attitudes of society as one’s own so that socially acceptable behavior is motivated not by anticipation of external consequences but by intrinsic or internal factors” (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994, p. 4), has been established as a key indicator of successful socialization that fosters empathy and consideration for others, and is important for adult development (e.g., Baumrind, 1983; Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Fung, 2013; Hoffman, 1970; Lewis, 1981; Sortheix & Schwartz, 2017; Williams, Ciarrochi, & Heaven, 2015).

In this study we will also examine the link between parenting styles and short- and long-term socialization outcomes. Limited work has analyzed parenting influences on socialization outcomes beyond adolescence (Rothrauff et al., 2009; Stafford et al., 2015; Stafford et al., 2016). Moreover, the few studies available have used different outcomes for adolescents and for older people (Stafford et al., 2016), and they generally do not use a parenting styles approach, that needs to ensure first the orthogonality between the warmth and strictness dimensions (Stafford et al., 2015; Stafford et al., 2016). Furthermore, these studies do not ensure the comparability between samples from different generations (García, Gracia, & Zeleznova, 2013; García, Musitu, Riquelme, & Riquelme, 2011; Martínez, Cruise, García, &

Murgui, 2017; Rothrauff et al., 2009; Stafford et al., 2015; Stafford et al., 2016), or between men and women (Martínez & García, 2007, 2008) through proper invariance analysis. Thus, in this study before examining the relationships between the four parenting styles and short- and long-term socialization outcomes (self-esteem and internalization of values) among adolescents and older adults, we will (1) examine the underlying orthogonality between the dimensions of warmth and strictness, as this is a core assumption to ensure the internal validity of the two-dimensional, four-style parenting models: authoritative, indulgent, authoritarian, and neglectful; and (2) we will conduct confirmatory factor analyses (CFA), to examine the factorial invariance of the warmth and strictness dimensions across age and gender groups. After the comparability across age and gender groups is ensured we aim to ascertain which parenting style is associated with better short- and long-term outcomes. Based on the above literature review we expect that high levels of parental warmth (present in both the authoritative and indulgent parenting styles) will be associated with better socialization outcomes (self-esteem and internalization of values) both in the short- (among adolescents) and long-term (among older adults).

Method

Participants

Participants were a sample of high school adolescent students (aged 12 to 17 years old) and a sample of older adults recruited from senior citizen centers (aged 60 to 75 years old) from a large metropolitan area in Spain with about one million inhabitants. A random selection of high schools and senior citizen centers was conducted from the complete list of high schools and senior citizen centers. If a school or senior citizen center declined to participate, another school or senior citizen center was randomly selected until completing the sample. This random sampling approach assures that every unit in the population (i.e., adolescents from high schools, and older adults from senior citizen centers) has the same probability of being selected (see Calafat et al., 2014; Fuentes, García, Gracia, & Lila, 2011; García & Gracia, 2010; Martínez, Fuentes, García, & Madrid, 2013). An a priori

power analysis determined a minimum sample size of 1,104 observations to detect a power of .95 ($\alpha = .050$, $1 - \beta = .95$) for a small-medium effect size ($f = 0.125$; estimated from ANOVAs of Lamborn et al., 1991) in a univariate F-test among four parenting style groups (Calafat et al., 2014; García & Gracia, 2009; Gracia, García, & Musitu, 1995; Pérez, Navarro, & Llobell, 1999).

The research protocol was approved by the research ethics committee of the Program for the Promotion of Scientific Research, Technological Development, and Innovation of the Valencian Community, which supported this research. To obtain the planned sample size, we contacted the directors of high schools and senior citizen centers, and they were invited to participate in the investigation (only a director of one senior citizen center chose not to participate). We required parental consent for adolescent participants and personal consent for older adult participants. Anonymity of responses was guaranteed for all participants. All participants in this study (96% response rate): (1) were Spanish, as were their parents and the four grandparents, (2) were adolescent students aged 12 to 17 years old or older adults aged 60 to 75 years old, (3) had received their parents' approval if they were underage (i.e., adolescent participants), and (4) attended the designated classroom or room where the research was conducted. At the end of the sampling process, there were 1,098 participants, 571 adolescents, 323 girls (56.6%) and 248 boys from 7th through 12th grades and ranging in age from 12 to 17 ($M = 15.14$, $SD = 1.9$ years), and 527 older adults, 313 females (59.4%) and 214 males, ranging in age from 60 to 75 ($M = 66.05$, $SD = 4.5$ years).

Measures

Parenting styles. Warmth was measured using 13 items from the Warmth/Affection Scale for mothers (or primary female caregivers) (WAS; Ali, Khaleque, & Rohner, 2015). The WAS measures the extent to which adolescents perceive their mothers as loving, responsive, and involved (e.g., "Lets me know she loves me" and "Makes me feel proud when I do well"). For the older adults' sample, items were adapted to measure to what degree they had perceived their mothers as loving, responsive, and involved during their adolescence (e.g., "Let me know that she loved me" and "Made me feel proud when I was doing well"). Cronbach's alpha value for this

scale was .935. Strictness was measured using 6 items from the Parental Control Scale for mothers (or primary female caregivers) (PCS; Calafat et al., 2014; García & Gracia, 2009; Rohner & Khaleque, 2003). The PCS measures the extent to which the adolescents perceive strict maternal control over their behavior (e.g., “Is always telling me how I should behave” and “Likes to tell me what to do all the time”). For the older adults’ sample, items were adapted again to measure to what degree they had perceived strict maternal control during their adolescence (e.g., “Was always telling me how to behave” and “Liked to tell me what to do all the time”). Cronbach’s alpha value for this scale was .859. On both parenting scales, adolescents and older adults rated all the items with the same 4-point scale (1 = almost never true, 4 = almost always true).

Four parenting styles (authoritative, indulgent, authoritarian, and neglectful) were defined by dichotomizing the sample on parental warmth and parental strictness and examining the two parenting variables simultaneously (Steinberg et al., 1994). Authoritative families were those who scored above the 50th percentile on both warmth and strictness, whereas neglectful families scored below the 50th percentile on both variables. Authoritarian families scored above the 50th percentile on strictness, but below the 50th percentile on warmth. Indulgent families scored above the 50th percentile on warmth, but below the 50th percentile on strictness.

Self-esteem. Self-esteem was measured with the multidimensional Self-concept Questionnaire Form 5 (AF5; García & Musitu, 1999) and with the Rosenberg’s (1965) Self-esteem Scale. The AF5 was designed to measure five self-esteem dimensions: academic (e.g., “I am a hard worker [good student]”), social (e.g., “I make friends easily”), emotional (e.g., reverse scored, “I am afraid of some things”), family (e.g., reverse scored, “I receive a lot of criticism at home”), and physical (e.g., “I take good care of my physical health”). The 30 items are answered on a 99-point scale, ranging from 1 = complete disagreement, to 99 = complete agreement. Both exploratory (García & Musitu, 1999) and confirmatory (García et al., 2013; García et al., 2011; Murgui, García, García, & García, 2012) factorial analyses confirmed the factor structure of the AF5 scales. Full factorial invariance across sex and age was confirmed, and no method effects were associated with negatively worded items (García et al.,

2011). The AF5 has been validated in several languages (e.g., the English version, García et al., 2013), and the AF5 scales have been used in numerous studies to analyze self-esteem and other related constructs (e.g., Fuentes et al., 2011). Cronbach's alphas for the AF5 subscales were: academic, .856, social, .754, emotional, .744, family, .786, and physical, .787. The scale by Rosenberg (1965) is a self-report measure of global self-esteem. It consists of 10 statements related to overall feelings of self-worth or self-acceptance (e.g., 'I feel that I have a number of good qualities'). Items were measured on a 4-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 4 = strongly agree). Cronbach's alpha value for this scale was .841.

Internalization of social values. Self-transcendence and conservation values were measured with 27 items from the Schwartz (1992) Value Inventory (Martínez & García, 2007, 2008; Sortheix & Schwartz, 2017). Self-transcendence values included universalism (e.g., "wisdom [a mature understanding of life]") and benevolence (e.g., "helpful [working for the welfare of others]"), and conservation values included tradition (e.g., "respect for tradition [protection of customs instituted for a long time]"), conformity (e.g., "respectful [showing consideration and honor]"), and security (e.g., "family security [taking care of loved ones]"). Participants rated all items with a 99-point rating scale coded from 1 (opposed to my values) to 99 (of supreme importance). Modifications were made to obtain a score index ranging from .1 to 9.99. Cronbach's alphas for the subscales were: universalism, .822; benevolence, .750; security, .579; conformity, .710; and tradition, .563. These reliability indices were within the range of variation commonly observed for these value types (e.g., Martínez & García, 2007, 2008; Sortheix & Schwartz, 2017).

Plan of Analysis

We first compared the fit of the two-dimensional orthogonal theoretical model of socialization with two alternative models. First, we tested a one-factor model. This model represented a view of parenting as a one-dimensional construct. Second, we tested the correlated two-factor model. This model specified parenting as a two-dimensional construct where parental warmth and parental strictness are correlated. Third, we tested the theoretical orthogonal two-dimensional model. This model specified parenting as a

twodimensional construct, but as orthogonal (separate) dimensions that underlie parenting. These three alternative models were tested for both age groups (adolescents and older adults) and for both sexes (men and women). Finally, we compared four nested models for the age groups and sex samples. We conducted the following sequence of increasingly restrictive tests of invariance across samples: (a) unconstrained, without any restrictions across parameters, (b) factor pattern coefficients, (c) factor variances and covariances, and (d) equality of the error variances. Overall, chi-square tests of goodness-of-fit models are likely to be significant due to the oversensitivity of the chi-square statistic to the sample size (e.g., Bentler & Bonett, 1980; Cheung & Rensvold, 2002; García, Musitu, & Veiga, 2006). Therefore, other fit indexes were calculated: χ^2/df , a score of 2.00-3.00 or lower is indicative of a good fit; root mean squared error of approximation (RMSEA), values lower than .08 are considered acceptable; normed fit index and comparative fit index, NFI and CFI, whose values must exceed .90; and the information criterion of Akaike, AIC (Akaike information criterion), where the lowest value indicates the highest parsimony (Akaike, 1987) (see García et al., 2006; Gracia et al., 2018).

Finally, to analyze the influence of parenting styles on short- and long-term socialization outcomes, a three-way multifactorial ($4 \times 2 \times 2$) multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was applied to two sets of outcome variables (self-esteem and internalization of values) with parenting styles (authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent, and neglectful), age groups (adolescents vs. older adults), and sex (men vs. women) as independent variables. Follow-up univariate F tests were conducted for the outcome variables that had multivariate significant overall differences, and significant results on the univariate tests were followed up with Bonferroni comparisons of all possible pairs of means.

Results

Invariance across Age and Sex Groups

Fit indexes for the three alternative parenting models across age groups and sex are reported in Table 1. First, we constrained the data

to test their consistency with the one-dimensional model. The results indicated that the statistics failed to meet the conventional standards, showing a poor fit (12-17 years old, RMSEA = .10, CFI = .88, AIC = 691; 60-75 years old, RMSEA = .11, CFI = .87, AIC = 802; men, RMSEA = .10, CFI = .86, AIC = 584; women, RMSEA = .10, CFI = .89, AIC = 768). Second, we constrained the data to test their consistency with the two-dimensional oblique model, obtaining a considerably better fit compared to the one-factor model (12-17 years old, RMSEA = .05, CFI = .97, AIC = 78; 60-75 years old, RMSEA = .05, CFI = .97, AIC = 33; men, RMSEA = .05, CFI = .97, AIC = 26; women, RMSEA = .04, CFI = .98, AIC = 32). Finally, we constrained the data to test their consistency with the theoretical parsimoniously orthogonal model, which did not yield an improved fit compared to the oblique model (12-17 years old, RMSEA = .05, CFI = .97, AIC = 81; 60-75 years old, RMSEA = .05, CFI = .97, AIC = 35; men, RMSEA = .05, CFI = .97, AIC = 25; women, RMSEA = .05, CFI = .98, AIC = 41). Overall, the results of the fit indexes across age and sex groups indicated that the theoretical orthogonal model was supported and resulted in an equal (oblique model) or better fit (one-factor) than the alternative models (one-factor and oblique model).

Multi-group confirmatory factor analyses of invariance across age and sex groups are reported at the end of Table 1. The unconstrained parsimoniously orthogonal model indicated a good fit, suggesting a common factor structure across age groups and sex samples. Constraining the measurement weights yielded non-significant changes in fit across age groups, $|\Delta\text{CFI}| < .01$, RMSEA = .038 overlaps with the previous 95% CI = .035-.042, and sex, $|\Delta\text{CFI}| < .01$, RMSEA = .037 overlaps with the previous 95% CI = .034-.041, suggesting the invariance of the measurement weights across age groups and sex. Constraining structural covariances resulted in no changes in goodness-of-fit across age groups, $|\Delta\text{CFI}| < .01$, RMSEA = .038 overlaps with the previous 95% CI = .035-.041, and sex, $|\Delta\text{CFI}| < .01$, RMSEA = .037 overlaps with the previous 95% CI = .034-.041, indicating that the theoretical orthogonal model was supported and resulted in an equal (oblique model) or better fit (one-factor) than the alternative models (one-factor and oblique model).

Table 1
Confirmatory Factor Analysis and Multi-sample Analysis of Invariance across Age and Sex

Sample	Model	χ^2_{S-B}	df	RMSEA[90% CI]	CFI	Δ CFI	AIC
12-17 years old	(3) Bi-dimensional Orthogonal	385.27	152	.052[.045-.058]	.966	<.01	81.27
	(2) Bi-dimensional Oblique	380.31	151	.052[.045-.058]	.966	.08	78.31
60-75 years old	(1) One-dimensional	994.97	152	.096[.090-.101]	.884		690.97
	(3) Bi-dimensional Orthogonal	339.21	152	.048[.041-.055]	.974	<.01	35.21
	(2) Bi-dimensional Oblique	335.12	151	.048[.041-.055]	.974	.11	33.12
	(1) One-dimensional	1106.09	152	.109[.103-.115]	.866		802.09
Men	(3) Bi-dimensional Orthogonal	329.13	152	.050[.043-.058]	.967	<.01	25.13
	(2) Bi-dimensional Oblique	327.97	151	.050[.043-.058]	.967	.11	25.97
Women	(1) One-dimensional	888.04	152	.102[.096-.109]	.862		584.04
	(3) Bi-dimensional Orthogonal	345.53	152	.045[.038-.051]	.977	<.01	41.53
	(2) Bi-dimensional Oblique	333.80	151	.044[.037-.050]	.979	.09	31.80
	(1) One-dimensional	1071.90	152	.098[.092-.103]	.893		767.90
Age	(A) Unconstrained	796.50	304	.038[.035-.042]	.937		188.50
	(B) Measurement weights	827.93	321	.038[.035-.041]	.935	<.01	185.93
	(C) Structural covariances	831.15	323	.038[.035-.041]	.935	<.01	185.15
	(D) Measurement residuals	863.10	342	.037[.034-.040]	.934	<.01	179.10
Sex	(A) Unconstrained	773.84	304	.038[.034-.041]	.941		165.84
	(B) Measurement weights	790.65	321	.037[.033-.040]	.941	<.01	148.65
	(C) Structural covariances	794.37	323	.036[.033-.040]	.940	<.01	148.37
	(D) Measurement residuals	803.97	342	.037[.034-.040]	.937	<.01	119.97

Note: Satorra-Bentler scaled Chi-square tests statistically significant ($p < .01$). df = degrees of freedom; RMSEA = Root Mean Squared Error of Approximation; CFI = Comparative Fit Index; AIC = Akaike Information Criterion (computed as $\chi^2 - 2df$).

Parenting styles and parental dimensions

Participants (571 adolescents and 527 older adults) were classified into one of four groups (authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent, or neglectful) (Table 2). The authoritative group had 256 participants (23.3%), with high warmth, $M = 49.20$, $SD = 2.26$, and high strictness, $M = 19.53$, $SD = 2.44$; the indulgent group had 299 participants (27.2%), with high warmth, $M = 49.15$, $SD = 2.30$, but low strictness, $M = 12.02$, $SD = 2.72$; the authoritarian group had 297 participants (27.0%), with low warmth, $M = 36.37$, $SD = 6.62$, but high strictness, $M = 19.99$, $SD = 2.59$; and the neglectful group had 246 participants (22.4%), with low warmth, $M = 36.41$, $SD = 7.77$, and low strictness, $M = 12.48$, $SD = 2.62$. No interactions were found when crossing age groups with parenting styles, $\chi^2(3) = 3.67$, $p = .299$, or when crossing sex with parenting styles, $\chi^2(3) = 3.22$, $p = .359$. Additionally, the two parenting dimensions measures, warmth and strictness, were modestly correlated, $r = -.114$, $R^2 = .01$ (1%), $p < .01$. Although the 95% CI (-.172, -.055) did not include zero, the 95% CI proportion of variance (0.03, 0.00) did include zero. Overall, these results show that the measures of warmth and strictness were orthogonal and had an independent sex distribution per age group.

Table 2
 Number of Cases in Parenting Style Groups, and Mean Scores and Standard Deviations on Main Measures of Parental Dimensions

	Total	Indulgent	Authoritative	Authoritarian	Neglectful
Frequency	1098	299	256	297	246
Percent	100.0	27.2	23.3	27.0	22.4
Warmth					
<i>Mean</i>	42.85	49.15	49.20	36.37	36.41
<i>SD</i>	8.30	2.30	2.26	6.62	7.77
Strictness					
<i>Mean</i>	16.03	12.02	19.53	19.99	12.48
<i>SD</i>	4.59	2.72	2.44	2.59	2.62

Multifactorial multivariate analysis of variance

Main effects were found for parenting styles, $\Lambda = .757$, $F(33.0, 3159.0) = 9.504$, $p < .001$, sex, $\Lambda = .850$, $F(11.0, 1072.0) = 17.250$, $p < .001$, and age groups, $\Lambda = .780$, $F(11.0, 1072.0) = 27.438$, $p < .001$. Significant interaction effects were found for sex and age groups (Table 3), $\Lambda = .969$, $F(11.0, 1072.0) = 3.090$, $p < .001$.

Table 3
MANOVA Factorial ($4^a \times 2^b \times 2^c$) for Outcomes Measures of Self-Esteem, and Internalization of Self-Transcendence and Conservation Values

Source of variation	Λ	F	$Gl_{\text{numerator}}$	gl_{error}	p
(A) Parenting Style ^a	.757	9.504	33.0	3159.0	<.001
(B) Sex ^b	.850	17.250	11.0	1072.0	<.001
(C) Age ^c	.780	27.438	11.0	1072.0	<.001
A×B	.963	1.238	33.0	3159.0	.165
A×C	.964	1.213	33.0	3159.0	.188
B×C	.969	3.090	11.0	1072.0	<.001
A×B×C	.970	1.002	33.0	3159.0	.465

Note: ^a a_1 , authoritative, a_2 , indulgent, a_3 , authoritarian, a_4 , neglectful; ^b b_1 , males, b_2 , females; ^c c_1 , 12-17 years old, c_2 , 60-75 years old.

Age and sex effects. With regard to measures of self-esteem (Table 4), adolescents scored higher in social and family self-esteem than older adults. Males also reported higher scores than females on emotional and global self-esteem. Interaction effects of sex and age were found on academic/professional self-esteem, $F(1, 1082) = 6.68$, $p = .010$, and physical self-esteem, $F(1, 1082) = 7.84$, $p = .005$ (Figure 1). On academic/professional self-esteem, older adults scored higher than adolescents, whereas only adolescent girls scored higher than adolescent boys. On physical self-esteem, although female scores were always the lowest, the decrease with age in males was greater than the decrease with age in females

Table 4
Means and (Standard Deviations) of Parenting Style, Age Groups and Sex, and Main Univariate *F* Values for Outcomes Measures of Self-Esteem, and Internalization of Self-Transcendence and Conservation Values

	Parenting style			Age			Sex				
	Autho-ritative	Indul-gent	Autho-ritarian	<i>F</i>	12-17	60-75	<i>F</i>	Fe-male	Sex		
					years	years				(1, 1082)	
Self-Esteem	Academic/Professional	7.33 ¹ (1.70)	7.67 ¹ (1.51)	6.67 ² (1.89)	6.67 (1.82)	6.63 (1.57)	99.32*** (1.74)	7.27 (1.80)	6.95 (1.80)	7.42* (1.80)	
	Social	7.18 ² (1.59)	7.61 ¹ (1.53)	6.94 ² (1.70)	6.90 ² (1.55)	7.42 (1.56)	30.98*** (1.64)	7.19 (1.58)	7.14 (1.67)	.042 (1.67)	
	Emotional	5.42 ² (1.92)	5.85 ¹ (1.91)	5.31 ² (1.87)	5.41 ² (1.99)	5.44 (1.90)	5.57 (1.97)	2.35 (1.85)	5.11 (1.85)	6.04 (1.91)	68.23*** (1.91)
Self-Transcendence	Family	8.22 ² (1.48)	8.78 ¹ (1.04)	6.94 ⁴ (1.87)	7.45 ³ (1.63)	7.96 (1.82)	7.74 (1.54)	5.59* (1.73)	7.90 (1.73)	7.79 (1.65)	0.90 (1.65)
	Physical	6.15 ¹ (1.82)	6.26 ¹ (1.93)	5.47 ² (2.05)	5.68 ² (1.91)	6.24 (2.01)	5.51 (1.83)	43.78*** (1.92)	5.54 (1.92)	6.37 (1.91)	46.52*** (1.91)
	Global	32.55 ¹ (1.29)	32.87 ¹ (1.20)	30.64 ² (1.78)	30.87 ² (1.63)	31.46 (1.48)	32.05 (1.52)	2.89 (1.44)	31.24 (1.44)	32.44 (1.55)	13.61*** (1.55)
Conservation	Universalism	7.99 ¹ (1.22)	8.10 ¹ (1.17)	7.25 ² (1.36)	7.57 ² (1.44)	7.64 (1.47)	7.82 (1.11)	2.79 (1.26)	7.89 (1.26)	7.51 (1.36)	19.32*** (1.36)
	Benevolence	8.38 ¹ (1.22)	8.28 ¹ (1.17)	7.78 ² (1.44)	7.87 ² (1.44)	7.91 (1.47)	18.75*** (1.11)	8.25 (1.26)	7.84 (1.26)	26.75*** (1.36)	
	Security	8.15 ¹ (1.22)	8.15 ¹ (1.33)	7.44 ² (1.44)	7.49 ² (1.46)	7.55 (1.50)	7.93 (1.24)	16.13*** (1.35)	7.86 (1.35)	7.56 (1.43)	12.18*** (1.43)
Tradition	Conformity	8.18 ¹ (1.53)	8.05 ¹ (1.27)	7.50 ² (1.66)	7.60 ² (1.57)	7.60 (1.69)	25.30*** (1.30)	7.99 (1.45)	7.62 (1.45)	15.25*** (1.63)	
	Tradition	6.79 ¹ (1.62)	6.44 ¹ (1.68)	6.06 ² (1.73)	6.07 ² (1.55)	6.01 (1.79)	36.99*** (1.47)	6.45 (1.70)	6.19 (1.64)	7.11* (1.64)	

Note: Bonferroni Test $\alpha = .05$; 1>2, a>b. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

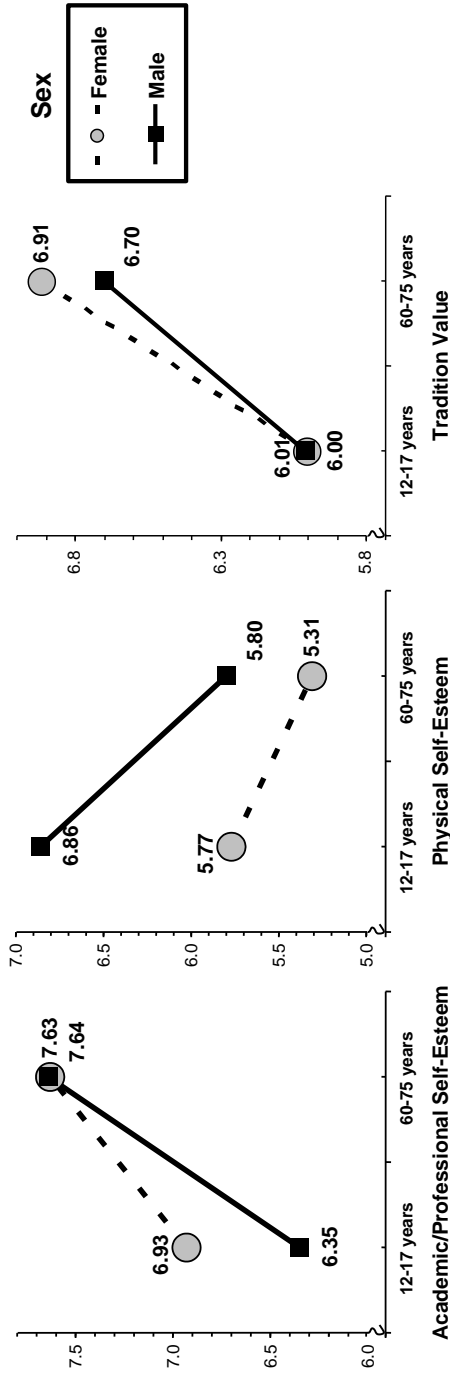


Figure 1. Means of Sex by Age for Academic/Professional Self-Esteem, Physical Self-Esteem, and Tradition value

Regarding the internalization of values, older adults reported the highest scores on benevolence, security, and conformity, and females had the highest scores on universalism, benevolence, security, and conformity. An interaction effect of sex and age was found on the tradition value, $F(1, 1082) = 6.75, p = .010$ (Figure 1). Older adults scored higher than adolescents, but only older female adults scored higher than older male adults.

Parenting styles and self-esteem. Adolescents and older adults with indulgent and authoritative parents reported higher academic/professional, physical, and global self-esteem than those from neglectful and authoritarian families (Table 4). Adolescents and older adults with indulgent parents reported greater social, emotional, and family self-esteem than their counterparts from authoritative, neglectful, and authoritarian families (see Table 4).

Parenting styles and internalization of values. Adolescents and older adults from indulgent and authoritative families gave higher priority to self-transcendence values (universalism and benevolence) and conservation values (security, conformity, and tradition) than those from authoritarian and neglectful homes, whereas those from neglectful and authoritarian families scored lower on all the internalization of values measures (see Table 4).

Discussion

This study analyzed the association between parenting styles and short- and long-term socialization outcomes using a two-dimensional four-typology model of parenting styles in a large sample of Spanish adolescents and older adults. The short- and long-term socialization outcomes analyzed were self-esteem (academic, social, emotional, family, physical, and global) and internalization of social values (self-transcendence and conservation values).

Regarding self-esteem, both adolescents and older adults from indulgent families reported equal or even higher self-esteem than those from authoritative households, whereas those from neglectful and authoritarian homes were consistently associated with the lowest levels of self-esteem. Regarding internalization of social values, adolescents and older adults raised in indulgent and authoritative families prioritized self-transcendence values (universalism and

benevolence) and conservation values (security, conformity, and tradition) as compared to those from authoritarian and neglectful homes, whereas those from neglectful and authoritarian families showed lower scores on all internalization of social values measures. Thus, a main contribution of the present study, is to show that the link between parenting styles and socialization outcomes share a common short- and long- term pattern with respect to self-esteem and internalization of social values. Our results support the idea, suggested by earlier socialization researchers (e.g., Steinberg et al., 1994), that the benefits of an optimal parenting style are either maintained or increased over time (Rothrauff et al., 2009; Stafford et al., 2015; Stafford et al., 2016).

An important implication of this study is that the combination of high levels of parental warmth and involvement, and low levels of strictness and imposition (i.e., the indulgent parenting style) seems to be an optimum parenting strategy in the cultural context where the study was conducted, supporting previous research (Calafat et al., 2014; García & Gracia, 2009, 2010; Gracia et al., 2012; Martínez et al., 2019).

Results regarding the link between parenting styles that share high levels of warmth (i.e., indulgent and authoritative) and the internalization of social values have also interesting implications. The process of internalization of self-transcendence and conservation values involved socially-focused motivations that the findings of this study clearly associated with indulgent and authoritative parenting styles (Martínez & García, 2007, 2008; Sortheix & Schwartz, 2017), emphasizing the positive effects on others of fostering a child's feelings of empathy and consideration for others (Baumrind, 1983; Hoffman, 1970; Lewis, 1981). However, authoritarian and neglectful parenting styles, both lacking the parenting component of warmth and involvement, appear to be linked with lack of empathy and no consideration for others' feelings.

In contrast with research conducted in other cultural contexts, in the present study the indulgent parenting style was associated with the same level of self-esteem (academic/professional, physical, and global self-esteem) or even higher level of self-esteem (social, emotional, and family self-esteem) than the authoritative parenting style. This suggests that in the Spanish and other South European and Latin

American countries (see García & Gracia, 2014, for a review) high strictness does not play a key role for optimal socialization outcomes, as it appears to be the case in other cultural contexts where a high level of strictness (shared by the authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles) has been associated with offspring's adjustment and well-being (Clark et al., 2015; Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Deater-Deckard et al., 1996; Furstenberg et al., 1999). For example, in contexts where the authoritative parenting style has been found to be optimal, high levels of strictness is as important as high levels of parental warmth to foster optimal socialization outcomes (Baumrind, 1971, 1983; Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Lamborn et al., 1991; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Steinberg et al., 1994). The importance of the warmth dimension in our study has also implications for psychosocial interventions addressing parenting, as it is in line with family intervention programs highlighting the importance of positive parenting (e.g., Álvarez, Padilla, & Máiquez, 2016; Hidalgo, Jiménez, López-Verdugo, Lorence, & Sánchez, 2016; Martínez-González, Rodríguez-Ruiz, Álvarez-Blanco, & Becedóniz-Vázquez, 2016; Pedro, Altafim, & Linhares, 2017; Suárez, Rodríguez, & Rodrigo, 2016).

This paper also addressed important methodological gaps in the literature examining the link between parenting styles and short- and long-term socialization outcomes. Unlike previous studies (e.g., Martínez & García, 2007, 2008; Rothrauff et al., 2009; Stafford et al., 2015; Stafford et al., 2016), this study used multisample confirmatory factor analysis to ensure that the parenting style measures used were invariant across age groups (adolescents and older adults) and across men and women. In the present study, for both age and sex groups, the items underlie the same dimensions and had the same relative importance in the assigned factor for the four samples (i.e., adolescents, older adults, men, and women). Additionally, the two factors have an equivalent structure of variances and an equivalent relational pattern of covariances. Finally, results confirmed the strict assumption of equal error variances among the four samples for all the items of the questionnaire (e.g., García et al., 2013; García et al., 2011; Gracia et al., 2018). Also, and in contrast with previous research, our findings confirm the orthogonality of the two parenting dimensions: warmth and strictness (Kerr & Stattin, 2000; Martínez &

García, 2007, 2008; Martínez et al., 2017, 2019; Stattin & Kerr, 2000; Steinberg et al., 1994). The results of the confirmatory factor analysis confirmed that the orthogonal two-factor model provided a superior fit to the data. In this regard, our results provided full support for the internal validity of the two-dimensional and four-style parenting model (see Lamborn et al., 1991).

Finally, this study has strengths and limitations. The use of the two-dimensional four-style model to assess parenting offers an approach to the ongoing debates by examining parenting styles in an ample context of different outcomes across different demographic variables, cultural contexts, and countries. Additionally, we tested the structural variance of the warmth and strictness measures of parenting across adolescence and late adulthood and in both sexes. As for the limitations, the current study was cross-sectional, which does not allow us to draw firm conclusions about directionality. However, we believe that the results obtained regarding the short- and long-term association between parenting styles, self-esteem, and social values advance the current knowledge in this field of study and provide insights to orientate parental education programs that aim to improve relationships with children and enhance their resources and quality of life.

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Capítulo III

Estudio 2– Raising Spanish children with an antisocial tendency: Do we know what the optimal parenting style is?

Segundo Artículo

Garcia, O. F., Lopez-Fernandez, O., & Serra, E. (2018). Raising Spanish children with an antisocial tendency: Do we know what the optimal parenting style is? *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. doi:10.1177/0886260518818426

Abstract

Families can play an essential role in preventing violent and antisocial behaviors, which are considered a significant public health issue. However, some studies argue that most children are antisocial only during adolescence, and even teenagers can mimic antisocial behavior in ways that are normative and well-adjusted. This study analyzed patterns of competence and adjustment in young adults with and without an antisocial tendency during adolescence from authoritative (characterized by warmth and strictness), authoritarian

(strictness but not warmth), indulgent (warmth but not strictness), and neglectful (neither warmth nor strictness) families. Emergent research has indicated that in a European context, the indulgent parenting style is optimal. Offspring's competence and adjustment were captured through self-esteem (academic and family), psychosocial development (self-competence and empathy), and low emotional maladjustment (nervousness and hostility). Participants consisted of a community sample of 489 Spanish young adults, 191 men (39.1%) and 298 women (60.9%), aged 18 to 34 years old. The design was a $4 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2$ MANOVA (parenting style \times antisocial tendency \times sex \times age). Analysis of main effects showed that youths with an antisocial tendency have less self-esteem and psychosocial development, but more emotional maladjustment. Regardless of the parenting style, an antisocial tendency during adolescence is consistently associated with worse adjustment in young adults. Both the authoritative and indulgent parenting styles are consistently associated with better outcomes (higher self-esteem and psychosocial development, and lower emotional maladjustment) than the authoritarian and neglectful parenting styles. However, there are interactions between the parenting style and the antisocial tendency. For young adults without an antisocial tendency, only indulgent parenting is associated with less emotional maladjustment. These results support the idea that in Europe the indulgent parenting style performs better than the authoritative style, but only when raising adolescents without an antisocial tendency. For young adults with an antisocial tendency, indulgent and authoritative parenting are equally optimal for all the studied outcomes.

Keywords: Young adults, General antisocial tendency, Family socialization, Parenting styles.

Introduction

Despite public authorities' efforts to reduce young people's tendency toward antisocial behaviors and violence, this problem continues to be considered a major public health issue by the World Health Organization (WHO; 1996, 2015; see also Krug, Mercy, Dahlberg, & Zwi, 2002). American and European data suggest an unprecedented surge in the tendency toward antisocial behaviors and

violence against socially established norms among young people. Therefore, this epidemic not only affects violent youths and their families, victims, and peers but it also involves society as a whole (Office of the Surgeon General, 2001). Researchers currently study children with antisocial tendencies in contexts such as the school (bullying, E. M. Lund & Ross, 2016; cyberbullying, Garaigordobil, 2017; Larrañaga, Yubero, Ovejero, & Navarro, 2016), the family (even child-to-parent aggression, Calvete, Orue, & Gámez-Guadix, 2012), teen dating (traditional dating, Sjodin, Wallinius, Billstedt, Hofvander, & Nilsson, 2017; cyberdating, Sánchez, Muñoz-Fernández, & Ortega-Ruíz, 2015), and the neighborhood (Gracia, Fuentes, García, & Lila, 2012). Children's antisocial tendency involves undercontrolled behaviors that are manifested as aggression, disruptiveness, defiance, hyperactivity, and impulsivity (e.g., Ackerman, Brown, & Izard, 2003; Pinquart, 2017). This tendency is conceptualized in numerous studies as a pandemic that constitutes a community problem (WHO, 1996, 2015) and is associated with multiple indicators of youth maladjustment, such as lack of psychosocial maturity, low self-esteem, and aggression problems (Gracia et al., 2012; E. M. Lund & Ross, 2016; Sjodin et al., 2017). Moreover, in some severe cases, an antisocial tendency can lead to psychiatric disorders and criminal behaviors (Moffitt, 1993; Steinberg, Blatt-Eisengart, & Cauffman, 2006; Uceda-Maza & Alonso, 2017).

However, the theory of adolescence-limited antisocial behavior (for a review, see Moffitt, 1993) argues that a large group of children are antisocial only during adolescence, and even teens can mimic antisocial behavior in ways that are normative and well-adjusted (Moffitt, Caspi, Harrington, & Milne, 2002; Roustit et al., 2009). Reinforcing this argument, traditional clinical studies have suggested that adolescents' "identity crisis" and "individuation" both imply a certain degree of discomfort, disruptiveness, and defiance for the family, but they are justified because teenagers on the path to healthy adulthood have to free themselves from dependence on their parents to form an identity of their own (Blos, 1967; Erikson, 1968). From the opposite point of view, several traditional studies of community samples of adolescents drawn from schools, rather than clinics (Josselson, Greenberger, & McConochie, 1977; Rutter, Graham, Chadwick, & Yule, 1976), argue that "while storm and stress may be the norm in

families of teenagers with depression or conduct disorder, conflict is not normative in average families” (Steinberg, 2001, p. 4).

Parenting socialization theory explains that parents’ behaviors can contribute to the social behavior of their children or fail in the parenting socialization process when their children manifest antisocial behavior. Research conducted mainly in Anglo-Saxon contexts with European American samples has largely identified authoritative parents (i.e., warm and responsive parents who provide firm control and maturity demands at the same time) as the optimal (i.e., normative) parenting style. Authoritative homes have consistently been associated with a wide range of optimal outcomes in children and adolescents. Based on an extensive set of children’s outcomes analyzed, children from authoritative households (warm and firm) are more psychosocially competent, more successful in school, and less prone to internalizing or externalizing problems than their peers who have been raised in authoritarian (firm but not warm), indulgent (warm but not firm), or neglectful (neither warm nor firm) homes (Baumrind, 1983; Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1991; Lewis, 1981; Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

Parents are still considered the main socializing agents during adolescence, a period in which the concentration of antisocial behavior is well-documented (Moffitt, 1993, 2018), despite the importance given to other factors, such as peer social influences, broader social and contextual factors, cultural approval of violence, or even genetic predispositions (for reviews, Moffitt, 2018; Raine, 2002). In fact, seminal cross-sectional (Lamborn et al., 1991) and longitudinal (Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts, & Dornbusch, 1994) community studies showed a persistent pattern of association between parenting styles (authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent, or neglectful) and four sets of adolescent outcomes (psychosocial development, school achievement, internalized distress, and problem behavior) during adolescence. These studies showed a typical pattern of competence and adjustment that has been associated with the four parenting styles: (a) the optimal style is the authoritative one, (b) the indulgent and authoritarian styles fall in the middle (e.g., as a mixed option of qualities and problems), and (c) the worst style is the neglectful one.

On one hand, in numerous studies, authoritative parenting (warmth and strictness) is continuously found to be the optimal parenting style across a wide range of developmental and behavioral outcomes (Hoffmann & Bahr, 2014; Lamborn et al., 1991; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Steinberg et al., 1994). Therefore, adolescents from authoritative households tend to use illegal drugs less (Hoffmann & Bahr, 2014; Montgomery, Fisk, & Craig, 2008), be more resilient (Kritzas & Grobler, 2005), have higher levels of self-esteem (Turner, Chandler, & Heffer, 2009), achieve better academic performance (Cohen & Rice, 1997; Im-Bolter, Zadeh, & Ling, 2013), have better psychological competence (Lamborn et al., 1991; Turner et al., 2009) and more adaptive strategies (Aunola, Stattin, & Nurmi, 2000), and be less involved in a broad spectrum of behavior problems (e.g., school misconduct, drug use, and delinquency; Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994). On the other hand, neglectful parenting (neither warmth nor strictness) is constantly found to be the worst parenting style for adolescents in terms of promoting more harmful outputs, for instance, the tendency to use more drugs, have less resilience, have more psychological maladjustment, use more ineffective adaptive strategies, and be involved in more problems (Aunola et al., 2000; Hoffmann & Bahr, 2014; Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994; Turner et al., 2009). In the middle, adolescents with authoritarian parenting score reasonably well on obedience and conformity to norms (they do well in school and are less likely than their peers to be involved in deviant activities, for example, drug use or delinquency), but they have relatively worse selfreliance and higher psychosocial and somatic distress. Adolescents from indulgent homes show a strong sense of self-confidence, but they report a higher frequency of substance abuse and school misconduct and are less engaged in school (see Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994).

Optimal authoritative parenting consists of parental strictness (also referred to as demandingness, imposition, and parental firmness) to correct and punish children's maladaptive behavior, along with the firm aim of achieving their children's adjustment and full compliance with the social rules. However, authoritative parenting also involves parental warmth (also referred to as responsiveness, acceptance, and involvement) to reinforce parental support and help children to reach conformity and compliance with the social norms. Hence, for children

with highly responsive parents, this context will include parental warmth and acceptance of the child, as well as an emphasis on aspects such as reciprocity (rather than mere compliance), psychological autonomy (rather than mere conformism), and rational discourse (rather than coercion and intimidation). In most cases, discipline will be nonpunitive and accompanied by clear explanations and reasoning (e.g., Baumrind, 1971; Grusec, Danyliuk, Kil, & O’Neill, 2017; Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994). Dual elements of warmth and strictness are crucial for optimal authoritative parenting—with the former (warmth) referring to parental involvement and responsiveness to support and reinforce the developing child’s individuality, whereas the latter (strictness) is related to parental imposition and demandingness in an attempt to make the child conform to societal and family expectations. Thus, parenting socialization theory claims that the practices of parents who are warm and involved (i.e., authoritative and indulgent) have a different meaning from the same practices administered by parents who are cold and uninvolved (i.e., authoritarian and neglectful; Darling & Steinberg, 1993; F. García & Gracia, 2009, 2014; Martínez, Cruise, García, & Murgui, 2017). The parenting styles framework captures overall long-term parenting characteristics that integrate and organize particular or specific parenting practices and accurately establish the relations among parenting styles, parenting practices, and their associations with children’s short- and long-term adjustment or maladjustment (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; F. García & Gracia, 2009, 2014; Lamborn et al., 1991; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Symonds, 1939).

However, there are doubts about whether the acceptance and involvement component of authoritative parents (shared by authoritative and indulgent styles) is always necessary for an optimal parenting style (e.g., Clark, Yang, McClernon, & Fuemmeler, 2015). Literature on parenting also supports the authoritarian parenting style (strictness, but no warmth) as an appropriate parental strategy (i.e., normative parenting style) in needy ethnic minority families and dangerous communities, where authoritarian parenting may not be as harmful and may even have some protective benefits (Furstenberg, Cook, Eccles, Elder, & Sameroff, 1999). Earlier studies in the United States with ethnic minority groups, such as African Americans

(Baumrind, 1972; Deater-Deckard & Dodge, 1997; Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 1996), Chinese Americans (Chao, 1994; Wang & Phinney, 1998), Hispanic Americans (Torres-Villa, 1995; Zayas & Solari, 1994), or multiethnic Americans (Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992), suggest that the authoritarian parenting style is an appropriate parental strategy. Steinberg et al. (2006), sampling severe juvenile offenders, conclude that “it is not that authoritarian parenting is good for poor, urban, ethnic minority adolescents, but, rather, that authoritarian parenting may not be as bad for these adolescents as it has been shown to be for their middle-class, suburban, white counterparts” (p. 56).

Furthermore, previous findings examining how antisocial youth might have better or worse outcomes depending on different parenting styles through parenting intervention programs for children with antisocial behaviors suggest that parental practices could improve or exacerbate children’s antisocial behavior (Buchanan-Pascall, Gray, Gordon, & Melvin, 2018). Nevertheless, most of these studies stem from clinical studies, rather than from community samples, and they do not offer clear evidence. On one hand, warm, affective, responsive, and inductive parenting (shared by indulgent and authoritative parenting styles) tends to improve prosocial behaviors in antisocial children (Pinquart & Kauser, 2018). However, other studies have suggested that parental involvement (i.e., warm, affective, responsive, and inductive) could undermine children’s social adjustment in antisocial children, exacerbating both externalizing and internalizing problems (Ruiz-Ortiz, Braza, Carreras, & Muñoz, 2017). On the other hand, authoritarian parenting characterized by harsh parenting has been associated with more antisocial behavior in children (Martínez, Murgui, Garcia, & Garcia, 2019; Tung & Lee, 2018), although other findings have suggested that a lack of strictness and imposition could be associated with antisocial behavior (Furstenberg et al., 1999).

In addition, the indulgent parenting style, characterized by warmth but not strictness, also provides ample benefits for children’s well-being (i.e., normative parenting style) in European and Latin American countries (DiMaggio & Zappulla, 2014; F. García et al., 2015; F. García & Gracia, 2009, 2010; O. F. Garcia, Serra, Zacaes, & Garcia, 2018; Gracia et al., 2012; Martínez et al., 2017; Valente, Cogo-Moreira, & Sanchez, 2017; Wolfradt, Hempel, & Miles, 2003).

For Spanish adolescents, the indulgent parenting style appears to be a main protective factor against alcohol and drug use and as useful as the authoritative parenting style (Calafat, García, Juan, Becoña, & Fernández-Hermida, 2014; Fuentes, Alarcón, García, & Gracia, 2015; F. García & Gracia, 2009, 2010; Martínez, Fuentes, García, & Madrid, 2013). In fact, the indulgent parenting style provides better results than the authoritative style on criteria such as self-esteem, values internalization, psychological maladjustment, personal competence, and a broad spectrum of behavioral problems (Fuentes, Alarcón, et al., 2015; Fuentes, García, Gracia, & Alarcón, 2015; Garaigordobil & Aliri, 2012; Martínez & García, 2007; Riquelme, Garcia, & Serra, 2018). For example, a critical community study with Spanish adolescents (F. García & Gracia, 2009) that analyzed 17 outcomes (related to multidimensional self-esteem, psychosocial maladjustment, personal competence, and problem behaviors) showed that (a) adolescents from indulgent and authoritative parenting styles were associated with better outcomes than those with authoritarian and neglectful parenting and (b) indulgent parenting was always equal to or better than the authoritative style. These findings reinforce the influence of culture on the relation between parental socialization and psychological adjustment (Baumrind, 1972; Chao, 1994; Darling & Steinberg, 1993; F. García & Gracia, 2009, 2014; Steinberg et al., 1992). In addition, the concepts of collectivism (emphasizing one's interdependence) versus individualism (valuing personal independence), and vertical (emphasizing hierarchy) versus horizontal (valuing equality) cultural backgrounds have traditionally been called upon to explain observed differences in the association between parenting styles and youth outcomes (e.g., Rudy & Grusec, 2001; Triandis, 2001; White & Schnurr, 2012). Researchers have suggested that in European cultures (e.g., Spain), considered to be horizontal and collectivistic, the relationship between parents and their children is more egalitarian than in Anglo-Saxon countries (individualistic culture) or Asian or Arabic countries (vertical collectivist culture). European children could perceive parental strictness, punishment, and imposition as meddling and coercive rather than as parental care and responsibility (Calafat et al., 2014; Chao, 1994; F. García & Gracia, 2009; Martínez & García, 2007; White & Schnurr, 2012).

It is widely assumed in the literature that children with an antisocial tendency have the poorest psychological competence and consistently worse adjustment on several outcomes (Gracia et al., 2012; E. M. Lund & Ross, 2016; Sjodin et al., 2017), and public authorities have conceptualized this tendency as a pandemic that constitutes a community problem (e.g., WHO, 1996, 2015). However, studies have commonly analyzed adolescents' antisocial tendency as one more outcome of the parenting style (Garaigordobil & Aliri, 2012; Garcia & Gracia, 2010; Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994), but not as a factual pandemic risk factor that can undermine the psychosocial health of teenagers on the path to healthy adulthood (Blos, 1967; Erikson, 1968). As adolescence-limited antisocial behavior theory suggests (Moffitt, 1993), a large number of children are antisocial only during adolescence, which casts doubt on whether this large group with an antisocial tendency will have any future psychosocial health handicaps, or whether they are only manifesting an adolescent normative antisocial behavior of "storm and stress" (F. García & Gracia, 2009; Rutter et al., 1976; Steinberg, 2001).

This study examines the long-term effects of parenting socialization beyond adolescence in children with an antisocial tendency (Krug et al., 2002; WHO, 1996, 2015). Based on the literature review, we hypothesize, first, that youths with an antisocial tendency will be associated with the worst adjustment. Based on public authorities and current research, children with an antisocial tendency have the poorest psychological competence and consistently worse adjustment. Second, indulgent and authoritative parenting styles will be associated with better outcomes in children than authoritarian and neglectful parenting styles. Based on the literature in Europe (e.g., Spain), the parental warmth shared by indulgent and authoritative parenting styles will be related to advantaged children (i.e., psychological competence and adjustment), and a lack of parental warmth, shared by the authoritarian and neglectful parenting styles, will be related to disadvantaged children (i.e., psychological incompetence and maladjustment). Third, the indulgent parenting style will be associated with better child adjustment compared with authoritative, neglectful, and authoritarian parenting styles. Accordingly, as literature in Europe (e.g., Spain) shows, of the two parenting styles that share warmth and involvement, the indulgent

parenting style (warmth but not strictness) will be more related to better advantaged children than the authoritative parenting style (warmth and strictness).

Method

Participants and Procedure

The study was carried out at a large university in southeastern Spain. Participants were 489 young adults (298 female and 191 male; mean age = 23.09 years, $SD = 4.58$; range = 18-34) recruited in undergraduate education courses (Manzeske & Stright, 2009; Parish & McCluskey, 1992). The research protocol was approved by the Research Ethics Committee of the Program for the Promotion of Scientific Research, Technological Development and Innovation of the Spanish Valencian Region, which funded this research. All the young adults who participated in this study (a) were Spanish, as were their parents and four grandparents; (b) reported no official contact with the police as a juvenile (until the age of 18) or an arrest as an adult (at the age of 18 or more); (c) participated voluntarily; and (d) received some course credit for participating. Data were collected by using an online survey with mandatory responses hosted on the University website. As data protection measures, (a) identifiers (e.g., university account) and survey data were saved in separate files and (b) directory passwords were protected, and sensitive files were encrypted. During a regular class period, participants completed information about the purpose of the study and signed a declaration of consent. Participants who did not complete the online survey on time (1 week) were removed from the sample (1.2%, $n = 6$). The questionnaires were examined for questionable response patterns, such as reporting implausible inconsistencies between negatively and positively worded responses (J. F. García, Musitu, Riquelme, & Riquelme, 2011; Tomas & Oliver, 1999, 2004). About 3% ($n = 15$) of the cases were identified as questionable and removed from the sample. With the study sample of 489 participants, sensitivity power analysis guaranteed the detection of a medium-small effect size of 0.188 (four parenting style groups; $f = 0.188$, $\alpha = .05$, $1 - \beta = .95$; Calafat et al., 2014; Erdfelder, Faul, & Buchner, 1996; F. García &

Gracia, 2014; Gracia, García, & Musitu, 1995; Pérez, Navarro, & Llobell, 1999).

Measures

Parenting styles. Parental warmth was measured with the 20-item Warmth/ Affection Scale (WAS, Ali, Khaleque, & Rohner, 2015; Rohner, Saavedra, & Granum, 1978), which offered a reliable measure of the extent to which the young adults had perceived their parents as loving, responsive, and involved during their adolescence. Two sample items are as follows: “Let me know they loved me” and “Talked to me about our plans and listened to what I had to say.” Parental strictness was measured with the 13-item Parental Control Scale (PCS, Rohner & Khaleque, 2003, 2005), which offered a reliable measure of the extent to which the young adults had perceived strict parental control over their behavior during their adolescence. Two sample items are as follows: “Told me exactly what time I had to be home when I went out” and “Gave me certain jobs to do and would not let me do anything else until I was done.” Because all the statements were about participants’ adolescent years, we included the following sentence in the instructions: “Here are some phrases or statements that describe how parents act with their children (adolescent). Compare each statement to the way your parents treated you” (Buri, 1991; Hammond, Landry, Swank, & Smith, 2000; Kuyumcu & Rohner, 2018). Each item on both scales was answered on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*no, never*) to 5 (*yes, always*). Both parenting indexes measured family parenting behavior (see Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994), so that higher scores represent a greater sense of parental warmth and parental strictness (F. García et al., 2015; F. García & Gracia, 2014). Cronbach’s alpha for each scale was as follows: parental warmth, .945, and parental strictness, .888. Following the procedure of Lamborn and colleagues (1991) and Steinberg (2005), four parenting styles (authoritative, indulgent, authoritarian, and neglectful) were established by the median split (50th percentile) in each family dimension (warmth and strictness), and then both variables were examined together. Authoritative families scored above the 50th percentile on both warmth and strictness, whereas neglectful families were below the 50th percentile on both variables. Authoritarian families scored below the 50th

percentile on warmth and above the 50th percentile on strictness, whereas indulgent families scored above the 50th percentile on warmth, but below the 50th percentile on strictness (Chao, 2001; Gracia et al., 2012; Musitu & García, 2001).

Antisocial tendency was measured with the 13-item Youth Deviance Scale (Gold, 1970; Herrenkohl et al., 2000; Spanish Adaptation: F. García & Gracia, 2010), which evaluates acts ranging from mischief at school to severe harm or threats of harm to other people (F. García & Gracia, 2009; Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994). Two sample items are as follows: “Painting or damaging the walls of the school/institute” and “Attacking or hitting strangers.” Because all the statements were about the participants’ years in high school, we included the following sentence in the instructions: “Listed below are behaviors that could be performed by adolescent students. Please read each statement and decide to what extent it describes your case during adolescence” (Collette, Pakzad, & Bergheul, 2015; Kennedy, Bybee, Palma-Ramirez, & Jacobs, 2017; Rebellon & Straus, 2017). Participants responded on a 3-point scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 3 (*two or more times*). Higher scores represent a greater antisocial tendency. Cronbach’s alpha value was .750. Young adults were grouped by the median split (50th percentile) into a low or high antisocial tendency (Petee & Walsh, 1987).

Self-esteem. Academic and family self-esteem were measured with two 6-item subscales from the Multidimensional Self-Esteem Scale (AF5; F. García, Gracia, & Zeleznova, 2013; F. García & Musitu, 1999; J. F. García et al., 2011; J. F. García, Musitu, & Veiga, 2006). A sample item for academic self-esteem is: “I am a hard worker [good student]”; and a sample item for family self-esteem is: “My family would help me with any type of problem.” Young adults responded on a 99-point scale, ranging from 1 (*strong disagreement*) to 99 (*strong agreement*). Modifications were made to obtain a score index ranging from 0.10 to 9.99. Higher scores represent a greater sense of self-esteem. Cronbach’s alpha for each subscale was as follows: Academic, .885, and Family, .848.

Psychosocial development was measured with the Self-Competence and Empathy subscales of the Psychosocial Maturity Questionnaire (CRPM3; Zacarés, Serra, & Torres, 2015; see Greenberger, Josselson, Knerr, & Knerr, 1974; Lamborn et al., 1991). Self-competence was

measured with 12 items. Two sample items are as follows: “I consider myself to be effective in my work” and “I have confidence and trust in myself.” Empathy was measured with five items. Two sample items are as follows: “I am sensitive to others’ feelings and needs” and “I know how to listen to other people.” On both scales, young adults responded on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Higher scores on self-competence and empathy indicate a greater sense of psychosocial development. Cronbach’s alpha value for each subscale was as follows: Self-Competence, .846, and Empathy, .629.

Emotional maladjustment was measured with the Nervousness and Hostility subscales. Nervousness was assessed with eight items from the Psychosocial Maturity Questionnaire (CRPM3; Greenberger et al., 1974; Zacarés et al., 2015). Two sample items are as follows: “I am usually tense, nervous and anxious” and “I get irritated easily.” Young adults responded on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Higher scores on nervousness represent greater emotional maladjustment. Cronbach’s alpha value was .794. Hostility was assessed with the six items from the Personality Assessment Questionnaire (PAQ; Ali et al., 2015; F. García & Gracia, 2009, 2010; Rohner, 1978). Two sample items are as follows: “I think about fighting or being mean” and “I get so mad I throw or break things.” The young adults responded on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (*almost never true*) to 4 (*almost always true*). Higher scores on hostility represent greater emotional maladjustment. Cronbach’s alpha value was .673.

Plan of Analysis

The relation between the parenting style and the antisocial tendency and the young adults’ adjustment was examined in a four-way multifactorial multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA). In addition, to analyze these relations, we also take into account two demographic variables (sex and age) that have been identified in the literature as relevant in understanding associations between an antisocial tendency, parenting, and outcomes. We will use these variables as independent variables (i.e., factors), rather than as statistical controls, to (a) test for any possible moderation (i.e., interaction) and (b) analyze whether well-documented effects of

demographic factors on the dependent variables (i.e., outcomes or criterion variables) are as expected. All these design factors control (decrease) residual variance and increase the multivariate Λ -test and univariate F -test power (see Gracia, García, & Lila, 2011; Maxwell & Delaney, 2004). A factorial ($4 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2$) MANOVA was applied for the six outcome variables: (a) academic and (b) family self-esteem out-comes; (c) self-competence and (d) empathy psychosocial development out-comes; and (e) nervousness and (f) hostility emotional maladjustment outcomes. The four factors were parenting style (authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent, and neglectful), the antisocial tendency (low vs. high), sex (men vs. women), and age (18-24 vs. 25-34). Follow-up univariate F -tests were performed for all the sources of variation when we found multivariate statistically significant differences. Univariate significant results were followed by post hoc Bonferroni comparisons among all the possible pairs of means (García & Gracia, 2009; Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994; Veiga, Garcia, Reeve, Wentzel, & Garcia, 2015).

Table 1
Numbers of Cases in Parenting Style Groups, Mean Scores, and
Standard Deviations on Main Measures of Parental Dimensions

	Total	Indulgent	Authoritative	Authoritarian	Neglectful
Frequency	489	136	107	129	117
Percent	100	27.8	21.9	26.4	23.9
Warmth					
<i>M</i>	66.05	74.84	74.10	57.37	58.05
<i>SD</i>	11.33	3.87	3.53	9.77	10.35
Strictness					
<i>M</i>	32.94	27.92	37.81	40.40	26.09
<i>SD</i>	8.03	4.94	4.59	5.58	5.34

Results

Parenting Style Groups

Young adults were classified into one of the four parenting groups (indulgent, authoritative, authoritarian, or neglectful; Table 1). The indulgent group contained 136 (27.8%) young adults, with high warmth, $M = 74.84$, $SD = 3.87$, but low strictness, $M = 27.92$, $SD = 4.94$; the authoritative group contained 107 (21.9%), with high warmth, $M = 74.10$, $SD = 3.53$, and high strictness, $M = 37.81$, $SD = 4.59$; the authoritarian group contained 129 (26.4%), with low warmth, $M = 57.37$, $SD = 9.77$, and high strictness, $M = 40.40$, $SD = 5.58$; and the neglectful group contained 117 (23.9%), with low warmth, $M = 58.05$, $SD = 10.35$, and low strictness, $M = 26.09$, $SD = 5.34$. Additional analyses also showed that the two parental dimensions, warmth and strictness, consistent with the orthogonality assumption, were modestly intercorrelated, $r = -.129$, $R^2 = .017$, less than 2%, $p < .005$; the distributions of families by parenting style categories were homogeneous, $\chi^2(3) = 4.05$, $p = .256$; and the parenting style \times sex interaction was not statistically significant, $\chi^2(3) = .59$, $p = .898$.

Multivariate Analyses

The MANOVA analysis yielded statistically significant interaction effects between the parenting style and the antisocial tendency, $\Lambda = .937$, $F(18, 1278.9) = 1.65$, $p < .05$, and main effects of parenting, $\Lambda = .729$, $F(18, 1278.9) = 8.38$, $p < .001$; antisocial tendency, $\Lambda = .943$, $F(6, 452.0) = 4.52$, $p < .001$; sex, $\Lambda = .916$, $F(6, 452.0) = 6.89$, $p < .001$; and age, $\Lambda = .953$, $F(6, 452.0) = 3.68$, $p = .001$ (Table 2).

Table 2
MANOVA Factorial ($4^a \times 2^b \times 2^c \times 2^d$) for Outcomes Measures (Self-Esteem, Psychosocial Development, and Emotional Maladjustment).

Source of Variation	Λ	F	gl_{between}	gl_{error}	p
(A) Parenting Style ^a	.729	8.38	18	1,278.9	<.001
(B) Antisocial Tendency ^b	.943	4.52	6	452.0	<.001
(C) Sex ^c	.916	6.89	6	452.0	<.001
(D) Age ^d	.953	3.68	6	452.0	.001
A × B	.937	1.65	18	1,278.9	.042
A × C	.971	0.75	18	1,278.9	.762
A × D	.977	0.58	18	1,278.9	.919
B × C	.982	1.39	6	452.0	.216
B × D	.989	0.84	6	452.0	.543
C × D	.988	0.94	6	452.0	.467
A × B × C	.958	1.09	18	1,278.9	.352
A × B × D	.960	1.05	18	1,278.9	.404
A × C × D	.978	0.55	18	1,278.9	.932
B × C × D	.991	0.63	6	452.0	.704
A × B × C × D	.956	0.88	18	1,278.9	.600

Note. MANOVA = multivariate analysis of variance.

^a a_1 , authoritative; a_2 , indulgent; a_3 , authoritarian; a_4 , neglectful.

^b b_1 , low; b_2 , high.

^c c_1 , females; c_2 , males.

^d d_1 , young adults from 18 to 24 years; d_2 , young adults from 25 to 34 years.

Univariate analyses for parenting and antisocial tendency effects.

In the case of self-esteem, in both the academic and family dimensions, the results confirmed the first hypothesis: Young adults with an antisocial tendency have less academic and family self-esteem than non-antisocial youths (see Table 3). Regarding the second hypothesis, young adults from indulgent and authoritative families reported higher academic and family self-esteem than their peers from authoritarian and neglectful homes.

Table 3
Means and (Standard Deviations) of Parenting Style, Antisocial Tendency, and Sex, and Main Univariate *F* Values for Outcomes Measures (Self-esteem, psychosocial development, and emotional maladjustment)

	Parenting style		Antisocial Tendency		Sex		Age		
	Autho-ritative	Indul-gent	Low	High	Fe-male	Ma-le	18-24 years	25-34 years	
	<i>F</i> (3,457)	<i>F</i> (3,457)	<i>F</i> (1,457)	<i>F</i> (1,457)	<i>F</i> (1,457)	<i>F</i> (1,457)	<i>F</i> (1,457)	<i>F</i> (1,457)	
Self-esteem									
Academic	7.62 ¹ (1.32)	6.91 ² (1.60)	6.87 ² (1.65)	7.04 ^{***} (1.41)	7.48 (1.57)	7.01 (1.57)	8.53 ^{**} (1.41)	7.44 (1.41)	2.66 (1.57)
Family	8.62 ¹ (1.04)	8.91 ¹ (0.92)	6.87 ² (1.77)	7.24 ² (1.69)	39.64 ^{***} (1.56)	8.16 (1.73)	5.28 [*] (1.56)	8.11 (1.76)	5.91 ^{**} (1.73)
Psychological development									
Self-	4.01 ¹ (0.46)	3.99 ¹ (0.47)	3.57 ² (0.56)	3.60 ² (0.55)	15.50 ^{***} (0.57)	3.86 (0.52)	9.50 ^{**} (0.52)	3.81 (0.57)	0.53 (0.53)
Competence	4.15 ¹ (0.50)	4.17 ¹ (0.44)	3.92 ² (0.53)	3.89 ² (0.54)	7.35 ^{***} (0.50)	4.14 (0.51)	9.43 ^{**} (0.51)	4.14 (0.49)	16.77 ^{***} (0.53)
Empathy									
Emotional Maladjustment									
Nervousness	2.36 ² (0.59)	2.01 ³ (0.69)	2.71 ¹ (0.64)	2.57 ² (0.62)	11.21 ^{***} (0.70)	2.37 (0.64)	5.37 [*] (0.64)	2.48 (0.69)	2.72 (0.65)
Hostility	1.84 ¹ (0.47)	1.64 ² (0.44)	1.95 ¹ (0.56)	1.96 ¹ (0.47)	6.46 ^{***} (0.47)	1.74 (0.52)	13.34 ^{***} (0.52)	1.80 (0.47)	2.67 (0.54)

Note: Bonferroni Test $\alpha = .05$; $1 > 2 > 3$.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

In the case of psychosocial development, on both self-competence and empathy, the results confirmed the first hypothesis: antisocial young adults showed less self-competence and empathy than non-antisocial youths. Regarding the second hypothesis, young adults who characterized their parents as indulgent and authoritative had higher self-competence and empathy scores than those from authoritarian and neglectful homes

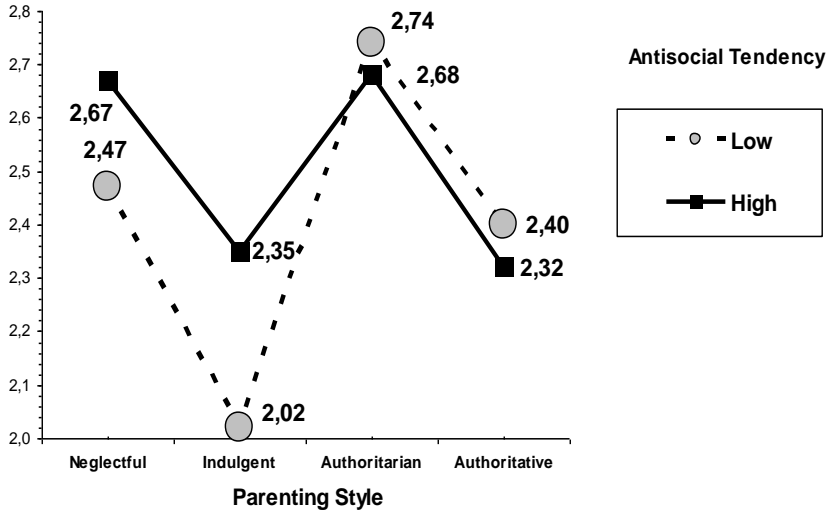


Figure 1. Means of Nervousness Emotional Maladjustment, combining parenting style groups with antisocial tendency conditions

For emotional maladjustment, the results confirmed the first hypothesis: antisocial young adults reported higher nervousness and hostility scores than non-antisocial young adults. On nervousness emotional maladjustment, supporting the third hypothesis, young adults from indulgent families had the lowest nervousness scores. The highest scores corresponded to those from authoritarian families, and in the middle position were young adults from authoritative and neglectful households. In addition, we found interaction effects of parenting style \times antisocial tendency, $F(3, 457) = 2.877, p = .036$ (see Figure 1). Interestingly, the results confirmed the third hypothesis only for non-antisocial young adults, whereas for antisocial young adults, the results confirmed the second hypothesis. Hence, raising non-antisocial children in indulgent families is associated with the lowest scores on nervousness.

On hostility emotional maladjustment, as in the third hypothesis, young adults who characterized their parents as indulgent reported the lowest hostility scores. By contrast, young adults from authoritative, authoritarian, and neglectful families had the highest hostility scores. Furthermore, we found an interaction effect between the parenting style and the antisocial tendency, $F(3, 457) = 3.172, p = .007$ (see Figure 2). Once again, the third hypothesis was only confirmed for non-antisocial young adults, whereas for antisocial young adults, the results confirmed the second hypothesis. Therefore, raising non-antisocial children in indulgent families is associated with optimal scores on hostility.

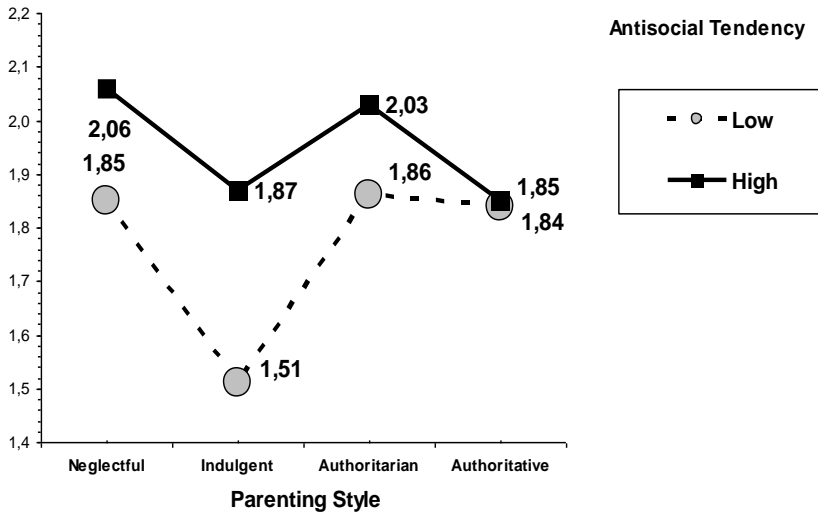


Figure 2. Means of Hostility Emotional Maladjustment, combining parenting style groups with antisocial tendency conditions

Multivariate Analyses

Although not central to the proposals of this study, several univariate main effects for sex and age reached significance (see Table 3). For self-esteem, the analyses indicated that family self-esteem scores were higher among girls, and the academic self-esteem score was higher for young adults from 18 to 24 years old. In the case of psychosocial development, girls reported more empathy than boys, and self-competence was higher for the young adults from 18 to 24 years old. Regarding emotional maladjustment, nervousness and

hostility scores were lower for the young adults from 18 to 24 years old.

Discussion

This article analyzes the patterns of competence and adjustment in a community sample of Spanish young adults with an antisocial tendency during adolescence from indulgent, authoritative, authoritarian, and neglectful families. The competence and adjustment of the young adults were captured through self-esteem (academic and family), psychosocial development (self-competence and empathy), and emotional maladjustment (nervousness and hostility). Results of this study confirmed that an indulgent parenting style was associated with optimal overall outcomes.

Analyzing the main effects, youths with an antisocial tendency were associated with the worst outcomes: less self-esteem and psychosocial development and greater emotional maladjustment. In the same negative direction, the neglectful parenting style (neither warmth nor strictness) and the authoritarian parenting style (strictness but not warmth) were associated with the worst outcomes. Interestingly, the results of this study show that, for young adults with an antisocial tendency, both the indulgent (warmth but not strictness) and authoritative (warmth and strictness) parenting styles are equally optimal. However, we found that, only for young adults without an antisocial tendency, those who characterize their families as indulgent are associated with the lowest scores on nervousness and hostility. Regardless of the antisocial tendency of the young adults, those who characterized their parents as indulgent or authoritative when they were adolescents showed no differences in academic and family self-esteem, self-competence, or empathy.

One of the most distinguishable findings of the present study is that for young adults with an antisocial tendency, the indulgent and authoritative parenting styles are equally optimal. This result contrasts with other studies suggesting that the strictness and firm control component (shared by authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles) seems to be perceived negatively in Southern European and Latin American countries (F. García & Gracia, 2009, 2010, 2014; Martínez & García, 2007, 2008; White & Schnurr, 2012), which are culturally

more similar to Spanish culture. On the contrary, but only for young adults without an antisocial tendency, our study extends results from previous studies to young adulthood. Once more, children from indulgent families obtained similar or even better scores on overall outcomes than children from authoritative families. In addition, young adults who defined their parents as authoritarian or neglectful when they were adolescents accomplished the worst ratings overall on all the outcomes analyzed (Calafat et al., 2014; DiMaggio & Zappulla, 2014; F. García et al., 2015; F. García & Gracia, 2009, 2010, 2014; O. F. García et al., 2018; Martínez et al., 2017; Martínez et al., 2019; Musitu & García, 2001, 2004).

Findings from this study have significant implications in today's society, where youth violence has been declared a major public health issue by the WHO (Krug et al., 2002; WHO, 1996, 2015). In a European community sample of young university students, this study found that the antisocial tendency of adolescents is related to their later incompetence and maladjustment in young adulthood. It is a pandemic community problem that systematically undermines public health, even when analyzing competence and adjustment in university students (Ackerman et al., 2003; Moffitt, 1993; Moffitt et al., 2002; Roustit et al., 2009; Steinberg et al., 2006). Thus, findings from this study contradict the idea that adolescent antisocial behavior is only limited to adolescence because they do not confirm the classic "storm and stress" hypothesis (Blos, 1967; Erikson, 1968; Rutter et al., 1976; Steinberg, 2001).

Furthermore, socialization theory shows that parents' behaviors can contribute to the social behavior of their children or fail when children demonstrate a tendency toward antisocial behavior (Baumrind, 1983; Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Lamborn et al., 1991; Lewis, 1981; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Moffitt, 1993; Steinberg et al., 2006). One important implication of this study for the literature on quality parenting and children's well-being is that the combination of parental warmth and involvement is always a protective factor in adolescent outcomes (F. García & Gracia, 2009, 2010; Martínez & García, 2007, 2008; White & Schnurr, 2012). However, parental warmth and involvement with lack of strictness and imposition (i.e., indulgent style) also seems to be a protective parenting strategy for children with an antisocial tendency (F. García & Gracia, 2009; White &

Schnurr, 2012). Unlike other cultural contexts where strictness is a necessary and sufficient parenting strategy (e.g., Clark et al., 2015; Furstenberg et al., 1999), the findings of this study reinforce the idea that the parental warmth and involvement component (shared by authoritative and indulgent styles), but not the parental strictness and imposition component (shared by authoritative and authoritarian styles), contains strategic factors that favor the offspring's well-being (Calafat et al., 2014; I. Lund & Scheffels, 2018; Valente et al., 2017). In fact, the findings of this study reinforce the idea that neglectful and authoritarian parenting styles are the worst parenting strategies in youths with or without an antisocial tendency (Calafat et al., 2014; F. García & Gracia, 2009, 2014). Interestingly, our findings contrast with previous studies on intervention programs for antisocial children that recommend the use of strictness and imposition parenting practices (see Furstenberg et al., 1999). Our findings indicate the benefits of parental warmth and involvement (i.e., indulgent and authoritative styles), even when parents are raising children with an antisocial tendency. Our results show that young adults with an antisocial tendency from indulgent and authoritative homes (both parental warmth and involvement) have less nervousness and hostility than their peers from authoritarian or neglectful families (both sharing lack of parental warmth and involvement).

In addition, results of this study agree with previous findings on the relations between the demographic variables of sex and age and competence and adjustment. Our results confirm previous studies showing that family self-esteem (Musitu & Garcia, 2001; Riquelme et al., 2018) and empathy (Mestre, Samper, Frías, & Tur, 2009) are higher in young females. Overall, young adults from 18 to 24 years old are more competent than those from 25 to 34 years old on all the outcomes examined, suggesting that university studies are normative in early young adulthood, but not in late young adulthood. Therefore, this greater academic competence in 18- to 24-year-old young adults is also associated with other positive indicators, such as self-competence or less emotional maladjustment (nervousness and hostility; Côté & Schwartz, 2002; Zacarés et al., 2015). As research suggests, delaying the obligations of early young adulthood, such as university studies or job seeking, is related to personal maladjustment in late young adulthood (Côté & Schwartz, 2002; Zacarés et al.,

2015). However, this could be related to inconsistent and rapidly changing socioeconomic conditions, along with a range of difficulties for present-day young adults in Western societies. In the early part of the 21st century, this generation is trying to integrate into the labor market and acquire financial autonomy, which appears to be affecting their progress through the personal and social achievements of adulthood (Lopez-Fernandez, Stack, & Mitra, in press).

Finally, this study has strengths and limitations. The use of the two-dimensional four-style model to assess parenting offers an approach to the ongoing debates by examining parenting styles in a broad context of different out-comes across different demographic variables, settings, and countries, with conventional and explicit hypotheses across several studies, thus contributing to the replication and consistency of the findings. The cross-sectional design of the present study does not determine causality, although it establishes a link between a specific parental strategy for raising children and an antisocial tendency and competence indicators of adjustment in young adulthood.

We should be cautious in interpreting the present findings, given its cross-sectional design and reliance on self-report data gathered entirely from the young adults themselves. Moreover, the data on parenting and the antisocial tendency were collected retrospectively. We cannot exclude either causal relations between variables or third-variable explanations, although the relative demographic similarity of the sample makes such third-variable accounts less likely. In the absence of longitudinal or experimental data, the findings must be viewed as preliminary. Finally, this study uses a community sample of university students, rather than a clinical or offender sample, although the results offer evidence that is consistent with previous research. More studies are needed with other samples, such as nonuniversity young adults or youths from poor neighborhoods, to extend the parenting evidence.

Despite these limitations, the findings of the present study agree with conceptions from recent parenting literature on children's antisocial tendency as a pandemic community problem, ruling out alternative conceptions of the normative function of antisocial behaviors during adolescence. Although there can be adolescence-limited antisocial behavior, the larger group of Spanish children with

an antisocial tendency experience multiple indicators of maladjustment during young adulthood. This maladjustment persists even if they are raised according to the normative parenting for the context where they are socialized.

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Capítulo IV

Estudio 3– Raising Children with Poor School Performance: Parenting Styles and Short- and Long- Term Consequences for Adolescent and Adult Development

Tercer Artículo

Garcia, O. F., & Serra, E. (2019). Raising children with poor school performance: parenting styles and short-and long-term consequences for adolescent and adult development. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 16(7), 1089. doi:10.3390/ijerph16071089

Abstract

This study examines the correlates of authoritative (warmth and strictness), indulgent (warmth but not strictness), authoritarian

(strictness but not warmth), and neglectful (neither warmth nor strictness) parenting with short- and long-term socialization outcomes in adolescents and adults, with and without poor school performance during adolescence. Short- and long-term socialization outcomes were captured by multidimensional self-esteem (academic/professional, emotional, and family), psychological maturity (self-competence, social competence, and empathy), and emotional maladjustment (nervousness, emotional instability, and hostility). Participants (1195 female and 874 male) consisted of a community sample of adolescents ($n = 602$), young adults ($n = 610$), middle-aged adults ($n = 469$) and older adults ($n = 388$). Design was a $4 \times 3 \times 2 \times 4$ MANOVA (parenting style \times school performance \times sex \times age). Results indicated that the relationship between parenting styles and children's socialization outcomes does not vary as a function of school performance. The link between parenting styles and socialization outcomes shares a common short- and long-term pattern in adolescents and adults: Indulgent parenting was related to equal or even better socialization outcomes than authoritative parenting, whereas authoritarian and neglectful styles were associated with the worst socialization outcomes.

Keywords: Parenting styles, School performance, Adolescence, Adult development, Culture.

1. Introduction

Schools help the children of today to become the adults of tomorrow [1]. Nevertheless, year in and year out, a sizeable proportion of adolescents who do not develop a commitment to succeeding in school or feel of a sense of attachment to school quit before earning their high school diploma [2,3]. Unfortunately, despite public authorities' efforts to reduce the school dropout rate, this problem remains a pressing public health issue [1,4–7]. Development during adolescence could be critical (for a review, see Eccles, Midgley, Wigfield, Buchanan, Reuman, Banagan, and Iver, 1994) [8]. The magnitude of the drastic decline in some early adolescents' school grades as they move into junior high school is a significant predictor of school failure and dropout [9]. Other reductions have been

described in adolescent attributes such as academic engagement [10], self-concept and self-perceptions [11,12], interest in school [13], and intrinsic motivation [11]. The relationship between poor academic performance and the dropout rate has been well documented empirically (for a review, see Battin-Pearson, et al., 2000) [3]. Poor academic performance is related to poor self-esteem, especially in the academic and professional domains, and it has a negative impact on the development of psychosocial competence and emotional regulation [3,10,14–17]. Dropping out of high school may lead to diverse short- and long-term consequences, such as a negative impact on individual well-being, reduced earning potential, and even increased contact with the juvenile and criminal justice systems [18].

Parental socialization has been identified as a major source of protection or risk in childhood, adolescence, and beyond. Parents play a key role in the way their children develop, either contributing to the child's developmental competence or failing in the parenting socialization process when children manifest a lack of instrumental competence [19–22]. Nevertheless, the family is not an isolated context where socialization occurs [23,24]. The socialization literature has examined linkages between the child's family context and his/her school context [14,25–28]. During adolescence, peer approval may be based less on academic achievement and more on conformity with peer standards that deviate from social norms [29]. For instance, academic engagement and success may be devalued by peers and negatively associated with students' social standing [30]. Adolescents may also be susceptible to peer pressure about unacceptable behaviors, such as antisocial tendencies [22,31], irresponsible sexual activity [32], or drug use and abuse [33,34]. Despite these extrafamilial influences, parents are still the main socializing agents during adolescence [22,35,36].

To capture parental socialization and its impact on child development, scholars have traditionally followed a four-typology model of parental socialization styles with two orthogonal dimensions: warmth and strictness [20,24,37]. Warmth represents the degree to which parents show their children care and acceptance, support them, and communicate by reasoning with them [20,38]. Other labels such as acceptance [39]; assurance [40]; love [41]; or, more recently, acceptance/involvement [42,43], have similar meanings to warmth.

Strictness refers to the degree to which parents impose standards on their children's conduct, use supervision, and maintain an assertive position of authority over their children. Other labels such as domination; hostility; inflexibility; control; firmness; restriction; or, more recently, strictness/imposition, have similar meanings to strictness [39,41,43–45]. Based on these two dimensions, a four-typology classification of child-rearing patterns has been identified: authoritative parents are warm and strict, authoritarian parents are strict but not warm, indulgent parents are warm but not strict, and neglectful parents are neither warm nor strict [20,21,24,37,43,46].

Findings from numerous studies have repeatedly shown the benefits of authoritative parenting (warmth and strictness) as the highest quality parent–child relationship to provide optimal developmental outcomes for children and adolescents from middle-class European-American families [34,43,47]. The positive influence of authoritative parenting has been extended even beyond adolescence; authoritative parenting in childhood and adolescence has been associated with positive functioning in adulthood [48–50]. Adolescents from authoritative families develop higher self-esteem [51]; have better psychosocial maturity, as revealed by their strong sense of self-reliance, work-orientation, and social competence [43,52]; report fewer emotional maladjustment problems [43]; have lower rates of drug use and abuse [53,54]; and are less involved in a broad spectrum of behavioral problems [34,43]. Furthermore, authoritative parenting provides various benefits in the school context. Adolescents from authoritative families have good academic competence and orientation toward school, apply the most adaptive achievement strategies (self-enhancing attributions but low levels of failure expectations, task irrelevant behavior, and passivity), achieve better school performance (e.g., grade point average), and are less involved in episodes of school misconduct [25,28,43,52,55]. For example, authoritative parenting is related to the highest school performance, as indicated in many studies examining grade point averages of adolescent students [28,34,36,56]. On the other hand, neglectful parenting (neither warmth nor strictness) is consistently associated with the lowest quality parent–child relationships (the worst developmental outcomes). In the middle position between authoritative (the best) and neglectful (the worst)

parenting styles are the authoritarian and indulgent styles. Authoritarian parents (strict but not warm) obtain obedience and conformity with regard to social standards from their children; in an academic context, adolescents from authoritarian parents do well and do not tend to be involved in deviant activities (e.g., school misconduct). However, youngsters with authoritarian parents have relatively worse self-reliance and higher psychosocial and somatic distress. Adolescents with indulgent parents (warm but not strict) show a strong sense of self-confidence, although they fail in an academic context, are less engaged in school, and report more school misconduct [34,43]. In summary, this evidence from studies in middle-class European-American families reveals a repeated pattern of competence and adjustment associated with the four parenting styles: authoritative parenting is the optimal style, neglectful parenting is the worst, and indulgent and authoritarian parenting fall in the middle (e.g., as a mixture of positive and negative traits).

As Pinquart and Kausser recently noted (2018, p. 75) [55], most of the research on the relationship between parenting and children's psychological and behavioral outcomes has been conducted in middle-class white families from the United States and other western countries. However, the available evidence does not support the idea that the optimal parenting style is always authoritative (warmth and strictness). A growing body of literature questions the view that an authoritative parenting style is always associated with positive developmental outcomes in children across all ethnicities, environments, and cultural contexts [21,57–69]. Evidence from studies in Anglo-Saxon contexts with ethnic minority families and in cross-cultural parenting research conducted in other cultural contexts casts doubt on whether the warmth (i.e., acceptance and involvement) element of authoritative parenting (shared by authoritative and indulgent parents) is always required for an optimal parenting style [70]. Parenting literature also supports authoritarian parenting (strictness but not warmth) as an appropriate parental strategy in needy ethnic minority families and dangerous communities, where authoritarian parenting may not be as harmful and may even have some protective benefits [71]. For example, when analyzing parenting styles and school context, authoritarian parenting (strictness but not warmth) is associated with optimal academic outcomes and the highest

academic grades [42,55,58,72]. Overall, earlier studies in the United States with ethnic minority groups, such as African Americans [57,59,73], Chinese Americans [58,67], Hispanic Americans [74,75], or multiethnic Americans [76], as well as some studies with Arab families, did not find authoritarian parenting to be associated with high levels of psychological distress [60,77,78], suggesting that the authoritarian parenting style is an appropriate parental strategy.

On the other hand, the indulgent parenting style (warmth but not strictness) also provides ample benefits for children's development in European and Latin American countries, such as Spain [79], Portugal [80], Italy [81], the UK, Sweden, Slovenia, Czech Republic [33], Germany [69], Norway [63], Turkey [82], Brazil [66], or Mexico [83]. Indulgent parenting is related to similar or, in some cases, higher developmental outcomes than authoritative parenting in adolescence. By contrast, both authoritarian parenting (strictness but not warmth) and neglectful parenting (neither warmth nor strictness) are consistently associated with the lowest quality parent-child relationships (the worst developmental outcomes). Some new findings extend the benefits of indulgent parenting beyond adolescence [22,84]. Adolescents from indulgent homes (warmth but not strictness) obtained equal or even higher adjustment than those from authoritative households (warmth and strictness) for different developmental outcomes such as self-esteem [85], psychosocial competence [86], emotional maladjustment [21], substance use and abuse [87], aggression and cyberaggression [88,89], traditional bullying and cyberbullying victimization [31], internalization of values [64,90,91], child-to-parent violence [92], or a broad spectrum of behavioral problems [14,93]. Furthermore, indulgent parenting provides several benefits in the school context. Adolescents from indulgent families have good academic competence, achieve better school performance (e.g., grade point average), report fewer failing grades, and are less involved in episodes of school misconduct. For example, indulgent parenting (warmth but not strictness) helps adolescents in their academic success and school grades [14,21,55,86]. Overall, adolescents with indulgent parents enjoy benefits in the self-reliance domain, as indicated by the positive perceptions of their own personal academic abilities [14,21,86].

The Present Study

The present study examines the relationship between parenting styles and school performance during adolescence and the pattern of short- and long-term socialization outcomes in adolescents and adults (young, middle-aged, and older adults). Three sets of socialization outcomes will be analyzed: self-esteem, psychosocial maturity, and emotional maladjustment. Self-esteem, psychosocial maturity, and emotional regulation are key goals of socialization [94–96]. (i) Self-esteem is a traditional socialization outcome [96] and plays a central role in understanding behavioral, cognitive, emotional, and social functioning in adolescence and adulthood [97,98]. (ii) Psychosocial maturity is another key socialization outcome that represents the response to cultural demands to make an optimal society function [95]. Psychosocial maturity is defined as the capacity “to function effectively on one’s own, or individual adequacy; to interact adequately with others, or interpersonal adequacy; and to contribute to social cohesion, or social adequacy” (Greenberger et al., 1974, p. 128) [95], and it is a key attribute for the optimal growth of the individual associated with positive development in adolescence [43,52,99] and adulthood [100–102]. (iii) Emotional maladjustment is a frequent socialization outcome in parenting studies [21,22,86,94], and it represents a failure in the socialization of emotion, where children are not able to regulate their mechanisms of understanding, experiencing, and expressing emotions [94]. Although differences in demographic variables are not central to the focus of parenting studies [21,43], previous research has reported sex- and age-related differences in self-esteem, psychosocial maturity, and emotional maladjustment. Regarding sex-differences, females indicate better academic/professional and family self-esteem but less emotional self-esteem than males. In addition, females have greater psychosocial maturity than males. On emotional maladjustment, females report more nervousness and emotional instability, whereas males indicate more hostility [21,84,86]. Regarding age-related

differences, most studies focus on age-specific groups (e.g., adolescents or young adults). Nevertheless, a general tendency suggests that there are age-related increases in self-regulation and reductions in social interest. For example, psychosocial maturity or emotional regulation tends to improve with age [101,103].

Parenting socialization (from childhood to adolescence) is an adult-initiated process (parents or primary caretakers) through which the young person acquires his/her culture, as well as the habits and values congruent with adaptation to that culture, so that young children become responsible members of their society. Unfortunately, when parenting socialization is over, not all children reach the parenting socialization goals and become responsible adult members of their society [19,104]. Despite lifespan development theories that stress the key importance of early experiences well beyond adolescence [105,106], little is known about the links between parenting socialization and psychological and behavioral outcomes in adulthood [49]. In particular, few studies provide evidence about long-term socialization outcomes beyond adolescence [48–50,84,107], and most of them have been limited to young adulthood [48,84], used different outcomes for adolescents and for older people [50], or studied isolated parenting practices rather than a parenting styles approach [50,107]. It is commonly recognized that children with low school performance are more likely to have poor psychological competence and consistently worse adjustment on several developmental outcomes. Public health authorities have defended the need for public policies to make a critical contribution to children's academic achievement [1,3,7]. However, studies commonly use school performance as just another outcome of the parenting style [14,86,108] but not as a public health risk for children that can undermine the adolescent's development on the crucial path to adulthood; focusing on academic performance as a public health risk would involve analyzing whether the efficacy of parenting is similar or different based on the child's school performance. For example, previous parenting research has analyzed the impact of parenting in several circumstances, such as raising children in poor neighborhoods [14,109], latchkey children [35], children with antisocial tendencies [84], or even children who are juvenile offenders [110]. Based on the literature review described

above, we expect that (1) school performance (medium and high) will be associated with better adjustment (high self-esteem and psychosocial maturity and low emotional maladjustment) than poor school performance (low) and (2) high levels of parental warmth (shared by both authoritative and indulgent parents) will be associated with better socialization outcomes (high self-esteem and psychosocial maturity and low emotional maladjustment) in both the short-term (in adolescents) and long-term (in young, middle-aged, and older adults).

2. Materials and Methods

2.1. Participants and Procedure

The study was composed of 2069 participants (1195 females and 874 males; $M = 35.85$ years, $SD = 20.51$), 602 adolescents from 12 to 17 years old (351 females and 251 males), 610 young adults from 18 to 35 years old (355 females and 255 males), 469 middle-aged adults from 36 to 59 years old (276 females and 193 males), and 388 older adults from 60 to 75 years old (213 females and 175 males). It was carried out in a south-eastern city of Spain with fewer than one million inhabitants. A priori power analysis determined that 356 participants were required to detect an unfavorable medium effect size ($f = 0.22$) with a power of 0.95 ($\alpha = 0.05$, $1 - \beta = 0.95$) in F -tests among the four parenting styles [111,112]. Data from adolescents and adults were collected during the 2016–2017 and 2017–2018 academic years. (i) Adolescents were recruited from the complete list of high schools through random selection. If a high school refused to participate, a replacement school from the complete list was selected until completing the sample size required. This random sampling procedure means that the probability of each unit in the population (i.e., adolescents from high schools) being selected is the same [21,31,84,113]. To achieve the planned sample size, we contacted the heads of the high schools invited to participate (only two refused to participate). Parental consent was required for adolescent participation. (ii) Young adult participants were recruited in undergraduate education courses, and they received course credit for participating [22,114,115]. (iii) Middle-aged participants were recruited from city council neighborhoods. Three middle-class

neighborhoods with similar average household wealth were randomly selected [116,117]. (iv) Older adult participants were recruited from the complete list of senior citizen centers and were randomly selected from the complete list of senior citizen centers. When one senior citizen center refused to participate, another one was selected until completing the sample size required. This system means that every unit in the population (i.e., older adults from senior citizen centers) has the same probability of being selected [21,31,84].

The research protocol was approved by the Research Ethics Committee of the Program for the Promotion of Scientific Research, Technological Development, and Innovation of the Spanish Valencian Region, which supported this research. All the participants who participated in this study (a) were Spanish, as were their parents and four grandparents; (b) lived in two-parent nuclear families with a mother or primary female caregiver and a father or primary male caregiver; and (c) participated voluntarily. A total of 2069 respondents completed the instruments (96% response rate). The power F -test among the four parenting styles for the age group with the smallest sample size (older adults, $n = 388$) was 0.95 ($f = 0.21$; $\alpha = 0.05$) [111,112,118]. All of the questionnaires were completed anonymously with Institutional Review Board approval.

2.2. Measures

2.2.1. Parenting Styles

Parental warmth was measured with the 13 items from the warmth/affection scale (WAS) [119]. The WAS measures the extent to which adolescents perceive their parents as loving, responsive, and involved (e.g., “Talks to me about our plans and listens to what I have to say” and “Makes me feel proud when I do well”). The WAS adult version measures the degree to which adults had perceived their parents as loving, responsive, and involved during their adolescence (e.g., “Talked to me about our plans and listened to what I had to say” and “Made me feel proud when I was doing well”). Cronbach’s alpha for this scale was 0.935. Parental strictness was measured using six items from the parental control scale (PCS) [21,33,120]. The PCS measures the extent to which adolescents perceive strict parental

control over their behavior (e.g., “They make sure I know exactly what I can and cannot do” and “They believe in having a lot of rules and sticking to them”). The PCS adult version measures the degree to which adults had perceived strict parental control during their adolescence (e.g., “They made sure I knew exactly what I could and could not do” and “They believed in having a lot of rules and sticking to them”). Cronbach’s alpha for this scale was 0.859. On both the WAS and the PCS, adolescents and adults rated all the items on the same 4-point scale from 1 (“almost never true”) to 4 (“almost always true”).

Four parenting styles were defined by dichotomizing the sample on parental warmth and parental strictness and examining the two parenting variables simultaneously [21,33,34,121]: authoritative parenting (above the 50th percentile on both warmth and strictness), neglectful parenting (below the 50th percentile on both variables), authoritarian parenting (above the 50th percentile on strictness, but below the 50th percentile on warmth), and indulgent parenting (above the 50th percentile on warmth, but below the 50th percentile on strictness). The use of the split procedure (e.g., median or tertile) to assign families to the parenting groups, rather than assigning them on the basis of predetermined cutoffs, provides a categorization of families that is sample-specific. For example, families in the “authoritarian” category are indeed relatively more authoritarian (i.e., less warm and stricter) than the other families in the sample, although we do not know whether the families we have labeled “authoritarian” would be considered “authoritarian” within a different population. Therefore, it is important to take into account that the designation of families as one type or another, relative to their counterparts, is done for heuristic, not diagnostic, purposes (see Steinberg et al., 1991, p. 1053) [122].

2.2.2. School Performance

School performance was captured by the grade point average (GPA) in school. Scores were transformed from the Spanish numerical standard (0–10) to the standard GPA in the USA, ranging from 0 (all Fs) to 5 (all As) [43,123]. Adolescent and adult students were asked to report their grade point average (GPA) in the last course in school. Because GPA school records are not always available to students, and

there are legal limitations to gaining access to school records in many schools, self-reported GPA is widely used in parenting studies [21,34,36,56]. As Steinberg and Dornbusch note (1995, p. 917), “self-reported GPA is generally considered to be an accurate assessment of school performance” [34]. In this regard, self-reported grades provide a close approximation to the distribution of grades on school records (see Donovan and Jessor, 1985, 892–893, Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, and Fraleigh, 1987, p. 1247–1248) [56,124]. The maximum educational level for participants in the adolescent age group (12 to 17 years old) was the compulsory secondary education certificate, whereas for young adults (18 to 35 years old), middle-aged adults (36 to 59 years old), and older adults (60 to 75 years old), it was a doctorate degree. Each participant was categorized into low, medium, and high performance in school based on a tertile split within their sex and age peer group (adolescent, young, middle-aged, or older adults), reflecting their relative standing within their age peer group [125,126].

2.2.3. Self-Esteem

Academic/professional, emotional, and family self-esteem were measured with three 6-item subscales from the multidimensional self-esteem scale (AF5) [97,127,128]. The AF5 is a widely validated questionnaire for adolescents and adults [97,117,128–131] in several countries such as Spain [129,131], Portugal [130], Brazil [97], Chile [117], and the United States [128]. The academic/professional component denotes the perception that adolescents or adults have of the quality of their role performance as students (or workers). A sample item is “I work very hard in class [at work]”. The emotional component denotes the perception that adolescents or adults have of their emotional state and their responses to specific situations, with some degree of commitment and involvement in their daily lives. A sample item is “I am afraid of some things” (reversed item). The family component refers to the perception that adolescents or adults have of their involvement, participation, and integration in the family. A sample item is “My family is disappointed with me” (reverse item). Participants responded on a 99-point scale, ranging from 1 (strong disagreement) to 99 (strong agreement). Modifications were made to obtain a score index ranging from 0.10 to 9.99. Higher scores represent

a greater sense of self-esteem. Cronbach's alpha for each subscale was academic/professional, 0.880; emotional, 0.757; and family, 0.810.

2.2.4. Psychosocial Maturity

Psychosocial maturity was measured with the self-competence, social competence, and empathy subscales of the psychosocial maturity questionnaire (CRPM3) [22,43,99]. Self-competence was measured with 12 items. Two sample items are "I consider myself effective in my work" and "I have confidence and security in myself". Social competence was measured with eight items. Two sample items are "I adapt successfully to different people and social situations" and "I am able to maintain very close ties of friendship with others". Empathy was measured with five items. Two sample items are "I am sensitive to others' feelings and needs" and "I know how to listen to other people". On all subscales, adults responded on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Higher scores on self-competence, social competence, and empathy represent a greater sense of psychosocial maturity. Cronbach's alpha value for each subscale was self-competence, 0.860; social competence, 0.831; and empathy, 0.672.

2.2.5. Emotional Maladjustment

Emotional maladjustment was measured with the nervousness, emotional instability, and hostility subscales. Nervousness was assessed with eight items from the CRPM3 [22,43,99]. Two sample items are: "I am usually tense, nervous and anxious" and "I get irritated easily". Participants responded on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Higher scores on nervousness represent greater emotional maladjustment. Cronbach's alpha value was 0.775. Emotional instability and hostility were assessed with the two subscales of the Personality Assessment Questionnaire (PAQ) [21,86,132]. Emotional instability was assessed with six items. Two sample items are "I am in a bad mood and grouchy without any good reason" and "I am cheerful and happy one minute and gloomy or unhappy the next". Hostility was assessed with six items. Two sample items are "I think about fighting or being mean" and "I get so mad I throw or break things". Participants responded on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (almost never true) to 4 (almost always true). Higher scores on instability and hostility represent greater

emotional maladjustment. Cronbach's alpha for each subscale was emotional instability, 0.711; and hostility, 0.659

2.3. Data Analyses

A factorial ($4 \times 3 \times 2 \times 4$) multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was applied for three sets of socialization outcome variables (self-esteem, psychosocial maturity, and emotional maladjustment), with parenting style (authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent, and neglectful), school performance (low, medium, and high), sex (male vs. female), and age group (adolescents, young adults, middle-aged adults, and older adults) as independent variables. Follow-up univariate *F*-tests were performed for all sources of variation when multivariate statistically significant differences were found. Univariate significant results were followed by post-hoc Bonferroni comparisons of all the possible pairs of means [21,34,43,80].

3. Results

3.1. Parenting Style Groups

Participants were classified into one of the four (indulgent, authoritative, authoritarian, or neglectful) (Table 1). The indulgent group contained 577 children (27.9%) with high warmth, $M = 73.71$, $SD = 4.45$, but low strictness, $M = 28.17$, $SD = 5.54$; the authoritative group contained 451 (21.8%) with high warmth, $M = 72.82$, $SD = 4.18$, and high strictness, $M = 39.87$, $SD = 5.13$; the authoritarian group contained 591 (28.6%) with low warmth, $M = 55.35$, $SD = 10.02$, and high strictness, $M = 41.95$, $SD = 5.76$; and the neglectful group contained 450 (21.7%) with low warmth $M = 57.35$, $SD = 9.29$, and low strictness, $M = 28.28$, $SD = 5.59$. In agreement with the orthogonality assumption, the warmth and strictness parental dimensions were weakly intercorrelated across the four age groups: 12–17 years, $r = 0.203$, $R^2 = 0.04$, 95% CI (0.08, 0.02), less than 5% of shared variance, $p < 0.005$; 18–35 years, $r = 0.202$, $R^2 = 0.04$, 95% CI (.08, 0.02), less than 5% of shared $p < 0.005$; and 60–75 years, $r = 0.216$, $R^2 = 0.05$, 95% CI (0.10, 0.01), 5% of shared variance, $p < 0.005$.

The distribution of the parenting styles by sex was homogeneous, $\chi^2(3) = 0.48, p = 0.923$, as was their distribution by age, $\chi^2(3) = 1.96, p = 0.992$. In the group of authoritative families, there were 451 participants (31.04% adolescents, 29.27% young adults, 22.39% middle-aged adults, and 17.29% older adults). In the group of indulgent families, there were 577 participants (28.77% adolescents, 29.12% young adults, 23.33% middle-aged adults, and 18.22% older adults). In the group of authoritarian families, there were 591 participants (28.09% adolescents, 29.95% young adults, 22.50% middle-aged adults, and 19.46% older adults). In the group of neglectful families, there were 450 participants (28.89% adolescents, 29.56% young adults, 23.33% middle-aged adults, and 18.22% older adults).

Table 1. Numbers of cases in parenting style groups, mean scores, and standard deviations for main measures of parental dimensions

	Total	Authoritative	Indulgent	Authoritarian	Neglectful
Frequency	2069	451	577	591	450
Percent	100	21.8	27.9	28.6	21.7
<i>Warmth</i>					
Mean	67.72	72.82	73.71	55.35	57.35
SD	11.42	4.18	4.45	10.02	9.29
<i>Strictness</i>					
Mean	34.68	39.87	28.17	41.95	28.28
SD	8.50	5.13	5.54	5.76	5.59

3.2. Multivariate Analyses

The four MANOVA main effects were statistically significant for parenting style, $\Lambda = 0.759, F(27, 5751.1) = 21.09, p < 0.001$, school performance, $\Lambda = 0.980, F(18, 3938.0) = 10.83, p < 0.001$, sex, $\Lambda = 0.888, F(9, 1969.0) = 27.57, p < 0.001$, and age $\Lambda = 0.830, F(27, 5751.1) = 14.00, p < 0.001$ (Table 2). In addition, the MANOVA analysis yielded statistically significant interaction effects between parenting style and age, $\Lambda = 0.933, F(81, 12,733.7) = 1.69, p < 0.001$, school performance and sex, $\Lambda = 0.985, F(18, 3938.0) = 1.66, p = 0.039$, school performance and age, $\Lambda = 0.938, F(54, 10,044.6) = 2.35, p < 0.001$, and sex and age, $\Lambda = 0.979, F(27, 5751.1) = 1.52, p = 0.042$.

3.3. Parenting Styles and Self-Esteem Outcomes

Indulgent parenting was associated with equal or even higher self-esteem than the authoritative style; by contrast, authoritarian and neglectful parenting were always related to the lowest level of self-esteem (Table 3). On academic/professional self-esteem, children with indulgent and authoritative parents obtained higher scores than those from authoritarian and neglectful families. On emotional self-esteem, indulgent parenting was related to higher scores than the authoritative, authoritarian, and neglectful styles. Similarly, an interaction effect between parenting styles and age was found on family self-esteem, $F(9, 1977) = 3.69, p < 0.001$ (see Figure 1). Again, indulgent and authoritative parenting styles were more related to higher family self-esteem than neglectful and authoritarian parenting in adolescents and adults. Age profiles showed a drastic decrease in family self-esteem within neglectful parenting (older adults raised in neglectful families reported lower scores than adolescents and young adults who characterized their parents as neglectful). Of the parenting styles related to low family self-esteem (i.e., neglectful and authoritarian), neglectful parenting was associated with higher scores than the authoritarian style but only in the adolescent and young adult age groups; in middle-aged and older adults, scores were not statistically different.

Table 2. Four-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) factorial $4 \times 3 \times 2 \times 4$ for the three sets of outcomes measures: self-esteem, psychosocial maturity, and emotional maladjustment

Source of Variation	Λ	F	df _{between}	df _{error}	p
(A) Parenting Styles ^a	0.759	21.09	27	5751.1	<0.001
(B) School performance ^b	0.980	10.83	18	3938.0	<0.001
(C) Sex ^c	0.888	27.57	9	1969.0	<0.001
(D) Age ^d	0.830	14.00	27	5751.1	<0.001
A \times B	0.972	1.05	54	10,044.6	0.373
A \times C	0.979	1.38	27	5751.1	0.090
A \times D	0.933	1.69	81	12,733.7	<0.001
B \times C	0.985	1.66	18	3938.0	0.039
B \times D	0.938	2.35	54	10,044.6	<0.001
C \times D	0.979	1.52	27	5751.1	0.042
A \times B \times C	0.974	0.96	54	10,044.6	0.560
A \times B \times D	0.917	1.05	162	15,964.9	0.305
A \times C \times D	0.961	0.97	81	12,733.7	0.561
B \times C \times D	0.980	0.88	45	8810.9	0.696
A \times B \times C \times D	0.930	1.07	135	15,334.8	0.283

^aa1, authoritative, a2, indulgent, a3, authoritarian, a4, neglectful; ^bb1, low, b2, high, b3, high; ^cc1, male, c2, female; ^dd1, adolescents (12–17 years), young adults (18–35 years), middle-aged adults (36–59 years), and older adults (60–75 years).

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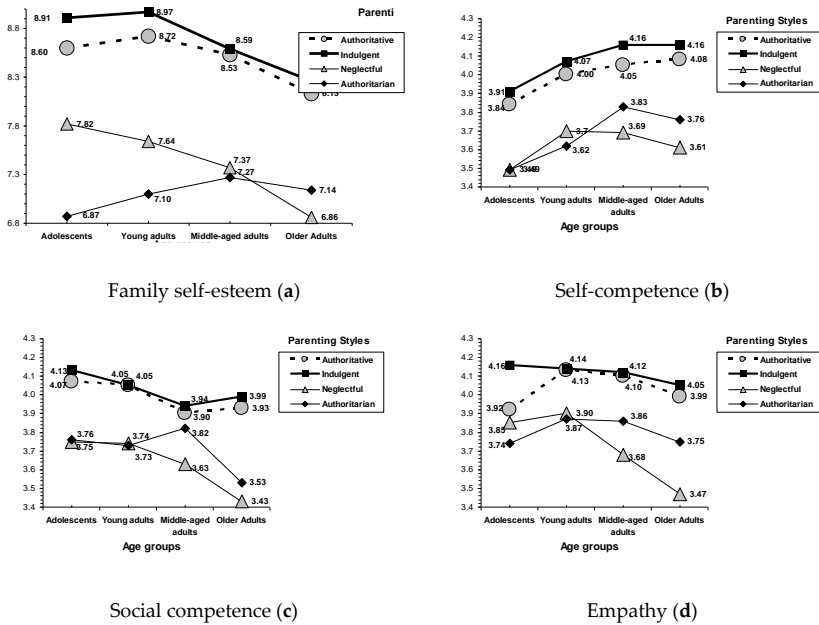


Figure 1. Interactions for parenting style by age. (a) Family self-esteem, (b) self-competence, (c) social competence, and (d) empathy.

Table 3. Means (and standard deviations) for parenting style and school performance, and main univariate *F* values for the set of outcome measures (self-esteem, psychosocial maturity, and emotional maladjustment).

	Parenting Style					School Performance				
	Autho-Ritative	Indul-Gent	Autho-Ritarian	Negle-Ctrful	<i>F</i> (3, 1977)	Low	Medium	High	<i>F</i> (3, 1977)	
Academic/professional	7.82 ¹	7.92 ¹	7.09 ²	7.12 ²	33.42 ***	6.82 ³	7.67 ²	8.01 ¹	81.65 ***	
	(1.35)	(1.20)	(1.68)	(1.51)		(1.78)	(1.22)	(1.17)		
	5.59 ²	5.95 ¹	5.39 ²	5.63 ²	8.04 ***	5.60	5.52	5.86	0.81	
Emotional	(1.78)	(1.82)	(1.71)	(1.67)		(1.68)	(1.77)	(1.81)		
Family	8.54 ¹	8.73 ¹	7.08 ^{2b}	7.49 ^{2a}	150.16 ***	7.60 ²	8.12 ¹	8.12 ¹	9.00 ***	
	(1.02)	(0.94)	(1.58)	(1.45)		(1.53)	(1.38)	(1.44)		
Psychosocial maturity										
Self-competence	4.00 ¹	4.04 ¹	3.66 ²	3.62 ²	65.80 ***	3.67 ²	3.88 ¹	3.95 ¹	21.98 ***	
	(0.49)	(0.49)	(0.59)	(0.57)		(0.69)	(0.64)	(0.68)		
Social-competence	4.00 ¹	4.04 ¹	3.72 ²	3.66 ²	36.56 ***	3.78	3.93	3.86	1.14	
	(0.58)	(0.62)	(0.70)	(0.68)		(0.69)	(0.64)	(0.68)		
Empathy	4.03 ¹	4.12 ¹	3.81 ²	3.76 ²	45.41 ***	3.78 ²	4.02 ¹	3.99 ¹	15.58 ***	
	(0.70)	(0.65)	(0.71)	(0.66)		(0.63)	(0.54)	(0.54)		
Emotional maladjustment										
Nervousness	2.29 ²	2.18 ³	2.57 ¹	2.50 ¹	26.01 ***	2.47 ¹	2.35 ²	2.34 ²	4.62 *	
	(0.61)	(0.63)	(0.64)	(0.61)		(0.66)	(0.62)	(0.65)		
Emotional-instability	1.79 ^{1b}	1.67 ²	1.92 ^{1a}	1.90 ¹	9.04 ***	2.61 ¹	2.55	2.50 ²	3.77 *	
	(0.47)	(0.42)	(0.53)	(0.49)		(0.55)	(0.56)	(0.57)		
Hostility	2.56 ²	2.44 ³	2.65 ¹	2.57 ¹	21.03 ***	1.91 ¹	1.78 ²	1.76 ²	6.76 **	
	(0.47)	(0.44)	(0.56)	(0.47)		(0.53)	(0.45)	(0.48)		

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; $p > 0.05$; [#] $\alpha = 0.05$; 1 > 2 > 3 > 4; a > b.

3.4. Parenting Styles and Psychosocial Maturity Outcomes

Again, indulgent parenting was associated with equal or even better psychosocial maturity than authoritative parenting, whereas the lowest psychosocial maturity scores corresponded to authoritarian and neglectful parenting. An interaction effect between parenting styles and age was found on self-competence, $F(9, 1977) = 2.48, p = 0.008$; social competence, $F(9, 1977) = 1.95, p = 0.042$; and empathy, $F(9, 1977) = 2.85, p = 0.002$ (see Figure 1). On self-competence, age profiles indicated that the indulgent and authoritative styles were related to higher scores than the neglectful and authoritarian styles in adolescents and adults (young, middle-aged, and older adults). For the parenting styles related to poor self-competence (i.e., neglectful and authoritarian), differences between the two parenting styles did not reach statistical significance in any age group. On social competence, adolescents and adults from indulgent and authoritative families reported higher scores than those from authoritarian and neglectful households (although in the middle-aged adult group, parenting differences only reached statistical levels between the indulgent and neglectful styles). A general lower tendency related to age was found (e.g., older adults had lower social competence than adolescents and young adults). However, this decreasing tendency was especially salient in parenting styles characterized by lack of warmth (i.e., authoritarian and neglectful). As family age profiles revealed, in participants from neglectful families, older adults reported lower scores than adolescents and young adults; and in those from authoritarian households, older adults reported lower scores than middle-aged adults. On empathy, indulgent parenting was related to better scores than authoritative parenting in the adolescent age group. The poorest empathy scores corresponded to the authoritarian and neglectful styles. For empathy, similar to social competence, the age profile showed a drastic decreasing tendency with age in children from neglectful families (older adults reported lower scores than adolescents and young adults).

3.5. Parenting Styles and Emotional Maladjustment Outcomes

Overall, indulgent parenting was consistently associated with less emotional maladjustment than the authoritative, authoritarian, and neglectful parenting styles (see Table 3). On nervousness, children from indulgent families obtained the lowest scores, whereas the highest scores corresponded to authoritarian and neglectful parenting, and authoritative parenting was in the middle position. For emotional instability, the indulgent parenting style was associated with lower scores than authoritative, authoritarian, and neglectful parenting (authoritarian parenting was related to higher scores than authoritative parenting). In the case of hostility, children from indulgent families obtained lower scores than those from authoritative families, whereas children from authoritarian and neglectful households indicated the highest hostility scores.

3.6. School performance

Results indicated that poor school performance was associated with the lowest self-esteem and psychosocial maturity and the highest emotional maladjustment (see Table 3). For self-esteem, poor school performance was related to the lowest levels of academic/professional and family self-esteem. An interaction effect between school performance and age was found on academic/professional self-esteem, $F(6, 1977) = 8.32, p < 0.001$ (see Figure 2). In the adolescent age group, low school performance was related to the lowest academic/professional self-esteem, whereas high performance in school was associated with the highest scores (medium school performance was in the middle position). In the adult age groups, results indicated that young, middle-aged, and older adults with poor school performance during their adolescence reported lower academic/professional self-esteem in adulthood than those with medium and high performance in school. In the case of family self-esteem, low school performance was associated with lower scores than medium and high performance in school. In a similar way, for psychosocial maturity, low school performance was related to lower self-competence and empathy than medium and high performance in school. On emotional maladjustment, poor school performance was

associated with the highest levels of nervousness, emotional instability, and nervousness.

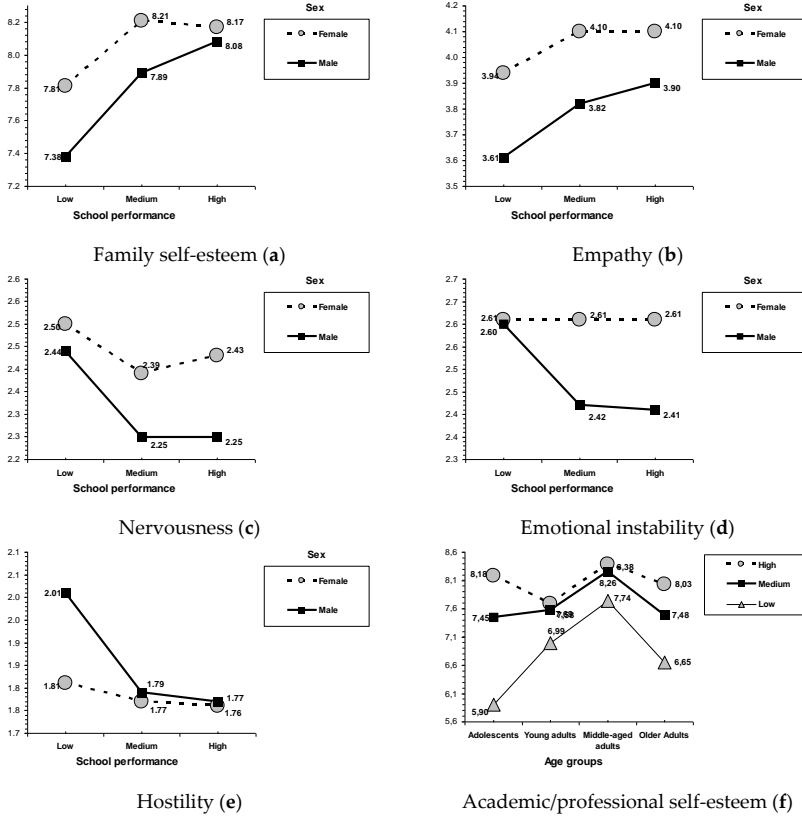


Figure 2. Interactions for school performance and sex. (a) Family self-esteem, (c) nervousness, (d) emotional instability, and (e) hostility. Interactions for school performance and age. (f) Academic/professional self-esteem.

3.7. Sex and Age

Although not the focus of this study, several univariate main effects for sex and age attained significance (see Table 4). Sex-related differences indicated that females had more academic/ professional and family self-esteem but less emotional self-esteem than males. An interaction effect between school performance and sex was found on family self-esteem, $F(2, 1977) = 3.38, p = 0.034$ (see Figure 2), such that females with poor school performance reported higher scores than males with poor school performance. On psychosocial maturity

outcomes, females showed more empathy and social competence than males. An interaction effect between school performance and sex was found on empathy, $F(2, 1977) = 3.71, p = 0.025$, with females reporting higher empathy than males (regardless of school performance). In the case of emotional maladjustment outcomes, an interaction effect between sex and school performance was found on nervousness, $F(2, 1977) = 3.09, p = 0.046$; emotional instability, $F(2, 1977) = 5.65, p = 0.004$; and hostility, $F(2, 1977) = 6.77, p = 0.001$ (see Figure 3) Males with medium and high performance in school reported lower nervousness and emotional instability than females with the same school performance (no sex differences were found within the poor school performance condition). On hostility, only in the low school performance condition, males reported higher scores than females.

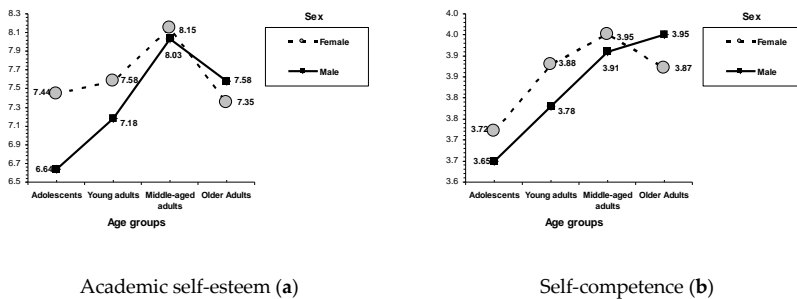


Figure 3. Interactions between sex and age. (a) Academic self-esteem and (b) self-competence.

Age-related differences were found in all the socialization outcomes. On academic/professional self-esteem, adolescents had lower scores than the adult age groups (the peak corresponded to middle-aged adults); on emotional self-esteem, older and middle-aged adults showed higher scores than adolescents and young adults; and on family self-esteem, the lowest scores corresponded to older adults. An interaction effect between age and sex was found on academic/professional self-esteem, $F(6, 1977) = 6.49, p < 0.001$ (see Figure 2). In the adolescent and young adult age groups, females obtained higher scores than males. On psychosocial maturity, adolescents showed lower self-competence than adults; older adults showed lower social competence than adolescents and young adults; and young adults obtained the highest empathy. An interaction effect between age and sex was found on self-competence, $F(3, 1977) =$

2.35, $p = 0.070$ (see Figure 2). Both males and females showed increased self-competence related to age (middle-aged adults scored higher than adolescents). Older male adults scored higher than middle-aged male adults, whereas older female adults scored lower than middle-aged female adults (although these differences did not reach statistical significance).

Table 4. Means (and standard deviations) for parenting style and school performance, and main univariate F values for the set of outcome measures (self-esteem, psychosocial maturity, and emotional maladjustment).

	Sex		$F(1, 1977)$	Age			$F(1, 1977)$	
	Female	Male		12–17 years	18–35 years	36–59 years		60–75 years
Self-esteem								
Academic/professional	7.63 (1.43)	7.29 (1.57)	8.51 **	7.10 ³ (1.59)	7.41 ² (1.36)	8.10 ¹ (1.19)	7.45 ² (1.66)	38.81***
Emotional	5.28 (1.72)	6.14 (1.68)	96.48 ***	5.37 ² (1.68)	5.57 ² (1.76)	5.88 ¹ (1.80)	5.88 ¹ (1.75)	7.32***
Family	8.08 (1.45)	7.76 (1.47)	7.82 **	8.04 ¹ (1.51)	8.09 ¹ (1.47)	7.93 ¹ (1.37)	7.61 ² (1.47)	16.71***
Psychosocial maturity								
Self-competence	3.85 (0.65)	3.81 (0.69)	0.43	3.69 ² (0.56)	3.84 ¹ (0.55)	3.93 ¹ (0.54)	3.91 ¹ (0.62)	17.94***
Social-competence	3.91 (0.65)	3.78 (0.69)	8.90 **	3.93 ¹ (0.66)	3.89 ¹ (0.66)	3.83 (0.64)	3.72 ² (0.73)	7.58***
Empathy	4.05 (0.55)	3.77 (0.58)	94.91 ***	3.92 ² (0.55)	4.01 ¹ (0.55)	3.94 ² (0.59)	3.83 ² (0.65)	9.13***
Emotional maladjustment								
Nervousness	2.43 (0.66)	2.32 (0.61)	20.64 ***	2.41 (0.63)	2.40 (0.65)	2.31 (0.65)	2.41 (0.64)	1.30
Emotional instability	2.61 (0.56)	2.49 (0.55)	15.55 ***	2.64 ¹ (0.52)	2.55 (0.59)	2.49 ² (0.57)	2.52 ² (0.55)	5.24**
Hostility	1.78 (0.47)	1.87 (0.51)	7.77**	1.89 ¹ (0.50)	1.84 ^a (0.49)	1.74 ^{2b} (0.45)	1.76 ² (0.51)	7.01***

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; $p > 0.05$; [‡] $\alpha = 0.05$; 1 > 2 > 3 > 4; a > b.

4. Discussion

This study examines the links between parenting styles and school performance during adolescence and short- and long-term socialization outcomes in a community sample of Spanish adolescents and adults (young, middle-aged, and older adults). The short- and long-term socialization outcomes analyzed were self-esteem

(academic/professional, emotional, and family), psychosocial maturity (self-competence, social competence, and empathy), and emotional maladjustment (nervousness, emotional instability, and hostility). We examine whether consequences of parenting styles for children's socialization outcomes could be different depending on school performance. Overall, an important contribution of this study is that our results did not reveal an interaction between parenting style and school performance; therefore, the relationship between parenting styles and children's socialization outcomes does not vary based on school performance. In general, results indicated that the indulgent style (warmth but not strictness) is an effective parenting strategy, regardless of the child's school performance. Children raised in indulgent families obtained equal or even higher competence and adjustment than those who were raised in authoritative households. Both authoritarian and neglectful parenting (lack of warmth) were related to the worst outcomes. Moreover, it is important to note that poor school performance is consistently associated with the worst short- and long-term socialization outcomes, not only during adolescence but also in adulthood.

On the self-esteem outcomes, our results indicated that indulgent parenting is associated with equal (academic/professional and family) or even higher (emotional) levels of self-esteem. By contrast, authoritarian and neglectful parenting styles were consistently related to the lowest levels of self-esteem (academic/professional, emotional, and family). Additionally, the parenting age profile for family self-esteem indicated that, despite a decreasing tendency related to age (e.g., older adults reported the lowest family self-esteem), both adolescents and adults (young, middle-aged, and older adults) from indulgent and authoritative families reported more family self-esteem than those from neglectful and authoritarian households. This decreasing tendency was especially salient within the neglectful style; older adults who were raised by neglectful parents reported lower family self-esteem than adolescents and young adults who characterized their parents as neglectful. Again, on psychosocial maturity outcomes, a similar parenting age profile was found; indulgent and authoritative parenting styles were related to greater self-competence, social competence, and empathy than authoritarian and neglectful parenting. Interestingly, the parenting age profile

revealed a different pattern between families characterized by high warmth (indulgent and authoritative) and families characterized by low warmth (authoritarian and neglectful). A decreasing tendency related to age was found, but only in children from neglectful families (older adults reported lower social competence and empathy than adolescents and young adults) and children from authoritarian households (older adults reported lower social competence than middle-aged adults). Furthermore, indulgent parenting was related to more empathy than authoritative parenting in the adolescent age group. Finally, the indulgent parenting style was consistently associated with the lowest levels of emotional maladjustment. Children from indulgent families reported lower nervousness, emotional instability, and hostility than their counterparts from authoritative households. Authoritative parenting was related to less emotional nervousness than authoritarian parenting, and less emotional instability than neglectful parenting.

Another main contribution of our study is that the present results show the linkage between parenting styles and socialization outcomes in the short and long term for three socialization outcomes: self-esteem, psychosocial maturity, and emotional maladjustment. Our results support the idea suggested by earlier socialization researchers [34,57]; that is, the benefits of optimal parenting tend to maintain high adjustment, whereas the deleterious consequences of the worst parenting tend to accumulate over time [49,50,107]. The present findings show that for both adolescents and adults (young, middle-aged, and older adults), the indulgent parenting style is related to optimal short- and long-term socialization outcomes (the highest self-esteem and psychosocial maturity and the lowest emotional maladjustment). Therefore, our findings show that high levels of parental acceptance and involvement combined with low levels of strictness and imposition (i.e., indulgent parenting) seem to make up an optimal parenting strategy in the European cultural context, thus confirming and extending results from previous studies conducted in European and South American countries [21,31,33,62,86]. Self-esteem, psychosocial maturity, and emotional regulation are key goals of socialization [94,96,99]. Results of this study contrast with findings from other cultural contexts where a high level of parental strictness is

the key component in fostering the development of children's self-esteem, psychosocial maturity, and emotional regulation [43,52]. Compared to research conducted mainly in Anglo-Saxon countries, in this study with a European community sample of adolescents and adults, we found that parental warmth and involvement (common in authoritative and indulgent families), rather than parental strictness and imposition (common in authoritative and authoritarian styles), are key strategic factors in promoting the offspring's developmental competence and adjustment. Moreover, the strictness component not only seems to be superfluous but it could also be negative in the short- and long- term developmental competence of adolescents and adults (authoritative parenting was related to less emotional self-esteem and more emotional maladjustment than indulgent parenting).

The present work also addressed main gaps in previous findings examining the linkage between parenting styles and short- and long-term socialization outcomes. Most of the previous studies examining long-term socialization outcomes have only focused on young adults [22,48]. Four other limitations of previous parenting studies should be noted. First, they used different short- and long-term socialization outcomes for adolescents and for older people [50]. Second, even when the socialization outcomes were the same, the study was limited to adolescents and older adults [84]. Third, they used specific age groups of adult children (e.g., 36, 46, and 60–64 years old) rather than global adult age groups [50]. Four, they examined isolated parenting practices rather than using a parenting style approach [50,107]. By contrast, our study provides evidence through a parenting styles framework that captures overall long-term parenting characteristics that integrate and organize particular or specific parenting practices. Furthermore, the impact of parenting styles was analyzed by examining the relationships between parenting styles and children's short- and long-term adjustment or maladjustment, using the same set of socialization outcomes (self-esteem, psychosocial maturity, and emotional maladjustment) and nine indicators for adolescents and adults. The results confirm previous results about children's short-term adjustment in the Spanish context [21,86], but they also extend evidence to the classical adult age groups (young, middle-aged, and older adults) widely used in adulthood studies [133].

Although a main contribution of this study is that the relationship

between the parenting style and the outcomes does not vary depending on school performance, it is crucial to note that the present findings corroborate those of other scholars and expand previous work by showing the key role of experiences in the school context in competence and personal adjustment in adolescence and beyond. Analyzing the main effects, the results showed that, in adolescents and adults (young, middle-aged, and older adults), poor school performance (low) during adolescence was consistently associated with the worst outcomes: less self-esteem (academic/professional and family), less psychosocial maturity (self-competence and empathy), and greater emotional maladjustment (nervousness, emotional-instability, and hostility). Although adolescence ends for all adolescents, developmental progress into healthy adulthood is not guaranteed for all. As our results show, adolescents but also adults' with poor school performance during adolescence had lower competence and adjustment levels. We found differences in all three socialization outcomes and in seven of the nine criteria. Importantly, the negative impact of poor school performance is not limited to the academic or professional domain (e.g., self-perceptions or lack of individual adequacy); instead, the harm extends to other relevant competences, such as self-esteem, psychosocial maturity, and emotional regulation. For example, adolescents and adults with poor school performance during adolescence have lower family self-esteem, less empathy, and greater emotional instability. Our findings contradict some previous studies supporting the idea that a certain degree of discomfort, disruptiveness, and defiance may be normative in adolescence because adolescents have to free themselves from dependence on their parents to form an identity of their own on the path to healthy adulthood [100,134]. Therefore these results do not confirm the so-called classic "storm and stress" hypothesis (for a review, see Arnett, 1999) [135]. On the one hand, our results agree with previous studies supporting the idea that adolescents who do not fit social standards (e.g., those with antisocial behavior) fail in their developmental progress into healthy adulthood [22,136], extending the evidence to academic standards. In this regard, the present findings revealed that adolescents who do not meet academic standards (e.g., those with poor school performance) suffer incompetence and

maladjustment in adulthood. As expected, although the present results indicate a general negative impact of poor school performance on competence and adjustment; the greatest variations in competence and adjustment that differentiate successful (i.e., medium and high performance in school) from unsuccessful students (i.e., poor school performance) lie in the realm of self-perceptions and psychosocial maturity, particularly academic/professional self-esteem and self-competence [52,99,137].

Furthermore, results of this study agree with previous findings on the relations between the demographic variables of sex and age and competence and adjustment. Overall, females showed the highest family self-esteem and academic/professional self-esteem, whereas males reported more emotional self-esteem than females. Females reported more empathy and social competence than males. Males reported more hostility, and females reported more nervousness and emotional instability [21,84,86]. These results also offer age differences that agree with some scholars who suggest age-related increases in self-regulation and reductions in social interest, as well as a peak in the professional career in middle adulthood [101,103,138]. Overall, academic/professional self-esteem was higher in adults than in adolescents (the peak corresponded to middle-aged adults); older and middle-aged adults reported higher emotional self-esteem than young adults and adolescents; and older adults reported the lowest levels of family self-esteem. Adolescents reported lower self-competence than adults, older adults indicated the lowest levels of social competence, and young adults indicated the highest empathy. In terms of emotional maladjustment, adolescents indicated the highest levels of emotional instability and hostility.

This study has strengths and limitations. The two-dimensional four-style theoretical framework to assess parenting offers the opportunity to examine parenting across the globe by examining parenting styles in the broad context of different outcomes through different demographic variables, settings, and countries, contributing to the replication and consistency of the empirical evidence. The present study, with a cross-sectional design, does not determine a relationship of causality between variables, and it cannot exclude other third variables (e.g., there is a long time lag between the parenting socialization and the older adults' current development), although it

establishes linkages between parenting styles and adolescents' school performance and short- and long-term socialization outcomes in Spanish adolescents and adults (young, middle-aged, and older adults). These findings should be interpreted with some caution because we cannot exclude either causal relations between variables or third-variable explanations, but the relative demographic similarity of the sample makes such third-variable accounts less likely. Participants reported their parents' behavior [34], although similar results have been obtained in parenting style studies, despite different methods of data collection (e.g., data provided by parents or by external observers) [34,43,139,140]. In the absence of longitudinal or experimental data, the findings must be viewed as preliminary. Finally, this study uses a community sample, rather than an ethnic minority or clinical sample, although the results offer evidence consistent with previous research. More studies are needed with other samples, such as people from poor neighborhoods or other cultural contexts, in order to extend the parenting evidence, particularly about whether the relations between parenting styles and socialization outcomes may vary as a function of school performance.

As socialization theorists explain, modern societies cannot rely on the ubiquitous presence of policemen or monitors (e.g., parents or caretakers) to keep individual members of society in line [104]. There comes a time when parenting socialization is over: the child has become an adult. However, as in childhood and adolescence, our results show that there are theoretically predictable differences in competence and adjustment among adults who were raised in authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent and neglectful homes (despite the many variables affecting development in adulthood). Adults who were raised by indulgent families have the best competence and adjustment in terms of self-esteem, psychosocial maturity, and emotional regulation. The present results imply that adolescence may represent the last opportunity for parenting socialization; therefore, as other scholars pointed out, it is of interest to test what the optimal style is for parents with adolescent children who not fit social or academic standards. For example, Steinberg and colleagues (2006) [110] test whether there would be theoretically predictable differences among adolescents who do not fit the social standards (serious

juvenile offenders) from authoritative, indulgent, authoritarian, and neglectful families, in order to identify the optimal parenting style. Future studies should more thoroughly examine the correlates of parenting styles among adolescents who are at the greatest risk of developmental progress into unhealthy adulthood [141–143]. Additionally, our study has other important implications in the family field because it provides insights to orient parental education programs that could improve relationships with children (not only adolescents, even adults) and enhance their psychological and social resources, well-being, and quality of life.

5. Conclusions

Finally, the findings of the present study agree with conceptions from recent parenting literature about children's poor school performance as a pandemic community problem, offering and discussing alternative views of the normative function of children's poor school performance during adolescence. Currently, the World Health Organization (2014, p. 8) [7] warns that it is crucial to pay more attention to the health-compromising behaviors and conditions that arise during adolescence and can have a long-term impact on health across the lifetime. In this regard, the present study revealed that, although there can be adolescence-limited decreases in academic competence, the majority of Spanish adolescents with poor school performance have several different indicators of maladjustment during adulthood. Before implementing and developing public policies and laws that facilitate and mandate interventions in order to protect adolescents from harm, it is important to identify commonality among risk and protective factors in the family context. Our study, which agrees with a growing set of studies in Europe and South America, indicates that indulgent parenting (warmth but not strictness) is the optimal strategy and is associated with better short-term and long-term outcomes than authoritative parenting (warmth and strictness). Therefore, parental warmth is consistently a protective factor, whereas strictness does not offer protection and could even be associated with harm, highlighting the importance of the cultural context in which parental socialization takes place.

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Chapter V

Comprehensive summary and discussion

Introduction

Parents' main responsibility is the socialization of their children. Socialization is defined as a process initiated by an adult in which the young person, through education, training, and imitation, acquires his/her culture as well as habits and values congruent with adaptation to that culture. Socialization includes a set of processes through which adults are able to have "adequate functioning" within the needs of the particular social group or groups to which they belong (Baumrind, 1978; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Darling & Steinberg, 1993).

Beyond cultural variations in the meaning of "adequate functioning" of the individual in society, in order for the child to become a competent adult within his or her specific cultural context, he or she must acquire a set of habits, skills, motivations, and values that will enable him or her to do so: (i) To avoid behaviours that involve a deviation from social norms because they produce a disturbance or an annoyance for other people, (ii) to contribute, through work, to their own economic self-sufficiency and that of their family; (iii) to initiate and maintain relationships of intimacy and closeness with other people; (iv) and, in turn, to be able to protect, care for, and exercise the socialization of their descendants (Maccoby, 1992).

Traditionally, numerous studies have examined parent-child relationships in two theoretically orthogonal major dimensions identified as warmth and strictness (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Garcia

& Gracia, 2009; Garcia, Serra, Garcia, Martinez, & Cruise, 2019; Martinez et al., 2019; Smetana, 1995). The parental dimension of warmth describes the degree to which parents demonstrate their care and acceptance of their children, and how they support and communicate with them. This dimension has been given other labels, such as responsiveness, security, involvement, or participation, while retaining a similar meaning. The parental dimension of strictness refers to the extent to which parents set standards, punishments, or supervision over their children's behaviour. This dimension has been given other names or labels, such as demand, domination, hostility, inflexibility, control, restriction, or parental firmness (Darling & Steinberg, 1993).

From these theoretically orthogonal dimensions, warmth and strictness, four parenting styles are derived: Authoritative (warmth and strictness), authoritarian (strictness without warmth), indulgent (warmth without strictness), and neglectful (neither warmth nor strictness). The parenting styles approach captures the general and persistent characteristics of the socialization carried out by parents; it integrates and better organizes particular parenting practices; and it precisely organizes the relationships between styles, practices, and their associations with the personal and social well-being of children (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Garcia et al., 2019; Martinez et al., 2019).

There is currently a debate about the optimal parenting style. The authoritative style (warmth with strictness) has traditionally been identified as the ideal parenting style, primarily in research in the United States with middle-class European-American families (Baumrind, 1971; Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1991; Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts, & Dornbusch, 1994). However, the available empirical evidence does not support the idea of the authoritative style as an optimal parental strategy that is always associated with positive developmental outcomes in children and adolescents of all ethnicities, backgrounds, and cultural contexts (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Garcia & Gracia, 2009; Garcia et al., 2019; Pinquart & Kauser, 2018). On the one hand, the authoritarian style (strictness without warmth) has been related to benefits for the psychosocial development of children in ethnic minority contexts in the United States, such as Chinese Americans (Chao, 1994; Chao, 2001) or African Americans (Baumrind, 1972; Deater-Deckard &

Dodge, 1997), as well as in Asian countries and Arab societies (Dwairy & Achoui, 2006; Dwairy, Achoui, Abouserfe, & Farah, 2006). On the other hand, a growing body of studies, mainly from European countries and Latin America, identifies the indulgent parenting style (warmth without strictness) as the optimal style for promoting the psychosocial development of children (Calafat, Garcia, Juan, Becoña, & Fernández-Hermida, 2014; Garcia et al., 2019; Martínez & Garcia, 2008).

Most societies cannot rely on the ubiquitous presence of supervisors (e.g., parents, primary caregivers, or police officers) to keep individuals under control. During the socialization process, parents help the child to acquire a certain degree of self-regulation (according to his/her age) with regard to social norms (Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Maccoby, 1992). Parents, whether or not they are aware of it, have a crucial influence on a child's development (Baumrind, 1978; Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Garcia & Gracia, 2009; Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Socialization agents have the complex task of flexibly adjusting their demands and disciplinary methods to the developing capacities of the child, in order to promote the fulfilment of social responsibilities without discouraging the child's independence and individuality. Importantly, the socializing task of parents is finite in time: it has a beginning (i.e., when the child, newborn, comes into the world), but also an end (i.e., when the child becomes an adult). Children who are no longer teenagers, but now adults, have to face the challenges of adult life. However, little is known about the consequences of parental socialization beyond adolescence. As in adolescence, do differences in adjustment and competence among adult children show a theoretically consistent and predictable pattern for the style of parental socialization in which they were socialized? And, is the optimal parenting style for adolescents also beneficial for adult children?

General objectives

The general objectives of this thesis are: (i) to examine which parenting style (i.e., authoritative, indulgent, authoritarian, or neglectful) is related to the best pattern of adjustment and psychosocial competence, and to fewer problems and difficulties, in

adolescent and adult children (young, middle-aged, and older); and (ii) to analyse whether the impact (positive or negative) of the parental socialization style remains throughout adult life.

It should be noted that, although the central objective of socialization is to make the child a competent adult, there is limited empirical evidence about the impact of parental socialization beyond adolescence. Although parental socialization ends for all adolescents, little is known about whether they all achieve the basic socialization goals when they reach adulthood. Socialization is generally defined as the set of processes that make a child become a competent and socially functioning adult. few studies have examined whether the psychosocial competence and adjustment of adult children across adulthood shows a theoretically predictable and consistent pattern based on the type of parents (i.e., authoritative, indulgent, authoritarian, or neglectful) by whom they were socialized, and of these few studies, most have focused on young adults socialized in middle-class European-American families in the United States (e.g., Aquilino & Supple, 2001).

Specific objectives

Based on the general objectives of this doctoral thesis listed above, the following specific objectives are proposed in the following paragraphs.

Specific objective 1

- A. To examine the orthogonality underlying the measures of the dimensions of warmth and strictness.
- B. To analyse, through confirmatory factor analyses (CFA), the factor invariance of the measures of the dimensions of warmth and strictness across age and sex.
- C. To examine the relationships between the four parenting styles (i.e., authoritative, indulgent, authoritarian, or neglectful) and short- and long-term socialization outcomes in **adolescents** and **older adults**.

Study 1 sets out the specific objectives mentioned above.

Garcia, O. F., Serra, E., Zacaes, J. J., & Garcia, F. (2018).
Parenting styles and short- and long-term socialization

outcomes: A study among Spanish adolescents and older adults. *Psychosocial Intervention*, 27, 153-161.
doi:10.5093/pi2018a21 (Impact factor 2018 = **2.614**;
28/137; **Q1**, Psychology, Multidisciplinary; Times cited
in WOS September 2019: **21**).

In Study 1, as socialization outcomes, the same criteria were used for both adolescents and older adults: Self-esteem and internalization of social values. Study 1 deals with issues hardly addressed in the literature. Few studies have examined the influence of the family on the outcomes of socialization beyond adolescence. Specifically, of the few studies available, different criteria have been used to examine the socialization outcomes in adolescent children and older adults, and a parenting style approach is not generally used, which has to first ensure that the measures used meet the theoretical requirement of orthogonality of the dimensions of warmth and strictness (Stafford, Kuh, Gale, Mishra, & Richards, 2016). In addition, most previous studies do not compare samples of different generations or men and women through adequate invariance analysis.

Specific objective 2

- A.** To examine the impact of long-term parental socialization (i.e., indulgent, authoritative, authoritarian, and neglectful) on the competence and adjustment of **young adults** with and without antisocial tendencies during adolescence
- B.** To find out whether the young adults with the greatest competence and adjustment are those who did not show an antisocial tendency during their adolescence.

Study 2 sets out the specific objectives mentioned above.

Garcia, O. F., Lopez-Fernandez, O., & Serra, E. (2018). Raising Spanish children with an antisocial tendency: Do we know what the optimal parenting style is?. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. doi:10.1177/0886260518818426 (Impact factor 2018 = **3.064**; 5/46; **Q1**, Family Studies; Times cited in WOS September 2019: **9**).

In **Study 2**, children's competence and adjustment were examined through self-esteem (academic and family), psychosocial development (self-competence and empathy), and low emotional distress

(nervousness and hostility). Some controversial issues in the literature on parental socialization and development are also examined. Previous findings on how antisocial tendency might affect the development of children suggest that parental practices may improve or exacerbate children's antisocial behaviour. However, most of these studies come from clinical studies rather than community samples, and do not provide clear evidence (Buchanan-Pascall, Gray, Gordon, & Melvin, 2018).

In addition, it is widely assumed in the literature that children with an antisocial tendency consistently show poorer psychological competence and worse adjustment; public authorities have conceptualized this as a pandemic that constitutes a community problem. However, studies have generally analysed the antisocial tendency of adolescents as a further adjustment criterion in the study of parental socialization, but not as a pandemic risk factor that may undermine the psychosocial health of adolescents on the road to healthy adulthood. As the theory of antisocial behaviour limited to adolescence suggests (Moffitt, 1993), a large number of young people are antisocial only during adolescence, which casts doubt on whether this group with an antisocial tendency will have any psychosocial difficulty in the future, or whether they are only manifesting an adolescent normative antisocial behaviour of "storm and stress" (Steinberg, 2001).

Specific objective 3

- A. To examine the correlates of authoritative, indulgent, authoritarian, and neglectful parenting styles with short- and long-term socialization outcomes in **adolescents** and adults (**young, middle-aged, and older adults**), with and without poor school performance during adolescence.
- B. To analyse whether academic performance during adolescence influences socialization outcomes.

Study 3 sets out the specific objectives mentioned above.

Garcia, O. F., & Serra, E. (2019). Raising children with poor school performance: Parenting styles and short- and long-term consequences for adolescent and adult development. *International Journal of Environmental Research and*

Public Health, 16, 1-24. doi:10.3390/ijerph16071089
(Impact factor 2018 = **2.648**; 38/162; **Q1**, Public,
Environmental & Occupational Health; Times cited in
WOS September 2019: **8**).

In **Study 3**, the same criteria were used as socialization outcomes for adolescents and adults (young, middle-aged, and older adults): multidimensional self-esteem (academic/professional, emotional, and family), psychological maturity (self-competence, social competence, and empathy), and emotional mismatch (nervousness, emotional instability, and hostility). Although development theorists emphasize the key impact of early experiences on development beyond adolescence (e.g., Barthomew & Horowitz, 1991), little is known about the association between parental socialization and psychological and behavioural outcomes in adulthood. On the other hand, the great relevance of academic performance and school adjustment has been pointed out as a factor positively related to personal and social development; adolescence is conceptualized as a developmental period associated with a decrease in academic competence (Eccles et al., 1993). It is recognized that children with low school performance are more likely to have worse psychological competence and consistently poorer adjustment, and so it is relevant to analyse whether the effectiveness of parental strategies (i.e., styles) is similar or different depending on the school performance during adolescence. In this regard, previous studies have analysed the impact of parental socialization in various circumstances, such as the socialization of children in poor neighbourhoods, children with antisocial tendencies, or even children who are juvenile offenders.

Main findings

Study 1

The results of Study 1, in relation to the specific objective A, confirmed the orthogonality underlying the measures of the two main parental dimensions, warmth and strictness. Specifically, the measures of these two dimensions, captured through two PARQ scales, were modestly correlated, and so, in general, these results show that the

measures of warmth and strictness were orthogonal and had an independent sex distribution by age group.

Regarding the specific objective B, three models of parental socialization (i.e., one-dimensional, oblique dimensions, and orthogonal dimensions) were tested by examining adjustment indices by age group and sex. First, the parameters were restricted to test their consistency with the one-dimensional model. The results indicated that the statistics did not meet conventional standards, showing poor fit. Second, the parameters were restricted to test their consistency with the two-dimensional oblique model, obtaining a considerably better fit compared to the single-factor model. Finally, the parameters were restricted to test their consistency with the orthogonal theoretical model, which did not produce a better fit than the oblique model.

In general, regarding the specific objective B, the results showed adequate fit indices for the age groups and sex, and the orthogonal theoretical model presented a fit that was equal to (oblique model) or better than (a factor) the alternative models (one-factor and oblique models). The unrestricted parsimoniously orthogonal model indicated a good fit, suggesting a common factorial structure across age groups and sex samples. Limitation of measurement weights produced non-significant changes in the fit between age groups, suggesting invariability of measurement weights between age and sex groups. Restrictive structural covariances did not result in changes in goodness of fit in the age groups, indicating that the theoretical orthogonal model was supported and resulted in a fit that was equal to (oblique model) or better than (a factor) the alternative models (one-factor and oblique models).

Likewise, in relation to the specific objective C, to analyse the relationships between the four parenting styles (i.e., authoritative, indulgent, authoritarian, or neglectful) and the results of short- and long-term socialization in adolescents and older adults, a common pattern was observed between the four styles and the socialization outcomes captured through self-esteem and the internalization of values. Specifically, adolescents and older adults with indulgent and authoritative parents reported higher academic/professional, physical and global self-esteem than their peers from neglectful and authoritarian families. Adolescents and older adults with indulgent parents reported higher social, emotional, and family self-esteem than

those from authoritative, neglectful, and authoritarian families. Likewise, examining the internalization of social values, it was observed that adolescents and older adults from indulgent and authoritative families showed a higher priority for self-transcendence (universalism and benevolence) and conservation (safety, compliance, and tradition) values than their peers from authoritarian and neglectful households, whereas adolescent and adult children socialized in neglectful and authoritarian families scored lower on all the measures of internalization of values.

Study 2

Regarding the specific objective A, for all the self-competence and adjustment criteria captured through self-esteem, both in the academic and family dimensions, indicated that young adults with no antisocial tendency during their adolescence showed better academic/professional and family self-esteem than young adults with an antisocial tendency during their adolescence. In the criteria of psychosocial development, both in self-competence and empathy, non-antisocial young adults during adolescence showed greater self-competence and empathy than their peers with antisocial tendencies in adolescence. For the psychosocial development criteria, the same trend was observed: Young adults with no antisocial tendency indicated the lowest nervousness and hostility scores.

The findings of Study 2, in relation to the specific objective B, for the self-esteem criteria, it was observed that young adults who were raised in indulgent and authoritative families reported higher academic and family self-esteem than their peers from authoritarian and neglectful households. For the psychosocial development criteria, both in terms of self-competence and empathy, young adults who characterized their parents as indulgent and authoritarian had higher self-competence and empathy scores than those from authoritarian and neglectful households. For emotional mismatch, the results showed a similar trend. As for the emotional maladjustment of nervousness, the highest scores corresponded to those of authoritarian families, and in the middle position were young adults from authoritarian and neglectful households. Interestingly, the results indicated that raising non-antisocial children in lenient families is associated with lower nervousness scores. Regarding the emotional maladaptation of

hostility, young adults who characterized their parents as indulgent reported the lowest hostility scores. In contrast, young adults from authoritative, authoritarian, and neglectful families had the highest hostility scores.

Study 3

The results of Study 3, in relation to the objective A, showed that poor performance in school was related to lower self-esteem and psychosocial maturity and higher emotional distress. For self-esteem, low school performance was associated with lower scores on academic/professional and family self-esteem. Likewise, three levels of statistically significant differences within the adolescent age group were observed in academic/professional self-esteem: The lowest scores corresponded to the low-performing group, the highest to the high-performing group, and in the intermediate position were those from the middle-performing group. Adults (young, middle-aged, and older) with low school performance during adolescence reported lower academic/professional self-esteem in adulthood than those adults (young, middle-aged and older) with medium and high school performance. The results for psychosocial maturity were similar; low school performance was associated with lower self-competence and empathy than medium and high school performance. For emotional maladjustment, poor school performance was associated with higher scores on nervousness, emotional instability, and nervousness.

In relation to the objective B, showed that the indulgent parenting style was associated with equal or even greater self-esteem than the authoritative style, whereas lower scores were consistently associated with authoritarian and neglectful parenting styles.

On academic/professional self-esteem, children who defined their parents as lenient and authoritative scored higher than their peers from authoritarian and neglectful families. On emotional self-esteem, the indulgent parenting style was associated with higher scores than the other three styles (authoritative, authoritarian, and neglectful). Similarly, on family self-esteem, in both adolescent and adult children, those socialized by indulgent and authoritative parents had higher family self-esteem than those with neglectful and authoritarian parents. Age profiles revealed a drastic decrease in family self-esteem within neglectful families (older adults raised in neglectful families

reported lower scores than adolescents and young adults). Within parenting styles related to low family self-esteem (neglectful and authoritarian families), neglectful parenting was associated with higher scores than authoritarian parenting, but only in groups of adolescents and young adults; in contrast, in middle-aged and older adults, scores were not statistically different.

Again, on the psychosocial maturity criteria, indulgent parenting was associated with scores equal to or even better than those with authoritative parenting, whereas the lowest scores corresponded to authoritarian and neglectful families. On self-competence, age profiles indicated that indulgent and authoritarian styles were associated with higher scores than neglectful and authoritarian styles in both adolescent and adult children (young, middle-aged, and older). For parenting styles related to low self-competence scores (neglectful and authoritarian), differences between these two families did not reach statistical significance in any age group. In terms of social competence, adolescents and adults raised by indulgent and authoritative parents scored higher than those raised by authoritarian and neglectful families (although in the middle-aged adult group, differences in parenting only reached statistical levels between the indulgent and neglectful styles). An age-related downward trend was also found (for example, older adults had less social competence than adolescents and young adults). However, this trend was especially noticeable in child-rearing styles characterized by a lack of warmth (authoritarian and neglectful families). As the family age profiles revealed, in participants from neglectful families, older adults scored lower than adolescents and young adults; and in those from authoritarian households, older adults reported lower scores than middle-aged adults. On empathy, indulgent parenting was associated with better scores than authoritative parenting in the adolescent age group. The lowest empathy scores corresponded to the authoritarian and neglectful styles. For empathy, as with social competence, the age profile showed a decreasing age-related decline in children from neglectful families (older adults reported lower scores than adolescents and young adults).

Finally, for the emotional mismatch criteria, indulgent parenting was always related to less emotional mismatch than the other three parenting styles (authoritative, authoritarian, and neglectful). On

nervousness, children raised by indulgent parents obtained the lowest scores, whereas the highest scores corresponded to children who characterized their parents as authoritarian and neglectful, with the children from authoritative families in an intermediate position. On emotional instability, the indulgent parenting style was associated with lower scores than authoritative, authoritarian, and neglectful parenting; in addition, the authoritative style was associated with higher scores than the authoritarian style. On hostility, children raised by indulgent parents scored lower than children from authoritative homes, whereas children from authoritarian and neglectful families scored higher on hostility.

Discussion

In general, the findings of the present doctoral thesis elaborated from the compendium of three scientific articles show that both Spanish adolescent children and adult children raised in indulgent families (warmth without strictness) show equal or even better outcomes on several indicators of competence and adjustment compared to their peers in authoritative families. On the other hand, adolescent and adult children raised by authoritarian parents (strictness without warmth) and neglectful parents (neither warmth nor strictness) show low scores on the different criteria examined.

The results of the Study 1 are crucial because they suggest that differences in competence and adjustment might present a theoretically predictable pattern based on parental socialization (i.e., indulgent, authoritative, authoritative, and neglectful), not only in adolescent children, but even in adult children. On the other hand, it should also be noted that, for both adolescent and adult children, the parenting styles of protection and risk are the same. Specifically, adolescent children and adult children raised by indulgent parents reported the same or even higher self-esteem as those in authoritative households, whereas those who characterized their families as neglectful or authoritarian consistently indicated lower levels of self-esteem. In internalizing social values, adolescents and older adults who defined their parents as indulgent and authoritative showed a higher priority for values of self-transcendence (universalism and

benevolence) and conservation (security, conformity, and tradition) than their peers from authoritarian and neglectful households.

These findings are a major contribution because they show a connection between parenting styles and socialization outcomes sharing a common short- and long-term pattern in two key criteria for development widely studied in the literature: Self-esteem (Barber, Chadwick, & Oerter, 1992; Garcia & Gracia, 2009) and the internalization of values (Grusec, Danyliuk, Kil, & O'Neill, 2017; Oliver-Rabino & Serra, 2018). Moreover, these findings confirm the idea suggested by some developmental scholars (Steinberg et al., 1994) that the benefits of an optimal parenting style are maintained or may even increase over time (Rothrauff, Cooney, & An, 2009).

In addition, Study 1 also confirms the widely held idea that early influences on development, especially those occurring within the family context during the years of socialization (extending beyond adolescence), could have a long-term impact on development. In this regard, previous studies (e.g. Serra & Cerdá, 1997; Serra, 2008) highlight the importance of early experiences in old age, especially early experiences within the family context. In addition, Study 1 extends the limited empirical evidence in the literature on parental socialization styles by examining older adults (e.g. Stafford et al., 2016).

Another particularly important contribution of Study 1 is that it makes it possible to overcome both theoretical and methodological limitations of previous studies on parental socialization. First, in contrast to some previous research (Martínez & Garcia, 2007), a multi-sample confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was applied to ensure that the measures with which parental socialization was captured were invariant for both sex (i.e., men and women) and age groups (i.e., adolescents and older adults). That is, Study 1 verified that the assignment of the items to one of the two dimensions, as well as the relative importance of the item with respect to the factor, was identical for the four samples compared (adolescent female, adolescent male, elderly women, elderly men). Second, the two main parental socialization factors were found to have an equivalent structure of variances and an equivalent relational pattern of covariances. Third, it was confirmed the strictest assumption by assuming the same error variations across the four samples for all the

items on the parental socialization questionnaire examined (e.g., Garcia, Gracia, & Zeleznova, 2013). Fourth, compared to other previous studies, Study 1 confirms the orthogonality of the two main dimensions of parenting, warmth and strictness (Martínez & Garcia, 2008). Thus, the results of the confirmatory CFA also confirmed that the two-factor orthogonal model provided a better fit to the data (compared to the two alternative models, the one-dimensional model and the two-dimensional oblique model). Importantly, Study 1 provides full empirical support for the internal validity of the two-dimensional and four-style parenting model (Lamborn et al., 1991).

Study 2 and Study 3 address issues under discussion in the literature on adolescence and the life cycle. Specifically, the long-term impact on adult development that occurs when the adolescent fails to adjust to social standards (Study 2) or academic standards (Study 3), and the key role of the family, studied through parenting styles (both in Study 2 and Study 3) versus most studies that capture the influence of the family through isolated parental practices.

Study 2 examined the pattern of competence and adjustment in a community sample of young Spanish adults, with and without antisocial tendencies in adolescence, who were raised by indulgent, authoritative, authoritarian, and neglectful parents. Overall, the findings identified the indulgent style as the optimal parenting style.

On the one hand, young people with antisocial tendencies showed the lowest competence and adjustment (poor self-esteem and psychosocial development and high emotional maladjustment). It is an increasingly common reality that young people fail to adjust to social standards despite the policies pursued by public authorities to reduce the trend towards antisocial behaviour and violence in young people; the World Health Organization even identifies this phenomenon as a public health problem (e.g., World Health Organization, 2015). Therefore, the results confirm that presenting an antisocial trend in adolescence could have a negative impact on development in adulthood on the six competency and adjustment criteria examined, self-esteem (academic and family), psychosocial development (self-competence and empathy), and emotional mismatch (nervousness and hostility). Therefore, these findings confirm the warnings listed by public authorities. However, it should be noted that the findings the Study 2 also contradict ideas widely supported by previous studies,

such as anti-social behaviour being limited to adolescence or the classic "storm and stress" hypothesis. In this regard, the findings do not support the idea that a substantial group of young people are antisocial only during adolescence, or that these young people may imitate antisocial behaviour in ways that are normative or well adapted (Moffitt, 1993). Nor do the findings of Study 2 support the idea presented by certain classical clinical studies that an identity crisis is part of the adolescent's individualization process, so that it is normative and positive in the transition to healthy adulthood for adolescents to show some degree of discomfort, disturbance, and challenge to parents (Blos, 1967; Erikson, 1968).

On the other hand, Study 2 makes it possible to clarify some confusing points in the literature. One of the most relevant contributions is that, for young adults with an antisocial tendency, parenting styles of indulgent and authoritative socialization are equally optimal. This finding contrasts with previous research suggesting that the component of rigour and firm control (shared by authoritarian and authoritative families) could be perceived negatively in southern European and Latin American countries, which are more similar to the culture of Spain (Garcia & Gracia, 2009; White & Schnurr, 2012). By contrast, although this pattern was found only in young adults with no antisocial tendency, the indulgent style (warmth without imposition) was associated with better results than the authoritative parenting style (imposition and warmth), and so our study confirms and extends evidence from studies prior to early adulthood. Again, children from indulgent families scored similar to or even better on overall outcomes than children from authoritative families, confirming the results of some research conducted in the same cultural context where parental socialization was examined in Study 2 (Calafat et al., 2014; Garcia & Gracia, 2009; Martínez & Garcia, 2007).

It should also be noted that, according to socialization theory, parental behaviours are thought to contribute to the social behaviour of their children or fail when children demonstrate a tendency toward antisocial behaviour (Baumrind, 1983; Lewis, 1981; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Moffitt, 1993). Another contribution with scientific and social relevance is that the combination of warmth, reasoning, and dialogue on the part of the parents is associated with the best

psychosocial health of the Spanish children (Alonso-Geta, 2012; Martínez-Ferrer, Romero-Abrio, Moreno-Ruiz, & Musitu, 2018; Martínez, Fuentes, Garcia, & Madrid, 2013; Moreno-Ruiz, Martínez-Ferrer, & Garcia-Bacete, 2019; Musitu-Ferrer, León-Moreno, Callejas-Jerónimo, Esteban-Ibáñez, & Musitu-Ochoa, 2019). Furthermore, the parental strategy based on affection, warmth, and participation of parents without the component of imposition and monitoring (common in indulgent families) could also help children who present an antisocial tendency (Garcia & Gracia, 2009). This finding is important because it contrasts with some previous research findings in other cultural contexts where the use of strictness and imposition is a necessary and sufficient strategy. Thus, interestingly, our findings contradict previous studies based on intervention programs for antisocial children with reminders for parents of rigorous and imposed parenting practices (Furstenberg, 1976).

On the other hand, in relation to the objective B of the Study 3, it is important to point out that the present results suggest that the relationship between child-rearing styles and the results of short- and long-term socialization present a common pattern in self-esteem, psychosocial maturity, and emotional imbalance. Specifically, the present results indicate that, for both adolescents and adults (young, middle-aged, and older adults), children from indulgent families have the best development in terms of higher self-esteem, better psychosocial adjustment, and fewer emotional problems. Thus, the results from Study 3 suggest that parental acceptance and involvement together with low rigour and imposition, characteristic of indulgent families, could be an optimal parental strategy, at least in the European context, which confirms and extends the previous empirical evidence found in European and South American countries (Fuentes, García-Ros, Pérez-González, & Sancerni, 2019; Garcia et al., 2019; Musitu-Ferrer et al., 2019; Muñoz-Rivas, Vera, & Povedano-Díaz, 2019; Suárez-Relinque, del Moral Arroyo, León-Moreno, & Callejas Jerónimo, 2019). Likewise, the results of Study 3 extend the evidence of the benefits associated with the indulgent parenting to self-esteem, psychosocial maturity, and emotion regulation, three important goals of socialization (Eisenberg, Cumberland, & Spinrad, 1998; Serra Desfilis, Gómez Pérez, Pérez Blasco, & Zacarés-González, 1998;

Zacares, Serra, & Torres, 2015; Zacarés-González & Serra Desfilis, 1998).

On the other hand, again, findings from the Study 3 contrast with some previous research results in other cultural contexts where high parental levels of imposition appear to be the crucial component for children to benefit from good self-esteem, psychosocial maturity, and emotional regulation (Baumrind, 1983; Steinberg et al., 1994; Steinberg, 2001). Comparing these findings with research conducted primarily in middle-class families in Anglo-Saxon countries, in Study 3, examining a Spanish community sample of adolescents and adults, found that warmth, dialogue, and parental reasoning (common in indulgent and authoritative parents), rather than parental rigor and imposition (common in authoritative and authoritative families), are key strategic factors in promoting competency and adjusting offspring development. It is important to note that the rigor component not only appears to be unnecessary, but could sometimes even be negative for children's development (the authoritative style was associated with lower emotional self-esteem and greater emotional maladjustment than the indulgent style).

Finally, general contributions to this doctoral thesis should be highlighted. The main findings of the three empirical studies show a theoretically consistent pattern between the adjustment and competence of Spanish adolescents and adults with parental socialization. These results confirm the long-term consequences of parental socialization (Flouri, 2005; Huppert, Abbott, Ploubidis, Richards, & Kuh, 2010; Moran, Turiano, & Gentzler, 2018; Rothrauff et al., 2009; von Bonsdorff et al., 2019). In cross-sectional studies examining parental practices, Huppert and colleagues (2010) found that, in middle-aged adults, the impact of parenting, both positive and negative, persisted into middle age; and Bonsdorff and colleagues (2019) found that older adults with better mental functioning were those raised in families with support and warmth. Also using cross-sectional data, but examining parenting styles, Rothrauff and colleagues (2009) found that older adults raised in authoritative families, compared to children raised by authoritarian and uninvolved parents, indicated greater psychological well-being and fewer depressive symptoms, whereas their peers with uninvolved parents

reported greater substance abuse. No differences were found between children raised by indulgent and authoritative parents.

In studies with longitudinal data, Flouri (2004) used data from the 1970 British Cohort Study (BCS70) to relate the role of the mother based on parenting attitudes assessed when the children were five years old to the psychological well-being of adult children (psychological functioning, psychological distress, life satisfaction, and self-efficacy) at age 30. In addition, Moran and colleagues (2018), examining data from the national survey Midlife Development (United States), found that parental warmth during childhood predicts the adaptive capacity and well-being in adulthood, highlighting the crucial relevance of early life experiences in examining both well-being and the coping capacity during adulthood. However, findings from the present thesis allow to clarify some weaknesses of previous studies by examining the long-term consequences of parenting, following the four-types model rather than capturing isolated parental practices (Flouri, 2005; Huppert et al., 2010; Moran et al., 2018; von Bonsdorff et al., 2019), using orthogonal and invariant measures of the axes (Rothrauff et al., 2009), different measures of adjustment and competence for adult children (Huppert et al., 2010), or children of specific ages instead of the classical age groups (Moran et al., 2018).

On the other hand, although all teenagers end their teenage years, developmental progress toward a healthy adult life is not guaranteed for all of them. In this regard, as the results of Study 2 and Study 3 show, not conforming to social standards (Study 2) or academic standards (Study 3) can seriously undermine psychosocial development in adulthood. For example, in Study 2, those adolescents with antisocial tendencies became young adults with low self-esteem (academic and family), poor psychosocial development (self-competence and empathy), and lack of emotional adaptation (nervousness and hostility). In Study 3, the negative impact of poor school performance was found to not be limited to the academic or professional environment (e.g., self-perceptions or lack of individual adequacy). Instead, the damage extends to other relevant competencies, such as self-esteem, psychosocial maturity, and emotion regulation. Importantly, the Study 2 and the Study 3 examined circumstances such as having to raise a child who does not conform to social or academic standards to test the benefits and risks

associated with parenting styles: The results showed that the indulgent style emerges as the optimal style.

The crucial contribution of this doctoral thesis through three empirical studies to the current debate on the optimal socialization style should also be highlighted. A new paradigm (Garcia et al., 2019) has been proposed, with three historical stages for an optimal breeding style (i.e., an indulgent breeding style), which extends the traditional paradigm of only two stages (i.e., authoritative and authoritarian breeding styles). It is important to note that the three stages can coincide at the same time in different environments, contexts, and cultures. The findings of the present doctoral thesis, through three empirical studies with adolescent and adult children (young, adolescent, middle-aged and older) raised by Spanish families, confirm and extend the previous empirical evidence about the benefits of the third stage of parental socialization (i.e., indulgent).

The socializing task of the parents has a beginning, but also an end. Modern societies, as socialization theorists explain, cannot offer their individuals the ubiquitous presence of police or monitors (e.g., parents or caregivers) to make individual members of society conform to social norms and standards. Parental socialization is over: The child has become an adult. Many variables affect development in adulthood (Baltes, 1987; Baltes, 1997; Baltes, Staudinger, & Lindenberger, 1999; Serra, Sánchez, & Oller, 1989). However, as in studies with children and adolescents, the present doctoral thesis shows theoretically predictable differences in competence and adjustment between adults who were raised in authoritarian, indulgent, and neglectful households. Children who were raised by indulgent families have the best competence and adjustment on the different developmental criteria examined.

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Anexo: otras publicaciones

English Validation of the Parental Socialization Scale-ESPA29

Martínez, I., Cruise, E., **García, Ó. F.**, & Murgui, S. (2017). English validation of the Parental Socialization Scale - ESPA29. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 8(865), 1-10. doi:10.3389/fpsyg.2017.00865 (Impact factor 2017 = **2.089**; 38/135; **Q2**, Psychology, Multidisciplinary; Times cited in WOS September 2019: **18**).

Abstract

Parenting styles have traditionally been studied following the classical two- dimensional orthogonal model of parental socialization. The Parental Socialization Scale ESPA29 is used to measure the four styles of parental socialization through the acceptance/involvement and strictness/imposition dimensions. The ESPA29 scale is a developmentally appropriate measure of parenting styles, which has been validated in several languages including Spanish, Italian, and Brazilian Portuguese. In this study, the English translation of the ESPA29 was evaluated. The objective of the work is to test the ESPA29's structure of parenting practices with a United States sample measuring parenting practices using exploratory factor analysis (EFA)

and confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). The scores of fathers' and mothers' behavioral practices toward their children were obtained for a sample of 911 United States adolescents between 14 and 18 years of age. First, the total sample was split and a principal components analysis with varimax rotation was carried out with one of the two halves. EFA showed a two-factor structure fully congruent with the theoretical model for mothers' and fathers' scores. Next, a CFA was calculated on the second half by using the factor structure obtained in the previous EFA. The CFA replicated the two-factor structure with appropriate fit index. The seven parenting practices that were measured loaded appropriately on the acceptance/involvement and strictness/imposition dimensions. Then, the multigroup analysis between girls and boys showed equal loading in the factors and equal covariation between the acceptance/involvement and the strictness/imposition dimensions. Additionally, the two dimensions of the ESPA29 scale were related to self-esteem in order to obtain an external validity index. The findings confirm the invariant structure of the ESPA29 was in the United States and their equivalence in both fathers' and mothers' scores. These findings validate the instrument and confirm its applicability in cross-cultural research on parenting practices and child adjustment.

Keywords: parenting practices, socialization, Parental Socialization Scale, ESPA29, validation.

Introduction

Styles of family socialization and the way these styles are conceptualized and measured are key in parenting research (Maccoby and Martin, 1983; Gray and Steinberg, 1999). Styles allow for a great part of the relationship established between parents and children to be classified (Darling and Steinberg, 1993). Parenting styles also enable parental behavior to be related to different child adjustment variables with greater clarity and consistency than considering isolated parenting practices (Symonds, 1939). The relations between parenting styles and child adjustment have traditionally been studied following the classical two-dimensional orthogonal model of parental socialization. Since the work of Maccoby and Martin (1983), these two parental socialization dimensions have frequently been

denominated as demandingness and responsiveness (Steinberg, 2005). Earlier scholars have used other labels such as acceptance (Symonds, 1939), assurance (Baldwin, 1955), warmth (Sears et al., 1957; Becker, 1964), or love (Schaefer, 1959), which have similar meanings to responsiveness. Labels such as domination, hostility, inflexibility, control, firmness, or restriction were used in earlier research with similar meanings to demandingness (Symonds, 1939; Sears et al., 1957; Schaefer, 1959; Becker, 1964). The demandingness dimension refers to the extent to which parents use control, and supervision, make maturity demands, and maintain an assertive position of authority with their children. The responsiveness dimension represents the degree to which parents show their child warmth and acceptance, give them support, and communicate by reasoning with them (Becker, 1964; Martínez and García, 2008). Based on these two dimensions, four parental socialization styles are identified: authoritative style—characterized by the use of high demandingness and high responsiveness; neglectful style—characterized by low demandingness and low responsiveness; indulgent style—low demandingness and high responsiveness; and authoritarian style—high demandingness and low responsiveness (Lamborn et al., 1991).

Among the scales used to measure the four styles of parental socialization through two dimensions is the authoritative parenting measure (Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1992). In this scale, the four parenting typologies are created on the basis of adolescents' scores on two of the dimensions measured by this instrument: the acceptance/involvement and strictness/supervision dimensions (e.g., Lamborn et al., 1991; Chao, 2001). The acceptance/involvement scale looks at the degree to which adolescents perceive their parents as responsive, caring, and involved. The strictness/supervision scale measures the degree to which parents regulate and monitor adolescent behavior and whereabouts (Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1992). Other commonly used scales that measure the four parenting styles through two dimensions are the Warmth/Affection Scale (WAS; Rohner et al., 1978; Rohner, 2005) and the Parental Control Scale (PCS; Rohner, 1989; Rohner and Khaleque, 2003). These two scales have been used jointly to create the four parenting styles typology (Kim and Rohner, 2002). The WAS measures the extent to which adolescents perceive their parents as loving, responsive, and involved,

whereas the PCS assesses the extent to which an adolescent perceives strict parental control in their parents' behavior. Both scales have been used across culturally distinct populations (Rohner and Khaleque, 2003). However, those instruments do not contemplate the differentiation between practices and styles of socialization and do not use a contextual or situational perspective to measure parenting behavior (Darling and Steinberg, 1993; Smetana et al., 2006).

Additionally, in the research of parenting behavior, other instruments have been used to assess three parenting styles of socialization, following the pioneering work of Baumrind (1967, 1972, 1983), as in, for example, the widely used Parenting Styles and Dimensions Questionnaire (PSDQ), developed by Robinson et al. (1995), or the Parental Authority Questionnaire (Buri, 1991), both instruments have been developed for the purpose of measuring Baumrind's (1971) permissive, authoritarian, and authoritative parental prototypes. However, the Baumrind's initial tripartite model does not contemplate the differentiation between neglectful and indulgent parenting, as Lamborn et al. (1991) observed "most discussions and empirical tests of Baumrind's model. . . ignore variations in warmth among families characterized by low levels of control, grouping these families together into a single category labeled 'permissive'" (p. 1050). Contrastingly, the four-typology or quadripartite model stressed the need to consider the combination of the two parenting dimensions in the analysis of its relationships with youth outcomes (Lamborn et al., 1991).

The Parental Socialization Scale ESPA29 (Musitu and García, 2001) is a four-typology parenting measure that was specifically developed to measure the four parental socialization styles using a contextual (Darling and Steinberg, 1993) and situational (Smetana, 1995) perspective. This instrument specifically evaluates parental behaviors in concrete situations representative of family life, asking the offspring about their parents' behavior in specific situations that are likely to occur in Western culture. Additionally, the instrument purposely contemplates the differentiation between parenting practices and styles (Darling and Steinberg, 1993; Kerr and Stattin, 2000). First, the scale measures the use made by parents of seven different practices of socialization: warmth, indifference, reasoning, detachment, verbal scolding, physical punishment, and revoking

privileges. These practices form two socialization dimensions—acceptance/involvement and strictness/imposition—which have equivalent meanings to the classical dimensions of responsiveness and demandingness (Lamborn et al., 1991). Finally, the four parenting styles—authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent, and neglectful—are created from the parents’ scores in the acceptance/involvement and strictness/imposition dimensions.

In the ESPA29, parenting practices are organized on the two-dimensional model (Figure 1) according to a theoretical structure that distinguishes between situations of adolescents’ compliance and non-compliance with family norms (Figure 2). The practices of verbal scolding, physical punishment, and revoking privileges are measured in situations of non-compliance. These three practices are positively related to the strictness/imposition dimension (Figure 2) and are intended to correct undisciplined behavior by imposing restrictions and limits on the child’s or adolescent’s conduct. The desired outcome in the child or adolescent, as the process of socialization implies, is to assist the child or adolescent in developing the ability to suppress attractive yet prohibited behaviors and adopt others that are more socially acceptable (Mischel and Mischel, 1976). Additionally, the practices of reasoning and detachment are also measured in situations of non-compliance. These two practices are negatively related to each other and are placed on the dimension of acceptance/involvement (Figure 2). The practice of reasoning is intended to correct undisciplined behavior, as are the practices of the strictness/imposition dimension. Finally, in situations of compliance the practices of warmth and indifference are measured (Figure 2), which are also located on the acceptance/involvement dimension. The two practices are negatively related to each other and allow for the correct behavior of the child to either be recognized or ignored (Baumrind, 1983; Grusec, 2012). The recognition of the child’s adjusted conduct through warmth relates positively to the use of reasoning practices given that both parenting practices—warmth and reasoning—require a long-term, optimal parent–child relationship in order to take place (Musitu and García, 2001).

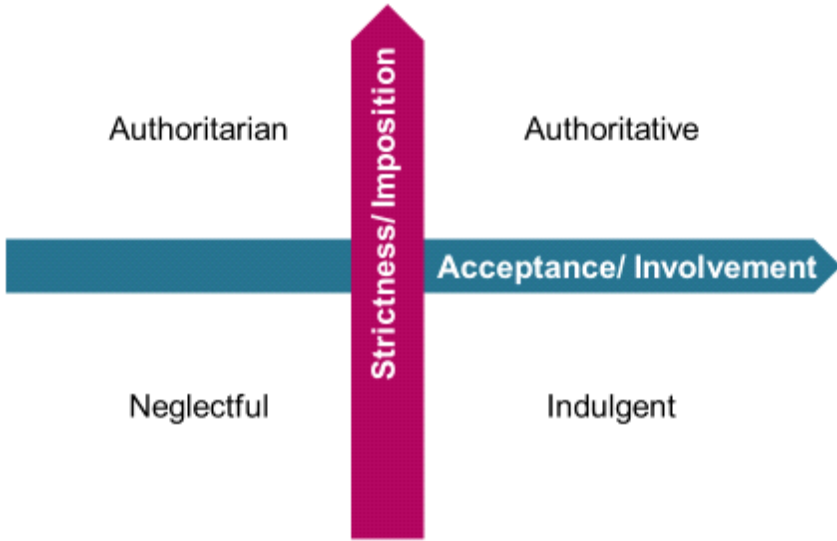


FIGURE 1 | Bi-dimensional model of parental socialization.

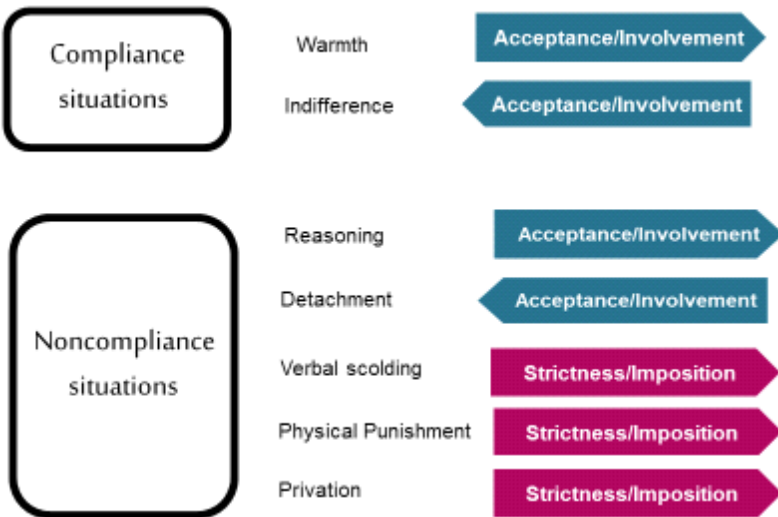


FIGURE 2 | ESPA29 parenting practices and dimensions of socialization.

The original version of the Parental Socialization Scale ESPA29 was first developed and validated in Spain (Musitu and García, 2001).

This instrument was designed to assess parenting styles through self-reports of children and adolescents from 10 to 18 years old, but it has been mainly used with older adolescents (e.g., Martínez and García, 2008; Martínez et al., 2013). Subsequently, it has been validated for use in a number of other languages, including the Basque language (López-Jáuregui and Oliden, 2009), Italian (Marchetti, 1997), and Portuguese (Martínez et al., 2011; Martínez I. et al., 2012). All of these validation studies confirm the theoretical factor structure of the ESPA29. In addition, recently the concurrent validity of the ESPA29 has been tested satisfactorily in two different Spanish samples (García and Gracia, 2014; García et al., 2015). Although exploratory factor analyses (EFAs) have consistently identified the theoretical factor structure of the ESPA29, previous studies that have attempted to apply the confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) have failed to provide support for the ESPA29 structure (see López-Jáuregui and Oliden, 2009). In this study, we have applied robust CFA in contrast to previous studies that only applied Procrustes Rotations (e.g., Hayton et al., 2004; Marsh et al., 2010; Veronese and Pepe, 2016).

Additionally, the ESPA29 has been widely used in Spain (Martínez and García, 2007; García and Gracia, 2009, 2010; Martínez et al., 2013; Fuentes et al., 2015a,b,c) and also in Portugal (Rodrigues et al., 2013) in order to study the relations between socialization styles and different adolescent adjustment variables. These studies have also measured parenting styles congruently and point out the importance of the practices of the acceptance/involvement dimension in adolescent adjustment. For example, it has been found that in Spain, adolescents raised with an indulgent socialization style show the highest levels of self-esteem, similar or superior to those of adolescents raised with an authoritative style (Musitu and García, 2004; García et al., 2015). Similar results have been found with other adjustment criteria, such as value internalization (Martínez and García, 2007), personal competence, and problem behavior (García and Gracia, 2009, 2010; Martínez et al., 2013). Furthermore, the ESPA29 scale has been used to relate parenting to adolescent adjustment in Brazil (Martínez et al., 2007, 2014) and Peru (Albertí et al., 2015). In these South American countries, the use of indulgent parenting also seems to be related to good adolescent adjustment, also similar or higher than the use of authoritative parenting. These results reveal the importance of the

acceptance/involvement practices, common to both the indulgent and authoritative styles, as key in adolescent self-esteem and adjustment in general. However, the ESPA29 has not been used in English-speaking countries where most of the parenting research has been carried out.

Hence, the objective of this work is to test the ESPA29's structure of parenting practices with a United States sample measuring the practices of fathers and mothers, and testing the gender invariance for boys and girls. The ESPA29 adapts universal parenting practices to Western culture as its basis to define the two dimensions of socialization— acceptance/involvement and strictness/imposition—. The bi-dimensional structure of the instrument has already been identified in other languages and countries for fathers' and mothers' practices (López-Jáuregui and Oliden, 2009; Martínez I. et al., 2012). Thus, we expect that the ESPA29's theoretical structure will be confirmed in the United States and will be equivalent in both fathers and mothers, as well as invariant for boys and girls. Additionally, both of the ESPA29's scale dimensions—acceptance/involvement and strictness/imposition—will be related to self-esteem, a classic criterion variable used in parenting studies (Jimenez et al., 2007; Murgui et al., 2016) in order to obtain an external validity index. According to the results in previous research (Musitu and García, 2001; Garaigordobil et al., 2015), it is expected that the use of acceptance/involvement practices will be related positively with adolescent self-esteem, whereas the use of strictness/imposition dimension will be related negatively with self-esteem.

Method

Participants

The study sample was composed of 1445 adolescents from 12 to 17 years old ($M = 15.54$; $SD = 1.95$), of which 858 were female (59.4%) and 587 male. An a priori calculation was performed of the statistical power to detect a low-medium effect size ($f = 0.110$), fixing Type I and Type II errors, $\alpha = .05$ and $\beta = .95$, for the univariate F tests among the four parenting styles, obtaining a minimum sample size of 1424 participants. The final study sample was slightly larger than the

minimum size calculated. The sensitivity analysis for the final sample of 1445 participants, fixing the conventional Type I and Type II errors, $\alpha = .05$ and $\beta = .95$, indicated that a slightly reduced low-medium effect size could be detected ($f = 0.109$) (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner & Lang, 2009; García, Pascual, Frías, Van Krunckelsven & Murgui, 2008; Pérez, Navarro & Llobell, 1999).

Procedure

The data was collected in five educational centers selected by simple random sampling from a complete list of centers in the region. According to Kalton (1983), when groups (i.e., educational centers) are selected randomly, the elements that make up those groups (i.e., students) will be similar to what a random system would provide. The Ethics Committee at the University of University of Castilla-La Mancha, where the research was designed, granted ethical approval for the study. Permission was first obtained to conduct this study in public high schools from the Research and Evaluation Board of the Public School Board in the city where the research took place. Then it was necessary to receive permission from the individual principals of each high school. Once the principals allowed for the study to be carried out in the schools, individual teachers had to agree to the administration of the questionnaire during their class time. Finally, permission from the students' parents had to be granted, along with assent from the students themselves. The researchers administered the instruments to all the students who had permission to participate. The questionnaire included the ESPA29 and the AF5 scales and demographic data of the participants. It took about 20 min to complete and the gathering phase finish on January 2016. All of the questionnaires were completed anonymously.

Instruments

The Parental Socialization Scale ESPA29

In this scale (Musitu and García, 2001), the youth rates the frequency with which both their father and mother (considered separately) employ different socialization practices in response to 29 situations that are representative of everyday family life. The frequency of the practices' use is indicated on a 4-point scale in which

1 “never,” 2 “sometimes,” 3 “most times,” and 4 “always.” The 29 scenarios are divided into 13 that represent situations of obedience in which the child acts in accordance with the family norms (e.g., “If the school reports that I am well-behaved...”) and 16 that represent situations of disobedience in which the child does not conform to family norms (e.g., “If I leave home to go somewhere without asking anyone for permission...”). In the 13 situations of obedience the practices of warmth (“He/She shows warmth”) and indifference (“He/She seems indifferent”) are evaluated. In the 16 situations of disobedience the practices of reasoning (“He/She talks to me”) and detachment (“It’s the same to him/her”), as well as verbal scolding (“He/She scolds me”), physical punishment (“He/She hits me”) and revoking privileges (“He/She takes something away from me”) are evaluated. In total, the adolescent gives 212 responses, 106 for the father’s behavior and 106 for the mother’s behavior.

The score for the acceptance/involvement dimension is obtained by averaging the scores of the subscales of warmth, reasoning, indifference, and detachment (the subscales of indifference and detachment are inverted as they are inversely related to the dimension) for both mothers and fathers. The score for the strictness/imposition dimension is calculated by averaging the responses to the subscales of revoking privileges, verbal scolding, and physical punishment for the mother and father. Parental conduct can be classified into the four parental socialization typologies (authoritative, indulgent, authoritarian, or neglectful) by dichotomizing (Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994) the scores for the mothers’ and fathers’ behavior in the acceptance/involvement and the strictness/imposition dimensions either at the tertile (Musitu and García, 2001; Martínez and García, 2007) or at the median (Chao, 2001; Kremers et al., 2003; García and Gracia, 2009, 2010). In this way, the authoritative style is defined by high use of acceptance/involvement and strictness/imposition practices, the indulgent style by high use of acceptance/involvement and low use of strictness/imposition, the authoritarian style by low use of acceptance/involvement and high use of strictness/imposition, and finally, the neglectful style by low use of both acceptance/involvement and strictness/imposition practices.

For the translation of the ESPA29 from Spanish into English, the inverse translation method proposed by Brislin (1970) was followed in

order to ensure the items were comparable to other language versions of the scale. Upon receiving permission from the authors, the original measure was translated into American English from Spanish by two native English-speaking colleagues. They performed a cross-check on item grammar, clarity, and content equivalence and the resulting items were back-translated into Spanish by an independent, bilingual researcher before a final review by the authors.

Multidimensional Self-Esteem Scale

The AF5 scale (García and Musitu, 1999) assesses self-esteem in five domains: academic, social, emotional, family, and physical. Each domain is measured by six items with scores ranging from 0.1 to 9.99. The AF5 was originally developed and validated in Spain with a sample of 6,500 subjects (García and Musitu, 1999). The factor structure of the instrument was confirmed both with exploratory (García and Musitu, 1999) and CFAs (Tomás and Oliver, 2004; García et al., 2011) and no method effect appears to be associated with negatively worded items (Tomás and Oliver, 2004; García et al., 2011). The AF5 has been properly validated in the Basque (Elosua and Muñiz, 2010) and Catalan languages (Cerrato et al., 2011) and recently in English (García et al., 2013). This scale has been used in a large number of studies to consistently relate self-esteem to other variables (e.g., Fuentes et al., 2011). Finally, in previous studies, the ESPA29 parenting acceptance/involvement dimension has been related to higher child self-esteem, and the strictness/imposition dimension has been related to lower child self-esteem (Fuentes et al., 2011; García and Gracia, 2014).

Statistical Analyses

The data was split randomly into two halves. On one of the two halves, a principal components analysis (PCA) with varimax rotation was carried out on the mothers' and fathers' scores of socialization practices. By extracting the maximum variance from The data was split randomly into two halves. On one of the two halves, a principal components analysis (PCA) with varimax rotation was carried out on the mothers' and fathers' scores of socialization practices. By extracting the maximum variance from the data set with each component, PCA provides an empirical summary of the data

(Tabachnick and Fidell, 2013). PCA with varimax rotation is most commonly used as the initial stage of structural analysis and was the chosen method of analysis in the development of ESPA29 measure (López-Jáuregui and Olliden, 2009; Garaigordobil and Aliri, 2012).

In order to confirm the factorial structure obtained by the EFA, a CFA was carried out with Structural Equation Modeling Software (EQS) program using the second half of the data. The CFA technique allows the degree of adjustment of the model by the value of chi-squared to be obtained. However, chi-squared has serious problems of sensitivity to sample size (e.g., Bentler and Bonett, 1980; Cheung and Rensvold, 2002; García et al., 2006). Therefore, other fit indexes have been developed which have the advantage of pre-established cut-off criteria (e.g., Cheung and Rensvold, 2002; García et al., 2008, 2011; Murgui et al., 2012). We applied the following indexes: χ^2/df , a score of 2.00–3.00 or lower is indicative of a good fit; root mean squared error of approximation (RMSEA), values lower than 0.08 are considered acceptable; normed fit index and comparative fit index, NFI and CFI, whose value must exceed 0.90; and the information criterion of Akaike, AIC (Akaike information criterion), where the lowest value indicates the highest parsimony (Akaike, 1987). The estimation method was the maximum likelihood (ML), which, although assuming multivariate normality, is reasonably robust to its non-compliance (Curran et al., 1996). The criteria used are in line with those proposed by Hu and Bentler (1999) and are the usual utilized in this type of analysis (Martínez P. et al., 2012). Once the structure was verified separately for the practices of the mother and for the practices of the father, a multigroup analysis was carried out according to gender, using the usual procedure in these cases (Murgui and Musitu, 2011). First, the unconstrained model is calculated without any restrictions across parameters, and then, a new constrained model is calculated. If the difference in chi-squared values between the unconstrained model and the constrained model remains non-significant, it can be concluded that there is invariance between boys and girls, so the values of the restricted parameters are equivalent in both sexes. Moreover, the ESPA29 scale's dimensions were related to self-esteem, which was measured through five dimensions with the AF5 instrument (García and Musitu, 1999), using Pearson correlation.

Results

Exploratory Factor Analysis

With one of the two halves of the data (456 participants), an EFA with Kaiser criterion and varimax rotation was carried out on the scores of the socialization practices of the ESPA29. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) value was 0.62 for the father's practices and 0.60 for the mother's practices. The Bartlett test was significant for the fathers' ($\chi^2_{21} = 812.38; p < 0.01$) and the mothers' practices ($\chi^2_{21} = 741.52; p < 0.01$). The factor solution of the fathers' scores explained 62.16% of the total variance, with two factors with eigenvalue equal to or greater than 1.0. Factor I (acceptance/involvement) explained 33.56% and Factor II (strictness/imposition) explained 28.60%. In the mothers' scores, Factor I explained 31.46% and Factor II 26.93%. In both cases, the fathers' and the mothers' scores, the acceptance/involvement factor was made up of the warmth and reasoning subscales, loading positively onto the factor, whereas the indifference and detachment subscales loaded negatively. The factor loadings of the subscales in this factor ranged between 0.70 and 0.84 in the practices of the father and between 0.60 and 0.83 in the practices of the mother. In both, the fathers' and the mothers' scores the strictness/imposition factor was made up of the subscales of revoking privileges, verbal scolding, and physical punishment. These subscales loaded positively between 0.64 and 0.88 in fathers' scores and between 0.58 and 0.87 in the mothers' scores. Factor loadings of the subscales for both parents are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1 | Principal components analysis with two factors and varimax rotation of fathers' and mothers' parenting practices

	Father		Mother	
	A/I	S/I	A/I	S/I
Warmth (He/she shows warmth)	0.84	0.12	0.83	-0.09
Indifference (He/she seems indifferent)	-0.76	0.28	-0.77	0.26
Detachment (It's the same to him/her)	-0.70	-0.09	-0.60	0.06
Reasoning (He/she talks to me)	0.74	-0.11	0.72	0.20
Verbal scolding (He/she scolds me)	0.02	0.85	-0.04	0.82
Physical punishment (He/she hits me)	0.14	0.64	-0.19	0.58
Revoking privileges (He/she takes something away from me)	-0.12	0.88	0.11	0.87
% Variance	33.56	28.60	31.46	26.93

A/I, acceptance/involvement; S/I, strictness/imposition

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

A CFA was carried out on the second half of the data (455 participants). Given the high value of Mardia's coefficient (36.00 for the fathers' and 74.74 for the mothers' scores), robust indicators were utilized. The fit of the models was not appropriate (Table 2, models Father 1 and Mother 1), thus we examined the indexes of modification and set the covariation restrictions free. Hence, the covariation between the following variables was included (fathers and mothers, respectively): detachment and revoking privileges ($r = 0.26$; $r = 0.15$), detachment and verbal scolding ($r = 0.46$; $r = 0.44$), reasoning and indifference ($r = 0.67$; $r = 0.66$), reasoning and verbal scolding ($r = 0.72$; $r = 0.74$), reasoning and revoking privileges ($r = 0.68$; $r = 0.60$). All the correlations were statistically significant ($\alpha < 0.01$). Moreover, the

correlation between the acceptance/involvement and strictness/imposition of both, the father ($r = 0.29, p < 0.01$) and the mother ($r = 0.31, p < 0.01$) was introduced. With these modifications, both CFA's showed acceptable values (Table 2, models Father 2 and Mother 2).

TABLE 2 | Confirmatory factor analysis of fathers' and mothers' parenting practices

Model	S-B χ^2	df	S-B χ^2/df	CFI	IFI	NFI	AIC	RMSEA (90% CI)
Father 1	172.71??	14	12.34	0.78	0.78	0.77	144.71	0.151 (0.131–0.171)
Mother 1	177.54??	14	12.68	0.77	0.77	0.76	149.53	0.131 (0.14–0.148)
Father 2	26.26??	8	3.28	0.98	0.98	0.97	10.26	0.068 (0.040–0.097)
Mother 2	24.66??	8	3.08	0.98	0.98	0.97	8.66	0.055 (0.031–0.081)
Father 2U	58.16??	16	3.64	0.95	0.95	0.94	26.16	0.065 (0.048–0.084)
Mother 2U	34.72??	16	2.17	0.97	0.98	0.95	2.72	0.042 (0.022–0.061)
Father 2R	69.28??	22	3.15	0.98	0.97	0.94	7.48	0.047 (0.030–0.063)
Mother 2R	41.58??	22	1.89	0.97	0.97	0.95	72.42	0.036 (0.019–0.053)

S-B χ^2 , Satorra-Bentler chi-squared; df, degrees of freedom; RMSEA, root mean squared error of approximation; IFI, incremental fit index; NFI, normed fit index; CFI, comparative fit index; AIC, Akaike information criterion. All indexes are the robust version; U, multigroup unrestricted model; R, multigroup restricted model. In model 2, covariation between variables and dimensions was added. ?? $p < 0.01$

The factor loadings of parental practices (Table 3) and the correlations between parenting practices are consistent with the theoretical approach. In addition, the factor loadings and the final structure replicated those obtained in the EFA. The correlation between the two dimensions presented values less than 7% of the shared dimensions variance.

TABLE 3 | CFA standardized factor loadings of fathers' and mothers' parenting practices

	Father		Mother	
	A/I	S/I	A/I	S/I
Warmth (He/she shows warmth)	0.67**	–	0.65**	–
Indifference (He/she seems indifferent)	-0.96 ^a	–	-0.92 ^a	–
Detachment (It's the same to him/her)	-0.43**	–	-0.37**	–
Reasoning (He/she talks to me)	0.75**	–	0.70**	–
Verbal scolding (He/she scolds me)	–	0.87 ^a	–	0.87 ^a
Physical punishment (He/she hits me)	–	0.43**	–	0.33**
Revoking privileges (He/she takes something away from me)	–	0.73**	–	0.64**

A/I, acceptance/involvement; S/I, strictness/imposition. ^aFixed to 1 during estimation. ** $p < 0.01$

For the parenting practices of the mother and the father, the multigroup analysis was performed. First, the unrestricted multigroup model was calculated (Father 2U model and Mother 2U model). The models calculated for both parenting practices of the father and of the mother showed a good multi-sample adjustment, suggesting a common factor structure across the two genders.

Then, in each model, the paths of the practices in their dimension and the covariation between the two dimensions were fixed. This restricted model (Father 2R and Mother 2R model) did not imply, in comparison with the unrestricted model, a significant increase in the value adjustment of χ^2 , nor in the practices of the father ($\chi^2 = 11.12$, $p > 0.05$), nor in the case of the practices of the mother ($\chi^2 = 6.86$, $p > 0.05$). Thus, the factor loadings in both dimensions and the correlation between acceptance/involvement and strictness/imposition

are equivalent between both sexes, and for the fathers' and mothers' scales.

Descriptive Statistics and Internal Consistency

The classic descriptive indexes for each scale and subscale of the ESPA29, arithmetical means and standard deviation values, are shown in Table 4. The alpha coefficient of the acceptance/involvement dimension was 0.96. The alpha coefficient for the mothers' scores in this dimension was 0.98, and was also 0.98 for the fathers' scores in this dimension. The strictness/imposition dimension had a coefficient value of 0.98. For the mothers' scores in this dimension, the alpha was 0.98, and was also 0.98 for the fathers' scores. With respect to the individual subscales, the alpha coefficients were as follows: warmth, 0.90 for the mothers' behavior and 0.89 for the fathers'; indifference, 0.90 for mothers and 0.89 for fathers; reasoning, 0.90 for mothers and 0.89 for fathers; detachment, 0.90 for mothers and 0.89 for fathers; verbal scolding, 0.91 for mothers and 0.89 for fathers; physical punishment, 0.90 for mothers and 0.89 for fathers; and revoking privileges subscale had alpha values of 0.90 for mothers and 0.89 for fathers. Finally, the Cronbach's alpha of the total 212-item scale was 0.99. The alpha value for the 116 items for mothers was 0.99, and for the 116 items for fathers was also 0.99. Those alpha coefficients with the total scale were calculated in order to check that there is no malfunctioning or internal consistency problem with the items or with the scales, since all the items are measuring parts of the same construct, which is parental socialization.

TABLE 4 | ESPA29 descriptive indexes

	Mother				Father			
	M	SD	Min	Max	M	SD	Min	Max
Acceptance/involvement	2.97	0.52	1.48	4.00	2.79	0.57	1.03	4.00
Strictness/imposition	1.53	0.41	1.00	3.58	1.48	0.38	1.00	3.08
Warmth	2.56	0.83	1.00	4.00	2.34	0.82	1.00	4.00
Reasoning	2.70	0.72	1.00	4.00	2.54	0.72	1.00	4.00
Indifference	1.95	0.84	1.00	4.00	2.14	0.89	1.00	4.00
Detachment	1.43	0.45	1.00	3.44	1.56	0.53	1.00	4.00
Revoking privileges	1.54	0.55	1.00	3.94	1.49	0.51	1.00	3.63
Verbal scolding	1.99	0.75	1.00	4.00	1.90	0.69	1.00	3.88
Physical punishment	1.06	0.22	1.00	3.63	1.05	0.18	1.00	2.69

Relation to Self-Esteem

The acceptance/involvement dimension of the ESPA29 scale related positively to academic, social, family, and physical self-esteem, whereas the strictness/imposition dimension of the scale was related negatively with academic, social, emotional, and family self-esteem (Table 5). The effect size of the correlations is similar to those reported in other studies that analyze the relation between parenting and self-esteem (Felson and Zielinski, 1989; Barber et al., 1992).

TABLE 5 | Correlations and R^2 between two major parental socialization dimensions with five self-esteem dimensions

Self-esteem			acceptance/involvement		strictness/imposition	
	M	SD	r	R^2	r	R^2
Academic	7.58	(1.90)	0.226**	0.051	-0.089**	0.008
Social	7.60	(1.49)	0.207**	0.043	-0.087*	0.008
Emotional	6.28	(1.95)	-0.053	0.003	-0.074*	0.005
Family	7.43	(2.09)	0.534**	0.285	-0.357**	0.127
Physical	7.18	(1.89)	0.234**	0.055	-0.033	0.001

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

Discussion

Overall, the results of this work validate the English version of the ESPA29 Parental Socialization Scale. The theoretical two factor structure of the Parental Socialization Scale ESPA29 is clearly identified by both EFA and CFA in the United States data. The results of the PCA show that the subscales of warmth and reasoning of both mothers' and fathers' behavior loaded positively onto the acceptance/involvement dimension. Additionally, the subscales of indifference and detachment loaded negatively onto this dimension for both parents' scores. Furthermore, the remaining three subscales—physical punishment, verbal scolding, and revoking privileges—all loaded positively onto the strictness/imposition dimension in the case of both parents' behavior.

The CFA fully corroborates the theoretical structure of the Parental Socialization Scale ESPA29, supporting to the two dimensions of parental conduct proposed in the ESPA29. The CFA replicated the two-factor structure with appropriate fit indexes. The two axis dimensions reflect two main persistent patterns of parental conduct (Steinberg, 2005), which being orthogonal (the two are not related and behavior in one does not predict behavior in the other), must be analyzed together in order to determine the style of socialization that characterizes parental behavior toward the child (Grusec and Lytton, 1988; Darling and Steinberg, 1993; Steinberg, 2005). Unlike previous studies with the ESPA29 scale that only applied EFA with Procrustes

Rotation (Marchetti, 1997; Musitu and García, 2001; Martínez and García, 2008; López-Jáuregui and Oliden, 2009; Martínez et al., 2011, 2013; Martínez I. et al., 2012; García and Gracia, 2014; García et al., 2015) the present study has applied the CFA. Furthermore, we have contrasted the gender invariance of factor loadings for fathers' and mothers' practices with the multigroup factor confirmatory analysis. These results are fully consistent with those obtained in the normalization of the original scale (Musitu and García, 2001) and with those from previous adaptations into other languages, reinforcing the universality of the practices measured by the Parental Socialization Scale ESPA29 (López- Jáuregui and Oliden, 2009; Grusec, 2012; Martínez I. et al., 2012). The results demonstrate that the ESPA29's structure and conceptualization are the same among both fathers and mothers (Maccoby and Martin, 1983; Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994; Musitu and García, 2001).

Therefore the existence of two independent dimensions of parental conduct in the process of family socialization is supported (Maccoby and Martin, 1983; Darling and Steinberg, 1993). This operationalization of parenting is congruent with that of a large number of instruments used to analyze parental conduct. As Steinberg (2005) highlights, the majority of studies on parenting styles has operationalized one of the dimensions using measures of parental warmth and acceptance while the other has been based on parental firmness. Thereby, the dimensions of strictness/imposition and acceptance/involvement (Steinberg et al., 1994), acceptance/rejection and control, or the dimensions of acceptance/involvement and strictness/imposition as they are named in the ESPA29 (Rohner, 1990; Musitu and García, 2004), have been used.

Furthermore, the multigroup analysis shows that the structure of the scale is equivalent for adolescent males and females, in both mothers' and fathers' scores. The subscales of warmth and reasoning of both mothers' and fathers' behavior loaded positively onto the acceptance/involvement dimension and the subscales of indifference and detachment loaded negatively onto the strictness/imposition dimension. The subscales of physical punishment verbal scolding, and revoking privileges loaded positively onto the strictness/imposition dimension. Adolescent males and females show equivalent loadings in

the paths of each subscale of the two dimensions, acceptance/involvement and strictness/imposition.

Additionally, the parenting practices of the scale are related to one of the most widely utilized adolescent adjustment criteria variables: self-esteem (Felson and Zielinski, 1989; Barber, 1990; Musitu and García, 2001; López-Jáuregui and Oviden, 2009; Fuentes et al., 2011) in order to have an external validity index. The results show that the acceptance/involvement dimension, which includes the use of practices of reasoning and warmth, is positively related with self-esteem, whereas the strictness/imposition dimension, which includes the use of the verbal scolding, physical punishment and revoking privileges practices, is negatively related with adolescents self-esteem. These results are similar to those reported in other studies that analyze the relation between parenting and self-esteem (Barry et al., 2008), showing that positive parenting tends to be associated with high self-esteem, whereas negative parenting is associated with low self-esteem (Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994; Calafat et al., 2014). More specifically, other studies using the ESPA29 have reported similar results (Fuentes et al., 2011; García and Gracia, 2014). Although this is a first approximation of the relation of the practices of the ESPA29 with a criterion variable in a United States sample, future research should analyze the relation between parenting styles assessed with the ESPA29 in United States samples and other criteria variables that reflect personal and social adolescent adjustment. In the same way, other analyses, such as testing the concurrent validity of the ESPA29 with a United States sample, should be contemplated in the future. Finally, it would be advisable that the analysis of this study be extended to other age ranges and that specifically CFA be carried out with samples from different countries. Nevertheless, the results of this study show that the English version of the ESPA29 is adequate for measuring parental socialization in English-speaking adolescents.

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Psychosocial maladjustment in adolescence: Parental socialization, self-esteem, and substance use

Riquelme, M., **García, O. F.**, & Serra, E. (2018). Psychosocial maladjustment in adolescence: Parental socialization, self-esteem, and substance use. *Anales de Psicología*, 34, 536-544. doi:10.6018/analesps.34.3.315201 (Impact factor 2018 = **0.903**; 102/137; **Q3**, Psychology, Multidisciplinary; Times cited in WOS September 2019: **15**).

Abstract

This study analyzes adolescents' vulnerability based on self-esteem and substance use, with parenting style as a protective or risk factor. The sample was composed of 1445 Spanish adolescents (59.4% females), 600 early (41.5%, from 12 to 15 years old) and 845 late (58.5%, from 16 to 17 years old) adolescents. Families were classified in one of four typologies: Indulgent, authoritative, authoritarian, and neglectful. Adolescents' adjustment was captured through self-esteem (emotional, family, and physical) and substance use (alcohol, tobacco, cannabis, and synthetic drugs). Results showed that vulnerability was greater in late adolescence than in early adolescence. An interaction was found between the adolescent stage and gender. Male late adolescents had higher substance use of cannabis and synthetic drugs. The lowest emotional self-esteem corresponded to female late adolescents, and the lowest family self-esteem corresponded to male late adolescents. The parenting style did not interact with the stage of

adolescence or gender. The indulgent parenting style was associated with equal or even greater protection than the authoritative parenting style against psychosocial maladjustment problems in adolescence, whereas the authoritarian and neglectful parenting styles acted as risk factors

Keywords: Parenting Styles; Early and Late Adolescence; Psychosocial Maladjustment; Self-esteem; Drugs.

Resumen

Este estudio analiza la vulnerabilidad de los adolescentes a partir de la autoestima y el consumo de sustancias, y la protección o riesgo del estilo de socialización. La muestra fue de 1445 adolescentes españoles (59.4% mujeres), 600 tempranos de 12 a 15 años (41.5%) y 845 tardíos de 16 a 17 años (58.5%). Las familias se clasificaron en una de las cuatro tipologías: indulgente, autoritativa, autoritaria y negligente. El ajuste de los hijos se midió con autoestima (emocional, familiar y física) y consumo de sustancias (alcohol, tabaco, cannabis y drogas de síntesis). Los resultados mostraron que en la adolescencia tardía la vulnerabilidad fue mayor que en la temprana. Se encontró una interacción entre la etapa de la adolescencia y el sexo. Los adolescentes tardíos presentaron mayor consumo de sustancias (aunque no las adolescentes) en cannabis y drogas de síntesis. La menor autoestima emocional correspondió a las adolescentes tardías y la menor autoestima familiar a los adolescentes tardíos. El estilo parental no interactuó con la etapa de la adolescencia ni con el sexo. El estilo indulgente igualó, o incluso mejoró, la protección respecto del autoritativo, mientras que los estilos parentales autoritario y negligente actuaron como factores de riesgo.

Palabras clave: Estilos de Socialización; Adolescencia Temprana y Tardía; Desajuste Psicosocial; Autoestima; Drogas.

Introduction

An important psychosocial maladjustment has been described in adolescence through the analysis of a wide range of criteria, including self-esteem (Rodrigues, Veiga, Fuentes & García, 2013), drug use (Calafat, García, Juan, Becoña & Fernández-Hermida, 2014),

motivation in school (Veiga, García, Reeve, Wentzel, & García, 2015), academic performance (Fuentes, Alarcón, Gracia & García, 2015), or adolescent behavioral problems (Martínez, Fuentes, García & Madrid, 2013). The decrease in psychosocial competence from early to late adolescence has been related to the increase in the influence of the peer group (Calafat et al., 2014; Dohnt & Tiggemann, 2006; Gardner & Steinberg, 2005; Smith, Chein & Steinberg, 2014; Veiga et al., 2015). Despite the increase in peer group influence, parental socialization continues to function as a fundamental source of protection from this psychosocial vulnerability (Baumrind, 1991; Calafat et al., 2014; Cerezo, Ruiz-Esteban, Lacasa & Gonzalo, 2018; Chan, Kelly, Carroll & Williams, 2017; García & Gracia, 2009; Martínez-González, Rodríguez-Ruiza, Álvarez-Blanco, & Becedóniz-Vázquez, 2016). After numerous studies, there is still debate in the specialized literature about the best parenting strategy to preserve psychosocial competence throughout the adolescent period.

The life cycle stage of adolescence is characterized by greater psychosocial vulnerability. An increase has been observed in the need to regulate affect and behavior through personal goals, which are frequently different from the goals adults provided during childhood (Steinberg, 2005, 2007). The increasing risks the adolescent assumes have been explained by the fragile balance between thrill-seeking and novelty, especially from early adolescence, and the capacity for self-regulation, which is still immature and does not develop completely until early adulthood (Alonso-Stuyck, Zacarés & Ferreres, 2018; Steinberg, 2001, 2004; Steinberg & Morris, 2001;). The search for autonomy and personal identity has been related to an important emotional vulnerability. Several studies have found variations in self-esteem throughout adolescence, with early adolescents presenting higher self-esteem than late adolescents.

Likewise, it has been pointed out that the vulnerability is different depending on the adolescent's gender. Some one-dimensional measures show greater self-esteem in male adolescents (Martín-Albo, Nuñez, Navarro & Grijalvo, 2007), despite considerable differences among the distinct cultural versions (Calafat et al., 2014). In addition, some multidimensional measures consistently differentiate male and female self-esteem by domains based on the gender stereotypes of western culture (García & Gracia, 2009; Torres, Mohand & Mohand,

2017). Whereas male adolescents present greater emotional and physical self-esteem, female adolescents present greater family self-esteem (García & Gracia, 2009; Swaim & Wayman, 2004; Wild, Flisher, Bhana & Lombard, 2004)

Along the same lines, experimentation with alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs during early adolescence is a firm and consistent predictor of future drug use in adulthood (Kandel, Kessler & Margulies, 1978; Newcomb, Maddahian, Skager & Bentler, 1987; Osgood, Johnston, O'Malley & Bachman, 1988; Vega, Zimmerman, Warheit & Apospori, 1993; Zacarés, Serra, Torres, 2015). Alcohol use and tobacco consumption increase from early to late adolescence (Jackson, Sher, Cooper & Wood, 2002; Melchior, Chastang, Goldberg & Fombonne, 2008). Differences in alcohol abuse have been associated with a lower perception of risk (Barnes, Reifman, Farrell & Dintcheff, 2000; Jackson et al., 2002; Melchior et al., 2008). For example, Jackson et al. (2002), in a longitudinal study with more than 4000 teenagers, found that alcohol abuse increased during adolescence in male adolescents, but not in female adolescents. Moreover, an increase has been found in cannabis and synthetic drug use in late adolescence, although this tendency has only been observed in male adolescents because they seem to perceive less risk associated with these illegal substances (Garcia & Gracia, 2009; Newcomb et al., 1987).

Parental socialization has been identified as a main source of influence on psychosocial vulnerability in adolescence (Adalbjarnardottir & Hafsteinsson, 2001; Calafat et al., 2014; García & Gracia, 2009, 2010; Hummel, Shelton, Heron, Moore & van den Bree, 2013; Valente, Cogo-Moreira & Sanchez, 2017). Research examining relationships between parental socialization and effects on children's development traditionally uses a two-dimensional model with four typologies of parenting styles. Through the combination of acceptance/involvement and strictness/imposition, both theoretically orthogonal dimensions, four family typologies are obtained: authoritative (acceptance/involvement and strictness/imposition), authoritarian (without acceptance/involvement but with strictness/imposition), indulgent (acceptation/involvement but without strictness/imposition), and neglectful (without acceptance/involvement or strictness/imposition) (Baumrind, 1991;

Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg & Dornbusch, 1991; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Martínez, Cruise, García, & Murgui, 2017; Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts & Dornbusch, 1994).

Although parents are normally considered a protective factor against adolescent psychosocial risks, parents' behavior has been related to important variations in both self-esteem and the use of alcohol, tobacco, and illegal drugs during adolescence (Darling & Steinberg, 1993, Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994). Research carried out mainly in English-speaking contexts with European-American samples has systematically identified the authoritative parenting style as a factor providing greater protection against psychosocial vulnerability. In the same way, adolescents from authoritarian families, also characterized by strictness/imposition, present a lower risk of consuming alcohol and other drugs than adolescents from families that are not characterized by strictness/imposition (indulgent and neglectful) (Bahr & Hoffmann, 2010; Darling & Steinberg, 1993, Steinberg et al., 1994). However, studies agree that adolescents from authoritarian families present a greater risk of self-esteem problems than those from families characterized by acceptance/involvement (authoritative and indulgent) (Bahr & Hoffmann, 2010; Hoffmann & Bahr, 2014; Lamborn et al., 1991). Likewise, research conducted mainly in English-speaking contexts with European-American samples has also consistently found that indulgent and neglectful parenting styles, both characterized by low strictness/imposition, constitute the main risk factor for adolescent vulnerability (Bahr & Hoffmann, 2010; Baumrind, 1991; Lamborn et al., 1991).

Although firm control and rigor are equally present in authoritative and authoritarian parents, there are important conceptual differences between the behaviors in these two parenting styles that have not always been taken into account in the literature (see Calafat et al., 2014; García et al., 2015; Kerr & Stattin, 2000; Stattin & Kerr, 2000). For example, monitoring (active parental supervision) was initially ambiguously conceptualized as a parenting practice that involves active attempts by the parents to watch over their children. However, several researchers have pointed out that, although parental monitoring is clearly related to a wide range of indicator variables of

psychosocial adjustment, most of this positive relationship with the adjustment criteria corresponded to the importance of spontaneously revealing information to the parents (typical of the authoritative style), but not to the parents' intrusive attempts to extract information (typical of the authoritarian style) (Ahn & Lee, 2016; Calafat et al., 2014; Carroll et al., 2016; Holdsworth, Laverty & Robinson, 2017; Kerr & Stattin, 2000; McLaughlin, Campbell & McColgan, 2016; Stattin & Kerr, 2000).

However, although the authoritative style is associated with important benefits for White, middle class, American adolescents, studies in other cultural and ethnic contexts pose serious concerns about whether the authoritative parenting style is always associated with the greatest protection against adolescent psychosocial vulnerability. On the one hand, the authoritarian parenting style, characterized by strictness/imposition but without acceptance/involvement, is related to optimal adjustment in ethnic minorities in the United States (Chao, 2001; Deater-Deckard & Dodge, 1997, Wang & Phinney, 1998). For example, Chao (2001) found that the authoritarian style was related to the higher academic performance of Chinese-American children. Moreover, research conducted in the Middle East and Asia has suggested benefits of the authoritarian style. Thus, the authoritarian parenting style has been associated with Chinese children's satisfaction with their father-son relationship (Quoss & Zhao, 1995), and it has not been associated with mental health issues in adolescents from Arabic societies (Dwairy, Achoui, Abouserfe & Farah, 2006).

On the other hand, the indulgent parenting style, characterized by acceptance/involvement, but without the strictness/imposition component, provides extensive benefits and protection against psychosocial vulnerability in European and South American adolescents (DiMaggio & Zappulla, 2014; Fuentes, Alarcón, García, & Gracia, 2015; García et al., 2015; García & Gracia, 2009, 2010; Gracia, Fuentes, García, & Lila, 2012; Martínez, García, & Yubero, 2007). For Spanish adolescents, the indulgent parenting style appears to provide a key protection factor against drug and alcohol use that is just as efficacious as the authoritative style (Calafat et al., 2014; Garcia & Gracia, 2009, 2010; Martínez et al., 2013), or even more so, with children from indulgent families obtaining better adjustment than

children from authoritative families on criteria such as self-esteem, psychosocial maladjustment, personal competence, and a wide range of behavioral problems (Fuentes, García, Gracia & Alarcón, 2015; Fuentes, García, Gracia & Lila, 2011; Martínez & García, 2007, 2008). Recently, research conducted with a large sample of European adolescents from Sweden, Slovenia, the Czech Republic, the United Kingdom, Spain, and Portugal (Calafat et al., 2014) thoroughly examined which parenting style is more efficient in protecting against emotional vulnerability, substance use, and other psychosocial adjustment problems in adolescence. The results of the study indicated that, in all the countries analyzed, the indulgent style was the best protection factor and as effective as the authoritative style against substance abuse and behavioral problems, and even more effective than the authoritative style for self-esteem and academic performance.

The current study is based on the assumption that there is a psychosocial maladjustment in self-esteem (emotional, family, and physical) in adolescence that is accompanied by early initiation into substance use (alcohol, tobacco, cannabis, and synthetic drugs). This maladjustment increases with age, such that late adolescents present lower self-esteem and greater drug use than younger adolescents. Variations in self-esteem associated with the adolescents' gender have been related to the gender stereotypes of the social context; greater emotional and physical self-esteem are expected in male adolescents, whereas greater family self-esteem is expected in female adolescents. Because the use of cannabis and synthetic drugs is associated with greater acceptance of risks, less use of these substances is expected in female adolescents because they perceive their risk to a greater degree. Although adolescence is associated with an important psychosocial vulnerability, in this key stage the indulgent parental socialization will be associated with equal or greater protection than the authoritative style. On the other hand, the authoritarian and neglectful parenting styles will be risk factors.

Method

Participants and procedure

The study sample was composed of 1445 adolescents from 12 to 17 years old ($M = 15.54$; $SD = 1.95$), of which 858 were female (59.4%) and 587 male. An a priori calculation was performed of the statistical power to detect a low-medium effect size ($f = 0.110$), fixing Type I and Type II errors, $\alpha = .05$ and $\beta = .95$, for the univariate F tests among the four parenting styles, obtaining a minimum sample size of 1424 participants. The final study sample was slightly larger than the minimum size calculated. The sensitivity analysis for the final sample of 1445 participants, fixing the conventional Type I and Type II errors, $\alpha = .05$ and $\beta = .95$, indicated that a slightly reduced low-medium effect size could be detected ($f = 0.109$) (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner & Lang, 2009; García, Pascual, Frías, Van Krunckelsven & Murgui, 2008; Pérez, Navarro & Llobell, 1999).

This study was carried out following the research protocol approved by the Ethical Committee of the Scientific Research Development Program, Technological and Innovation Development of the Valencian Region, which supported this research. Twelve schools were chosen randomly from a complete official list of schools (public, private, and subsidized) in a Spanish Autonomic Region, until reaching the minimum sample size required to guarantee the statistical power. When the groups (schools) are chosen randomly, the elements that form the groups (students) will be equivalent to those that a random system would provide (Gracia, García, & Musitu, 1995; Kalton, 1983). The principals of each school were contacted and informed about the objectives of the study (the rejection rate was below 10%). The participants were students from 7th to 12th grades, corresponding to the age group from 12 to 17 years old. To participate in the study, the parents' consent was required, and the confidentiality of the students' answers was guaranteed. The students filled out the questionnaires in a classroom during the school day.

Measures

Parental Socialization. To measure the acceptance/involvement dimension, 20 items from the WAS scale (*Warmth/Affection Scale*,

Rohner, Saavedra & Granum, 1978) were used from the PARQ/C questionnaire (*Parenting Acceptance-Rejection/Control Questionnaire*, Rohner, 1989), which has been validated in Spanish (Fernández-García, Rodríguez-Menéndez & Peña-Calvo, 2017; Lila, García & Gracia, 2007). This scale offers a reliable measure of adolescents' perception of the degree to which their parents are involved and respond in a loving and sensitive way to their needs (example items: "Make me feel proud when I do well"; and "Talk to me in a warm and loving way"). The *alpha* coefficient was .924. In order to measure the strictness/imposition dimension, the 13 elements from the PCS (*Parenting Control Scale*, Rohner, 1989; Rohner & Khaleque, 2003) were used from the PARQ/C questionnaire (*Parenting Control Scale*, Rohner, 1989). This scale offers a reliable measure of adolescents' perception of the degree to which their parents exercise imposing, firm, and demanding control over their behavior (example items: "It make sure that I know exactly what I can and cannot do"; and "Insist that I do exactly as I am told"), with an *alpha* value of .847. Both questionnaires use Likert-type scales ranging from 1 "Almost never true" to 4 "Almost always true". High scores on each factor imply greater acceptance/involvement and/or strictness/imposition by the parents.

Self-esteem. It was measured with three scales from the AF5 (García & Musitu, 1999), each composed of six items: emotional (example of an inverted item: "I am afraid of some things", $\alpha = .709$), family (example item: "I am happy at home", $\alpha = .845$), and physical (example item: "People ask me to participate in sports", $\alpha = .760$) self-esteem. The response scale for the 18 elements was a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 "Strongly disagree" to 99 "Strongly agree". The AF5 multidimensional self-esteem questionnaire is one of the most widely used Spanish measures (e.g., Fernández-Zabala, Rodríguez-Fernández & Goñi, 2016; Martín-Albo et al., 2007; Torregrosa-Ruiz, Molpeceres & Tomás, 2017; Torres et al., 2017). The dimensional structure has been empirically confirmed through exploratory (e.g., García & Musitu, 1999) and confirmatory factorial analyses (e.g., García, Gracia & Zeleznova, 2013; García, Musitu, Riquelme & Riquelme, 2011; García, Musitu & Veiga, 2006; Murgui, García, García & García, 2012; Tomás & Oliver, 2004), and no

methodological problems have been found with negatively worded items (García et al., 2011; Tomás & Oliver, 2004).

Substance use. The frequency with which the adolescent had consumed tobacco, alcohol, and synthetic drugs in the past few weeks was measured (Calafat et al., 2014; Fuentes et al., 2015a, b; García & Gracia, 2009, 2010). A Likert-type response scale was used, ranging from 1 “nothing at all” to 4 “a lot”. The alpha value was .665.

Analytical Plan

A multivariate MANOVA ($4 \times 2 \times 2$) factorial design was applied, where the dependent variables were the adolescents’ adjustment criteria (emotional, family, and physical self-esteem; and substance use: alcohol, tobacco, cannabis, and synthetic drugs), and the independent variables were the parenting styles (indulgent, authoritative, authoritarian, and neglectful), gender (female vs. male), and age group (12 to 15 years old vs. 16 to 17 years old). Afterwards, univariate tests were applied to analyze the sources of significant variation in the multivariate analysis, and the Bonferroni test to analyze the significant univariate sources, maintaining the *alpha* per study at 5%.

Results

Parental educational styles

The participants were 1445 adolescents classified as indulgent, authoritative, authoritarian, or neglectful (Table 1): Indulgent, 383 adolescents (26.5%), with high scores on acceptance/involvement, $M = 73.42$, $SD = 4.00$, and low scores on strictness/imposition, $M = 27.99$, $SD = 4.90$; authoritative, 340 adolescents (23.5%), with high scores on acceptance/involvement, $M = 72.82$, $SD = 3.57$, and strictness/imposition, $M = 38.47$, $SD = 4.69$; authoritarian, 385 adolescents (26.6%), with low scores on acceptance/involvement, $M = 56.44$, $SD = 8.86$, and high scores on strictness/imposition, $M = 39.43$, $SD = 5.09$; and neglectful, 337 (23.3%) adolescents, with low scores on acceptance/involvement, $M = 57.83$, $SD = 9.16$, and strictness/imposition, $M = 28.16$, $SD = 5.37$. Likewise, the two main dimensions of parental socialization, acceptance/involvement and

strictness/imposition, presented low correlations, $r = -.111$, $R^2 = .01$ (1%), $p < .01$. These results agreed with the orthogonality assumption of the two-dimensional socialization model main dimensions of parental socialization, acceptance/involvement and strictness/imposition, presented low correlations, $r = -.111$, $R^2 = .01$ (1%), $p < .01$. These results agreed with the orthogonality assumption of the two-dimensional socialization model.

Table 1. Distribution of the Family Parenting Style, and Mean and Standard Deviation of Dimensions of Acceptance/Involvement and Strictness/Imposition

	Total	Indulgent	Authoritative	Authoritarian	Neglectful
Frequency	1445	383	340	385	337
Percent	100.0	26.5	23.5	26.6	23.3
Warmth					
<i>Mean</i>	65.12	73.42	72.82	56.44	57.83
<i>SD</i>	10.60	4.00	3.57	8.86	9.16
Strictness					
<i>Mean</i>	33.55	27.99	38.47	39.43	28.16
<i>SD</i>	7.42	4.91	4.69	5.09	5.37

Multifactorial multivariate analysis of variance

The multivariate analyses indicated statistically significant differences ($\alpha = .05$) in the age and gender interaction effects, $\Lambda = .977$, $F(7.0, 1423.0) = 4.74$, $p < .001$, and the main effects of parenting style, $\Lambda = .749$, $F(21.0, 4086.6) = 20.56$, $p < .001$, gender, $\Lambda = .901$, $F(7.0, 1423.0) = 22.25$, $p < .001$, and age, $\Lambda = .806$, $F(7.0, 1423.0) = 48.94$, $p < .001$ (Table 2).

Table 2. Factorial MANOVA ($4^a \times 2^b \times 2^c$) on Emotional Self-Esteem, Family Self-Esteem, and Physical Self-Esteem

Source of variation	Λ	F	$Gl_{\text{numerator}}$	gl_{error}	p
(A) Parenting Style ^a	.757	9.504	33.0	3159.0	<.001
(B) Sex ^b	.850	17.250	11.0	1072.0	<.001
(C) Age ^c	.780	27.438	11.0	1072.0	<.001
A×B	.963	1.238	33.0	3159.0	.165
A×C	.964	1.213	33.0	3159.0	.188
B×C	.969	3.090	11.0	1072.0	<.001
A×B×C	.970	1.002	33.0	3159.0	.465

Note: ^a a_1 , indulgent, a_2 , authoritative, a_3 , authoritarian, a_4 , neglectful; ^b b_1 , male, b_2 , female; ^c c_1 , 12-15 years, c_2 , 16-17 years.

Psychosocial maladjustment in adolescence

On emotional, family, and physical self-esteem, the scores of the 16 to 17-year-old adolescents were lower than those of the 12 to 15-year-old adolescents (Table 3). On physical self-esteem, male adolescents presented higher scores than female adolescents. There was an interactive effect of gender by age on emotional self-esteem, $F(1, 1429) = 6.23, p = .013$ (Figure 1) and family self-esteem, $F(1, 1429) = 8.85, p = .003$ (Figure 2). On emotional self-esteem, the 16 to 17-year-old adolescents obtained lower scores than the 12 to 15-year-old adolescents, but this tendency was only found in males, whereas on family self-esteem, the 16 to 17-year-old adolescents also obtained lower scores than the 12 to 15-year-old adolescents, but this tendency was only observed in females.

Table 3. Means, (Standard Deviations), F Values, and Post-Hoc Procedure of Bonferroni for the Four Parenting Style Groups on Self-Esteem Dimensions and Drugs Use

	Parenting Style				F (3, 1429)	Sex		F (1, 1429)	Age		F (1, 1429)
	Indulgent	Authoritative	Authoritarian	Negligent		Female	Male		12-15 years	16-17 years	
Self-Esteem											
Emotional	5.74 ¹ (1.77)	5.34 ² (1.76)	5.23 ² (1.84)	5.50 (1.79)	6.76***	5.13 1.83	5.93 1.65	62.90***	5.66 1.83	5.31 1.77	9.08***
Family	8.94 ¹ (0.97)	8.76 ¹ (1.07)	6.85 ³ (1.98)	7.54 ² (1.79)	145.06***	8.14 1.74	7.83 1.75	13.43***	8.19 1.68	7.89 1.80	16.34***
Physical	6.17 ¹ (1.80)	6.19 ¹ (1.91)	5.48 ² (1.96)	5.69 ² (1.91)	11.11***	5.60 1.91	6.28 1.85	41.02***	6.06 1.95	5.75 1.89	6.67***
Drugs Use											
Alcohol	17.13 ² (7.49)	16.74 ² (7.81)	18.65 ¹ (9.20)	18.58 ¹ (8.95)	4.18*	17.9 0 (8.41)	17.60 (8.46)	0.01	13.42 (6.32)	20.88 (8.37)	327.13***
Tobacco	13.52 ² (7.72)	13.47 ² (7.62)	15.48 ¹ (9.43)	15.28 ¹ (8.69)	4.43*	14.7 4 (8.61)	14.00 (8.21)	2.15	12.33 (6.32)	15.94 (9.41)	66.18***
Cannabis	11.54 ² (04.85)	11.53 ² (4.55)	12.91 ¹ (6.36)	13.23 ¹ (7.44)	7.71***	11.9 7 (5.48)	12.78 (6.53)	5.79*	11.13 (4.48)	13.12 (6.67)	48.41***
Synthetic drugs	10.05 ² (0.72)	10.21 ^b (1.42)	10.60 ¹ (3.13)	10.98 ^{1a} (4.15)	8.17***	10.2 8 (2.03)	10.70 (3.46)	6.71*	10.20 (1.72)	10.63 (3.22)	13.79***

Note: Post-hoc procedure of Bonferroni $\alpha = .05$; 1 > 2, a > b.
 * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

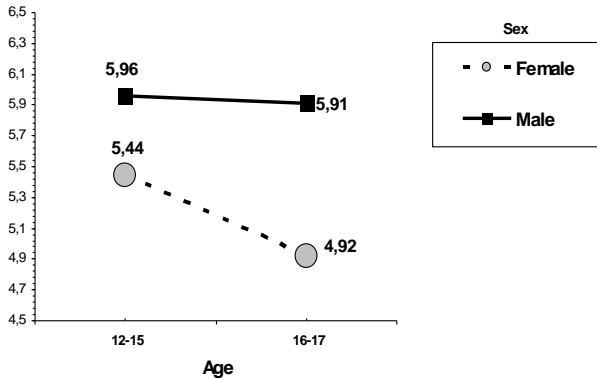


Figure 1. Means of Sex by Age Group in Emotional Self-Esteem

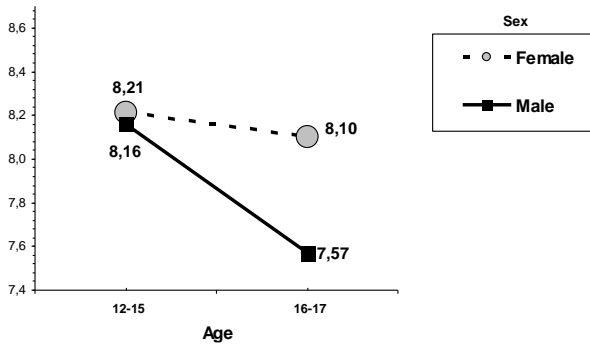


Figure 2. Means of Sex by Age Group in Family Self-Esteem

For alcohol, tobacco, cannabis, and synthetic drug use, the 16 to 17-year old adolescents obtained higher scores than the 12 to 15 years old (Table 3). Interactive effects were found for gender by age on cannabis use, $F(1, 1429) = 6.70, p = .010$ (Figure 3) and synthetic drug use, $F(1, 1429) = 9.64, p = .002$ (Figure 4). For cannabis use, 16 to 17-year-old adolescents obtained higher scores than 12 to 15-year-old adolescents, although 16 to 17-year-old late adolescent males used more cannabis than females. For synthetic drug use, basically the same pattern is shown, with higher use in male adolescents from 16 to 17 years old, who are basically the participants showing the increasing tendency.

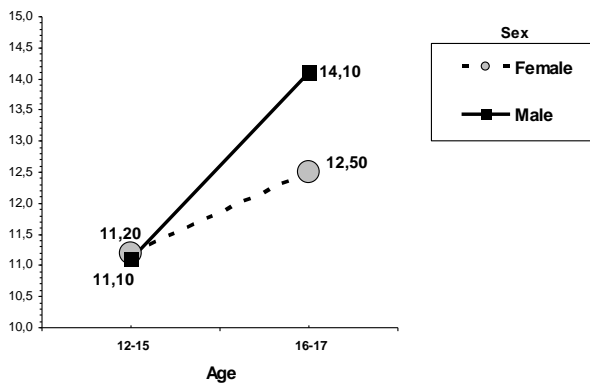


Figure 3. Means of Sex by Age Group in Cannabis Use

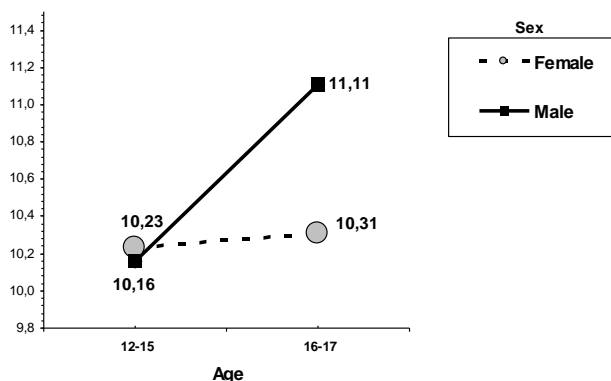


Figure 4. Means of Sex by Age Group in Synthetic Drugs Use

Parenting styles: protection from or risk of psychosocial maladjustment in adolescence

The results showed that the most protective parenting style was the indulgent style, related to equal or even greater protection against risks in adolescence than the authoritative style, whereas the authoritarian and neglectful parenting styles were related to greater vulnerability (Table 3). On the self-esteem criteria, children from indulgent homes obtained equal (on family and physical self-esteem) or even higher scores than those from authoritative families (on emotional self-esteem); the lowest scores pertained to children from authoritarian and neglectful families. For the use of drugs criteria, children who characterized their parents as indulgent and authoritative showed the lowest alcohol, tobacco, cannabis, and synthetic drug use, whereas the highest scores were observed in children from authoritarian and neglectful families.

Discussion

This study evaluated the adolescents’ progressive psychosocial maladjustment through self-esteem and drug use criteria and the protection or risk provided by the parents’ socialization style. As expected, the study analyses confirmed the adolescents’ psychosocial maladjustment and their resulting vulnerability. The main effects of the age group indicated a persistent pattern that was congruent with

what was expected, across all the variables analyzed. During late adolescence (16-17 years old), self-esteem (emotional, family, and physical) was lower, whereas substance use (alcohol, tobacco, cannabis, and synthetic drugs) was higher. Even though these effects are recognized throughout the literature (e.g., Jackson et al., 2002; Kandel et al., 1978; Melchior et al., 2008; Swaim & Wayman, 2004; Wild et al., 2004), in our study we found important aspects related to the period of adolescence when the vulnerability occurs, and that it depends on gender.

We have to point out that, along with the main effects, interaction effects were found between gender by age on physical and family self-esteem, and on cannabis and synthetic drug use, and these interactions are important aspects to take into account in prevention. For emotional self-esteem, the decrease associated with the two analyzed groups (early and late adolescents) only affected female adolescents. On the other hand, the decrease in family self-esteem at the age of 16 to 17 years old (late stage) mainly affected 16 to 17-year-old (late stage) males. These data from our study indicated that the psychosocial maladjustment in these two criteria differentially affected both genders. Male adolescents' vulnerability lies in family self-esteem, whereas female adolescents' vulnerability lies in emotional self-esteem, in addition to the main effect of physical self-esteem, which equally affects adolescents of both genders. The different vulnerability in the two genders is consistent with studies that have especially addressed this problem (e.g., Swaim & Wayman, 2004; Wild et al., 2004;), and it has not always been sufficiently taken into account due to the partial analysis of this vulnerability in samples, without considering the change from early to late adolescence (e.g., García & Gracia, 2010). These results reveal the need to introduce family conflict resolution for male adolescents and emotional self-regulation for female adolescents in prevention and intervention programs in educational contexts.

In addition, interaction effects of gender by age were found in adolescents' vulnerability to substance use. We should especially point out that two factors involve a greater health risk: cannabis and synthetic drugs. The common pattern for both substances (although it is clearer for the most dangerous one, synthetic drugs) is that the increase in use between early and late adolescence corresponds mainly

to male adolescents, whereas female adolescents hardly initiate their use. These results correspond to the different perceptions of risk in the two genders (Jackson et al., 2002; Melchior et al., 2008). These aspects have not always been considered when designing prevention programs that focus mainly on drug problems (Calafat et al., 2014; Valente et al., 2017). These results reveal the need to emphasize the short- and long-term risks generally involved in the use of substances, and especially illegal ones such as cannabis and synthetic drugs. The relevance of including this risk perception variable in prevention programs becomes clear beyond early adolescence, especially in male adolescent groups.

The results found for the protection or risk contributed by parental socialization styles to adolescents' psychosocial vulnerability indicate that the parenting style does not interact with age or gender because only main effects were found (García & Gracia, 2009, 2010; Lamborn et al., 1991; Rodrigues et al., 2013; Steinberg et al., 1994). This finding indicates that the parenting style is a protective or risk factor regardless of the adolescent's age (throughout adolescence) or gender (it influences both genders equally). Higher risk corresponded to adolescents from authoritarian and neglectful families, who were characterized as being the most vulnerable adolescents, with the lowest scores on self-esteem (emotional, family, and physical) and the highest on substance use (alcohol, tobacco, cannabis, and synthetic drugs) criteria. The greatest family protection corresponded to parents with indulgent and authoritative socialization styles. The children of these styles were less vulnerable, obtaining higher scores on self-esteem and lower scores on substance use. However, the scores of the children from indulgent families were generally higher on all the self-esteem criteria, and significantly higher on emotional self-esteem. We should point out the lower emotional vulnerability of adolescents from indulgent families, and the higher emotional vulnerability of adolescents from authoritative families. The latter obtained worse scores on emotional self-esteem than the children from indulgent families, and their scores did not differ from those obtained by adolescents from authoritarian homes. This main effect confirms findings from other studies, even though the trajectory of vulnerabilities throughout adolescence has generally not been

considered (Fuentes et al., 2015a; Garcia & Gracia, 2009, 2010; Martínez et al., 2013; Rodrigues et al., 2013).

One of the most significant contributions of this study is the systematic analysis of the protection and risk implications of family socialization on the vulnerability experienced in the critical stage of late adolescence (Jackson et al., 2002; Melchior et al., 2008). The results of this study confirm other previous findings on the change in personal adjustment, where indulgent parents provide greater protection to their children, followed by authoritative parents (García & Gracia, 2009, 2010; Rodrigues et al., 2013), and on vulnerability to the use of drugs, where indulgent and authoritative styles best protect their children (Calafat et al., 2014; Fuentes et al., 2015a; Garcia & Gracia, 2009, 2010; Martínez et al., 2013). These results clearly differ from other studies carried out in other cultural contexts, where, for example, the greatest protection against drug use corresponded to the authoritative and authoritarian styles (Bahr & Hoffmann, 2010; Baumrind, 1991, Hoffmann & Bahr, 2014, Lamborn et al., 1991, Steinberg et al., 1994).

This study has positive aspects and some limitations. A positive aspect is that it studied psychosocial vulnerability in Spanish adolescents, analyzing the early and late stages, although the composition in Spain is currently multi-ethnic and multi-cultural. Future studies should analyze whether the optimal parenting style is different in other ethnic and cultural minorities (Chao, 2001; Dwairy et al., 2006). Another limitation is that the answers come from adolescent children, even though there is evidence that children tend to present less social desirability than their parents (Barry, Frick, & Grafeman, 2008). Finally, this study is limited by a non-experimental methodology that does not allow us to categorically rule out the effects of third variables (Ato & Vallejo, 2007), and by its cross-sectional design, which does not allow us to draw definitive conclusions about intra-individual changes in psychosocial vulnerability. Future studies should use longitudinal data collection designs to analyze both the intra-individual changes in maladjustment throughout adolescence (from 12 to 17 years old) and the effects of intervention programs on groups, considering the adolescent period (early and late) and gender differences. Despite these limitations, this study provides a vision of adolescents' vulnerability, contextualized

within the critical stage and gender, where the parents' role is essential in protecting them from the risks associated with this critical stage.

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Parenting in the digital era: Protective and risk parenting styles for traditional bullying and cyberbullying victimization

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Abstract

This study analyzes the parenting styles that could act as risk or protective factors for bullying and cyberbullying victimization in Spain, considering the predisposition to aggression of the adolescents. The protective or risk effect of parenting styles for adolescents related behavior such as antisocial behavior, school adjustment, and self-esteem was also analyzed. Study sample was 1109 adolescents aged between 12 and 17 years (49.96%, females, $M = 13.88$, $SD = 1.38$). A $4 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2$ MANOVA was applied for the outcome variables of bullying victimization (traditional bullying and cyberbullying), antisocial behavior, school adjustment, and self-esteem; with parenting style, predisposition to aggression, sex and age as independent variables. The results confirm and extend emergent

research in parenting styles, carried out in Spain and other European and Latin-American countries, showing that indulgent parenting, characterized by the use of reasoning and warmth practices, can act as a protective factor for both traditional bullying and cyberbullying victimization. On the contrary, authoritarian parenting, characterized by the use of physical and verbal coercion and privation practices, would act as a risk factor for cyberbullying and traditional bullying victimization. The protective and risk effects of parenting styles over adolescents' adjustment take place irrespective of the adolescents' predisposition to aggression.

Keywords: Cyberbullying; Bullying; Peer victimization; Parenting styles; Adolescence.

1. Introduction

1.1. Traditional bullying and cyberbullying

Over the last years, traditional bullying and recently cyberbullying have greatly increased in their social impact due to their negative consequences (Horner, Asher, & Fireman, 2015). Bullying has been defined as an aggressive behavior or intentional 'harmdoing', which is carried out repeatedly and over time in an interpersonal relationship characterized by an imbalance of power (Olweus, 1999). Meanwhile cyberbullying is considered as a type of bullying, since it follows the criteria of intentionality, repetition, and power imbalance (Olweus, 2013), that occurs through social media, either via the internet or mobile phone (Horner et al., 2015). The World Health Organization has identified bullying as a major public health problem, pointing out that the risks posed by bullying affect all the individuals involved: bullies, victims and bystanders (WHO, Srabstein & Leventhal, 2010). Negative consequences for aggressors, victims, and for the educational system, have been reported (Nansel et al., 2001). In this sense, traditional bullying and cyberbullying have become important school problems.

One of the most relevant issues in the analysis of bullying, in the traditional forms or via electronic communication, is the study of the risk and protective factors associated with the emergence of this problem. Research has analyzed personal, social, and contextual

factors related to bullying involvement in order to develop effective prevention and intervention programs. With respect to personal factors, studies have identified a broad range of risk factors for bullying involvement. Variables such as depression, aggressiveness, isolation, and dislikability have been related to both bullying and peer victimization (Carlyle & Steinman, 2007; Veenstra et al., 2005). Otherwise, high levels of moral cognition were associated with low participation in bullying and even with helping the victims (Laible, Eye, & Carlo, 2008).

Demographic variables like sex, age or the academic year have also been pointed out as risk factors for bullying involvement. For example, empirical research coincides in pointing out that adolescents boys are more likely to get involved in bullying, being both more likely to be bullies and victims, than girls (Baldry & Farrington, 2000; Nansel et al., 2001; Nation, Vieno, Perkins, & Santinello, 2008; Schlack, Holling, & Petermann, 2009). With respect to age, although some studies have identified age as a risk factor for being a bully or a victim (Nation et al., 2008; Schlack, Hoelling, & Petermann, 2009), other studies have not reported significant variations (Baldry & Farrington, 2000).

In the case of cyberbullying involvement, on the one hand, most of the personal risk factors identified are common with those of traditional bullying, such as gender and age differences (Mesch, 2009; Ozen, 2006; Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009), or poor social and emotional competencies (Zych, Beltran-Catalan, Ortega-Ruiz, & Llorent, 2018). On the other hand, specific personal risk factors for cyberbullying peer victimization, such as having an active profile on social networking sites or being more dependent upon the internet (Mesch, 2009; Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009), have been identified.

Moreover, scientific research has considered other risk factors in bullying involvement related to the social context where children are raised. Between those factors are social circumstances, like living in conflictive or violent neighborhoods (Gracia, Fuentes, García, & Lila, 2012; Jansen et al., 2012; Shetgiri, Lin, Avila, & Flores, 2012). Social variables related to school climate, such as school resources, school cohesion, problem-solving strategies, teacher competence, relationships between teachers or relationships between teachers and

students are also been reported as risk factors (Debnam, Johnson, & Waasdorp, 2014; Eliot, Cornella, Gregorya, & Fan, 2010; Waasdorp, Pasc, O'Brennand, & Bradshaw, 2011). Finally, the influence of the family, as the first social context in children's development, has been pointed to as a factor to be considered in the analysis of the bullying phenomenon (Berns, 2011; Cerezo, Sánchez, Ruiz, & Areense, 2015; Espino, 2013; Gavazzi, 2011, 2013). On the one hand, bullying behavior has been related with several family variables and models of parenting such as low parental involvement (Flouri & Buchanan, 2003), harsh parenting (Vitaro, Barker, Boivin, Brendgen, & Tremblay, 2006), disagreement with parents, and authoritarian parenting (Baldry & Farrington, 2000). On the other hand, peer victimization has also been associated with family variables and parenting types such as insufficient parent income, high levels of harsh and reactive parenting (Barker et al., 2008), high intrusive demandingness and low responsiveness (Ladd & Ladd, 1998), or lack of cooperative parent-child relationships (Nation et al., 2008). Otherwise, family cohesion has been pointed out as a protective variable for both bully and victim roles (Schlack et al., 2009).

1.2. Parenting Styles

Currently, there is not clear evidence about which parenting styles would act as protective factors and which ones would act as risk factors for traditional bullying and for cyberbullying. This question is important because recent studies analyzing the relation of parenting styles with adolescent behavioral adjustment have shown differences depending on the cultural and the social background where the parent-child relationship is developed. Those cultural differences have been reported when using the classical model of four typologies of parenting (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Maccoby & Martin, 1983) based on two orthogonal dimensions of parental behavior: demandingness and responsiveness (Baumrind, 1989, 1991; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Martínez, Cruise, García, & Murgui, 2017). Demandingness refers to the extent to which parents make control, supervision, and maturity demands in their parenting; whereas responsiveness refers to the extent to which parents show their children affectionate warmth and acceptance, give them support, and reason with them (Martínez & García, 2007). Earlier scholars have

used other labels such as acceptance (Symonds, 1939), assurance (Baldwin, 1955), warmth (Becker, 1964; Sears, Maccoby, & Levin, 1957), or love (Schaefer, 1959), which have similar meanings to responsiveness. Labels such as domination, hostility, inflexibility, control, firmness, or restriction were used in earlier research with similar meanings to demandingness (Becker, 1964; Schaefer, 1959; Sears et al., 1957; Symonds, 1939). More recently labels are acceptance/involvement and strictness/supervision dimensions (e.g., Chao, 2001; Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1991; Martínez et al., 2017). Based on these two dimensions, four parenting styles have been identified: authoritative (parents who are high on both strictness/ supervision and acceptance/involvement), indulgent (parents who are low on strictness/supervision and high on acceptance/involvement), authoritarian (parents who are high on strictness/supervision and low on acceptance/involvement), and neglectful (parents who are low on both strictness/supervision and acceptance/involvement) (Baumrind, 1991; Lamborn et al., 1991; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Martínez et al., 2017; Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts, & Dornbusch, 1994).

Studies recently carried out in different European and Latin-American countries, including Spain (De la Torre, Casanova, Cerezo, & García, 2011), Italy (DiMaggio & Zappulla, 2014), UK, Sweden, Slovenia, Czech Republic (Calafat, García, Juan, Becoña, & Fernández-Hermida, 2014), Norway (Lund & Scheffels, 2018), Germany (Wolfradt, Hempel, & Miles, 2003), Portugal (Rodrigues, Veiga, Fuentes, & García, 2013), Turkey (Turkel & Tezer, 2008), Brazil (Valente, Cogo-Moreira, & Sanchez, 2017) or Mexico (Villalobos, Cruz, & Sanchez, 2004), agree to point out that indulgent parenting is associated with similar or, in some cases, higher adjustment in adolescents than authoritative parenting, which traditionally have been associated with the highest adolescents outcomes (Baumrind, 1991; Lamborn et al., 1991; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Steinberg et al., 1994). Both parenting styles, authoritative and indulgent, are characterized by the use of practices of warmth and reasoning, although only authoritative parenting includes imposition and strictness practices. On the contrary, authoritarian and neglectful parenting, both defined by the lowest use of warmth and reasoning, tend to associate with low adolescent adjustment. Among the

adolescent adjustment outcomes analyzed in these studies are psychological adjustment (e.g., self-esteem, emotional instability, and emotional unresponsiveness), school achievement, use of learning strategies, substance use, and behavioral problems (e.g., Calafat et al., 2014; Fuentes, García, Gracia, & Alarcón, 2015; Martínez, Fuentes, García, & Madrid, 2013).

1.3. Self-esteem, school adjustment, and antisocial behavior

Self-esteem has been among the most utilized criteria variables to analyze the influence of parenting on adolescents, since it is an indicator of adolescent adjustment. Self-esteem is conceptualized as a positive or negative orientation toward oneself (Rosenberg, 1979), and it represents the affective, or evaluative, component of the self-concept (Leary & Baumeister, 2000). As the core of the individual, self-esteem has been considered key to understand behavioral, cognitive, emotional, and social functioning (Shavelson, Hubner, & Stanton, 1976). Moreover, self-esteem has been considered a central objective of parental socialization (Grusec, Danyliuk, Kil, & O'Neill, 2017) and has proved to be influenced by parenting practices (Barber, Chadwick, & Oerter, 1992; Martínez & García, 2007, 2008). Finally, self-esteem is related to a variety of psychological and behavioral variables, including traditional bullying victimization (O'Moore & Kirkham, 2001), and cyberbullying victimization (Patchin & Hinduja, 2010).

Other classical adolescent adjustment criteria utilized to analyze parenting influence are school adjustment and antisocial behavior (Lamborn et al., 1991). School adjustment refers to the satisfactory meeting of the behavioral and academic standards within instructional settings and has been considered an indicator of competence, social adjustment (Cotugno, 2009) and high self-esteem (Veiga, García, Reeve, Wentzel, & García, 2015). Social influence on school adjustment has been amply documented (Spencer, 1999). Among the social variables that have proved to influence school adjustment are teachers' and peers' roles (Birch & Ladd, 1997) and also the family role (Kang, Woo, Chun, Nho, & Chung, 2017). Meanwhile, antisocial behavior is defined as recurrent violations of socially prescribed behavior patterns (Simcha-Fagan, Langner, Gersten, & Eisenberg,

1975), including behaviors that causes harm, violates social norms or contravene criminal laws (Seto & Barbaree, 1997). Antisocial behavior is one of the most common forms of psychopathology among adolescents and a frequent reason for referral to mental health services (Walker, Colvin, & Ramsey, 1995).

1.4. The present study

Considering the previous research, this study analyzes the parenting styles that could act as risk or protective factors for bullying and cyberbullying victimization in Spain. Additionally, the protective or risk effect of parenting styles for adolescents self-esteem, antisocial behavior, and school adjustment was analyzed. The predisposition to aggression of the adolescents was considered, since it is a key variable in bullying analysis and some studies have noted its role in the relation between parenting and peer victimization (Duong, Schwartz, Chang, Kelly, & Tom, 2009). Furthermore, the literature has clearly reported that predisposition to aggression is related to bullying involvement and inversely related with school, social, and personal adjustment (Fuentes, Martínez, & Navarro, 2015; Garaigordobil, 2017; Veiga, García, Almeida, Caldeira, & Galvão, 2014). Hence, we expect that predisposition to aggression will be a risk factor for traditional bullying and cyberbullying victimization, antisocial behavior, school adjustment and self-esteem. Regarding parenting styles, previous research in Spain has shown that indulgent parenting is associated with similar or, in some cases, higher adjustment in adolescents than authoritative parenting. Therefore, we expect that indulgent parenting (involvement but not strictness) will act as a protective factor in the same or even higher extend than authoritative parenting (involvement and strictness), for traditional bullying and cyberbullying victimization and the others outcomes variables. Moreover, authoritarian (strictness but not involvement) and neglectful (neither involvement nor strictness) parenting will act as risk factors for traditional bullying and cyberbullying victimization and the other outcome variables. Finally, we hypothesize that the risk or protective effects of parenting on adolescent outcomes will take place, irrespective of the adolescents' predisposition to aggression.

2. Method

2.1. Participants and procedure

The sample of the present study consisted of 1109 adolescents. All the participants were attending public high school in middle class neighborhoods (we excluded public schools located in poor neighborhoods and private schools) in a Spanish city of approximately one million inhabitants.

A random selection of schools was conducted from the complete list of high school in middle class neighborhoods (85% of all high schools). If a school declined to participate, another school was randomly selected until completing the sample. This random sampling approach assures that every unit in the population (i.e., student) has the same probability of being selected (see Calafat et al., 2014; Fuentes, Alarcón, García, & Gracia, 2015; García & Gracia, 2009, 2010; Gracia et al., 2012; Martínez et al., 2013). A priori power analysis determined that 1020 participants were required to detect an unfavourable small effect size ($f = 0.13$) with a power of .95 ($\alpha = 0.05$, $1 - \beta = 0.95$) in F-test between the four parenting styles (Erdfelder, Faul, & Buchner, 1996; García, Pascual, Frías, Van Krunkelsven, & Murgui, 2008). To achieve a priori-determined sample size of 1020 students, we have to contact the directors of eight schools using our ram-list of educational centres (seven educational centres took part in the study, and one centre refused to participate). We intentionally over-sampled, randomly selecting over 1150 potential participants who: (a) were Spanish, as were their parents and four grandparents; (b) lived in two-parent nuclear families, mother or primary female caregiver and father or primary male caregiver; (c) had received their parents' permission to participate; and (d) were attending school at the time the research was done. A total of 1109 students completed the instruments (93% response rate). The power of any F-test between the four parenting styles ($f = 0.13$; $\alpha = 0.05$) was 0.95 (Erdfelder et al., 1996; García et al., 2008; Pérez, Navarro, & Llobell, 1999). Girls made up 49.96% of the sample and boys made up the remaining 50.04%. The participants ranged in age from 12 to 17 years old. The mean age was 13.88 ($SD = 1.38$). All of the questionnaires were

completed anonymously following Institutional Review Board approval.

Measures

Parenting styles were captured with the acceptance/involvement and strictness/imposition dimensions of the Parental Socialization Scale (ESPA29; Musitu & García, 2001). This scale presents twenty-nine situations (13 of them refer to adolescents' compliance situations like, "If I respect the schedules set at home", and 16 refer to adolescents' noncompliance situations, e.g., "If I don't study or I don't want to do the homework from school") that are representative of everyday family life. In compliance situations, adolescents rate practices of warmth ("he/she shows me warmth") and indifference ("he/she seems indifferent"). In noncompliance situations, adolescents rate practices of reasoning ("he/ she talks to me"), detachment ("it's the same to him/her"), verbal scolding ("he/she scolds me"), physical punishment ("he/she spans me"), and revoking privileges ("he/she takes something away from me"). In total, the adolescents give 212 responses, 106 for the father's behavior and 106 for the mother's behavior. Responses are made on a 4-point Likert-type scale that ranges from 1 ("never") to 4 ("always"). Different studies have confirmed the factorial structure of parenting practices scales and the factorial invariance across parent sexes, adolescent ages and adolescent sexes, in different cultural contexts (López-Jáuregui & Oliden, 2009; Martínez, García, Camino, & Camino, 2011; Martínez, García, Musitu, & Yubero, 2012; Martínez et al., 2017). The family score for the acceptance/involvement dimension was obtained by averaging the responses on warmth, reasoning, indifference, and detachment practices. The score for the strictness/imposition dimension was obtained by averaging the responses on verbal scolding, physical punishment, and revoking privileges. The alpha value for each dimension was: acceptance/involvement, 0.98, and strictness/imposition, 0.98; for each subscale: warmth, 0.93, indifference, 0.93, reasoning, 0.93, detachment, 0.94, verbal scolding, 0.93, physical punishment, 0.94, and revoking privileges, 0.94.

Following seminal examples of Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994, families were classified into four types of parenting styles. Authoritative families were those who scored above 50th percentile on

both acceptance/involvement and strictness/imposition dimensions, whereas neglectful families were below 50th percentile on both dimensions. Authoritarian families were above 50th percentile on strictness/imposition and below 50th percentile on acceptance/involvement. Indulgent families were above 50th percentile on acceptance/involvement and below 50th percentile on strictness/imposition.

Predisposition to aggression was captured with the 12-items version of the Buss-Perry Aggression Questionnaire (Buss & Perry, 1992). Sample items are: "I have threatened people I know"; "I have trouble controlling my temper". Responses are made on a 5-point Likert-type scale that ranges from 1 ("extremely uncharacteristic of me") to 5 ("extremely characteristic of me"). The alpha value was 0.85. Adolescents were classified into two degrees of predisposition to aggression. High predisposition to aggression were those who scored above the 50th percentile, and lower predisposition to aggression were those who score below the 50th percentile.

Bullying victimization was captured by two indexes: Traditional bullying victimization and cyberbullying victimization. Traditional bullying victimization was captured with 6 items of the California School Climate and Safety Survey (Furlong et al., 2005). Sample items are: "Someone threatened to hurt you"; "Personal property smashed or damaged on purpose". Responses are made on a 5-point Likert-type scale that ranges from 1 ("not at all") to 5 ("very often"). The alpha value was 0.70. Cyberbullying victimization was captured with 10 items of the Electronic Bullying Questionnaire (Kowalski & Limber, 2007). Sample items are: "Has anyone made fun of you or teased you in a hurtful way through e-mail, instant messaging, in a chat room, on a website, or through a text message sent to your cell phone?"; "I was bullied through an e-mail message". Responses are made on a 5-point Likert-type scale that ranges from 1 ("it hasn't happened in the past to 5 ("several times a week"). The alpha value was: .76.

Antisocial behavior was captured by two indexes: Disruptive behavior and harmful behavior (García & Gracia, 2009). Disruptive behavior was captured with 9 items that evaluate behaviors, such as cheating, copying homework, and tardiness. Sample items are: "Copying homework"; "Skipping classes without permission". The

alpha value was 0.65. Harmful behavior was captured with 6 items that evaluate behavior as damaging or removing objects, and getting into fights. Sample items are: “Removing objects from my classmates of school/institute”; “Getting into trouble with the police”. Responses for both antisocial behavior indexes are made on a 5-point Likert-type scale that ranges from 1 (“never”) to 5 (“frequently”). The alpha value was 0.78.

School adjustment was captured by two indexes: Academic engagement, and grade point average. Academic engagement was measured with the 17-item version of the Utrecht Work Engagement Scale-Student (UWES-17, Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004; Veiga et al., 2015). Sample items are: “I am immersed in my studies”; “I feel happy when I am studying intensely”. The Likert response scale has 5 points ranging from 1 (“never”) to 5 (“always”). The alpha value was 0.89. Grade point average was obtained from student files. Scores were converted from the Spanish numerical standard (0–10) to the grade standard in USA, ranging from 0 (all Fs) to 5 (all A's) (see Lamborn et al., 1991).

Self-esteem was captured with the five 6-item dimensions of the Multidimensional Self-Concept Scale AF5 (García & Musitu, 1999). This scale comprises 30 items that evaluate 5 dimensions of self-esteem: Academic (sample item, “I am a good student”), social (sample item, “I am a friendly person”), emotional (sample reversed item, “I get scared easily”), family (sample item, “My parents give me a lot of confidence”), and physical (sample item, “I take good care of my physical health”). The factorial structure of AF5 has been confirmed in Spain (Murgui, García, García, & García, 2012) and other countries (García, Gracia, & Zeleznova, 2013; García, Musitu, Riquelme, & Riquelme, 2011). Responses are made on a 99-point scale that ranges from 1 (“complete disagreement”) to 99 (“complete agreement”). The alpha value for each dimension was: academic, 0.88, social, 0.70, emotional, 0.73, family, 0.81, and physical, 0.75.

2.3. Plan of analysis

A factorial ($4 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2$) multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was applied for the outcome variables: Bullying victimization (traditional bullying and cyberbullying), antisocial behavior (disruptive behavior and harmful behavior), school

adjustment (academic engagement and grade point average), and self-esteem (academic, social, emotional, family, and physical); with parenting style (authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent, and neglectful), predisposition to aggression (low vs. high), sex (boy vs. girls), and age (12-14 years-old vs. 15-17 years-old) as independent variables. Univariate F follow-up tests were conducted within the multivariate significant overall differences, and significant results on the univariate tests were followed with Bonferroni's comparisons between all possible pairs of means. We applied the same traditional design and robust statistical analyses that other seminal studies (e.g., García & Gracia, 2009; Lamborn et al., 1991; Martínez & García, 2007; Steinberg et al., 1994).

3. Results

3.1. Parenting style groups

Adolescents were classified into one of four parenting style groups (indulgent, authoritative, authoritarian, or neglectful) (Table 1). Indulgent 241 (21.7%), with high acceptance/involvement, $M = 3.47$, $SD = 0.20$, and low strictness/imposition, $M = 1.49$, $SD = 0.19$; authoritative, 314 (28.3%), with high acceptance/involvement, $M = 3.54$, $SD = 0.19$, and high strictness/imposition, $M = 2.09$, $SD = 0.24$; authoritarian, 238 (21.5%), with low acceptance/involvement, $M = 2.81$, $SD = 0.32$, and high strictness/imposition, $M = 2.06$, $SD = 0.23$; and neglectful, 316 (28.5%), with low acceptance/involvement, $M = 2.78$, $SD = 0.32$, and low strictness/imposition, $M = 1.49$, $SD = 0.17$. Additional analyses also showed that both parental dimensions, acceptance/involvement and strictness/imposition, according to the orthogonality assumption, were modestly correlated, $r = -0.169$, $R^2 = 0.028$, $p < .05$.

Table 1. Numbers of Cases in Parenting Style Groups, and Mean Scores and Standard Deviations on Measures of Parental Dimensions

	Total	Authoritative	Indulgent	Authoritarian	Neglectful
Frequency	1109	241	314	238	316
Percent	100	21.7	28.3	21.5	28.5
Warmth					
Mean	3.15	3.47	3.54	2.81	2.78
SD	.45	.20	.19	.32	.32
Strictness					
Mean	1.79	1.49	2.09	2.06	1.49
SD	.36	.19	.24	.23	.17

3.2. Predisposition to aggression

As expected, the MANOVA showed a significant main effect for predisposition to aggression, $\Lambda = 0.730$, $F(11.0, 914.0) = 30.72$, $p < .001$ (see Table 2). Univariate analysis (Table 4) indicated that adolescents with predisposition to aggression showed more negative scores on all measures of bullying victimization and antisocial behavior than adolescents with non-predisposition to aggression: Traditional Bullying, $F(1, 924) = 180.09$, $p < .001$, cyberbullying victimization, $F(1, 924) = 156.31$, $p < .001$, disruptive behavior, $F(1, 924) = 255.95$, $p < .001$, and harmful behavior, $F(1, 924) = 83.79$, $p < .001$. Moreover, adolescents with non-predisposition to aggression showed higher scores on school adjustment and self-esteem than adolescent with predisposition to aggression: Grade point average, $F(1, 924) = 32.36$, $p < .001$, academic engagement, $F(1, 924) = 249.94$, $p < .001$, and academic, $F(1, 924) = 78.84$, $p < .001$, social, $F(1, 924) = 5.17$, $p < .05$, emotional, $F(1, 924) = 3.97$, $p < .05$, and family self-esteem, $F(1, 924) = 27.93$, $p < .001$.

3.3. Predisposition to aggression

As was hypothesized, the MANOVA showed a significant main effect for parenting style, $\Lambda = 0.850$, $F(33.0, 2693.5) = 4.60$, $p < .001$ (Table 2). Adolescents (Table 3) who characterized their parents as authoritarian showed higher scores on cyberbullying victimization, $F(3, 924) = 4.00$, $p < .01$, traditional bullying victimization, $F(3, 924) = 4.11$, $p < .01$, than adolescents raised by the other types of parents. In the same way, adolescents from authoritarian homes present more disruptive behavior, $F(3, 924) = 4.66$, $p < .01$ than adolescents from authoritative and indulgent homes. Moreover, adolescents who characterized their parents as authoritative and indulgent scored more positively than did adolescents from authoritarian and neglectful families on academic engagement, $F(3, 924) = 2.75$, $p < .05$, and almost all dimensions of self-esteem. Adolescents with authoritative or indulgent parents showed higher academic, $F(3, 924) = 4.48$; $p < .001$, social, $F(3, 924) = 3.50$; $p < .001$, family, $F(3, 924) = 34.27$, $p < .001$, and physical self-esteem, $F(3, 924) = 7.86$, $p < .001$, than adolescents from neglectful or authoritarian homes.

Table 3. Means, Standard Deviations (in Brackets), *F* Values, Probabilities of a Type I Error, and Post Hoc Bonferroni^a Procedure for the Parenting Style Groups across Adolescent Bullying Victimization and Adjustment Outcomes

Source of variation	Parenting Style					<i>F</i> (3, 324)	<i>p</i>
	Indulgent	Authoritative	Authoritarian	Neglectful			
Bullying victimization							
Traditional Bullying	1.27 (.35) ²	1.34 (.37) ²	1.45 (.47) ¹	1.38 (.43) ²	4.11	.007	
Cyberbullying	1.27 (.34) ²	1.33 (.35) ²	1.43 (.46) ¹	1.33 (.39) ²	4.00	.008	
Antisocial behavior							
Disruptive behavior	1.56 (.51) ²	1.62 (.54) ²	1.76 (.56) ¹	1.76 (.56) ¹	4.66	.003	
Harmful behavior	1.14 (.34)	1.15 (.32)	1.23 (.41)	1.21 (.44)	1.54	.204	
School Adjustment							
Academic Engagement	4.52 (.47) ²	4.45 (.44)	4.35 (.50) ¹	4.38 (.55) ¹	2.75	.042	
Grade point average	3.30 (1.12)	3.26 (1.18)	3.33 (1.23)	3.12 (1.20)	2.24	.082	
Self-esteem							
Academic	6.54 (2.09) ¹	6.39 (2.08) ¹	5.94 (2.08) ²	5.69 (2.27) ²	4.48	.004	
Social	7.74 (1.61) ¹	7.67 (1.54) ¹	7.35 (1.56) ²	7.40 (1.61)	3.50	.015	
Emotional	6.16 (2.09)	5.75 (2.04)	5.92 (2.03)	6.08 (2.09)	1.14	.334	
Family	8.98 (1.33) ¹	8.88 (1.15) ¹	7.57 (2.12) ²	7.91 (1.85) ²	34.27	<.001	
Physical	6.31 (2.06) ¹	6.45 (1.92) ¹	5.97 (2.03) ²	5.67 (2.11) ²	7.86	<.001	

Note: Bonferroni Test $\alpha = .05$; 1 > 2.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 2. MANOVA Factorial ($4^a \times 2^b \times 2^c \times 2^d$) for Adolescent Bullying Victimization and Adjustment Outcomes

Source of variation	Λ	F	g_{between}	g_{error}
(A) Parenting Style ^a	.85	4.60***	33	2693.52
(B) Predisposition to aggression ^b	.73	30.72***	11	914.00
(C) Sex ^c	.76	26.74***	11	914.00
(D) Age ^d	.96	3.66***	11	914.00
A × B	.97	.96	33	2693.52
A × C	.95	1.56*	33	2693.52
A × D	.96	1.25	33	2693.52
B × C	.98	1.74	11	914.00
B × D	.98	1.31	11	914.00
C × D	.98	1.55	11	914.00
A × B × C	.95	1.33	33	2693.52
A × B × D	.96	1.28	33	2693.52
A × C × D	.97	0.97	33	2693.52
A × B × C × D	.98	1.66	11	914.00

Note: a¹, indulgent, a², authoritative, a³, authoritarian, a⁴, neglectful; b¹,

low, b², high; c¹, girl, c², boy. d¹, 12 - 14 years old, d², 15 - 17 years

old; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Furthermore, results yielded a statistically significant interaction for parenting style by sex, $\Lambda = 0.950$, $F(33.0, 2693.5) = 1.56$, $p < .001$ (Table 2). Univariate test only showed a statistically significant difference for traditional bullying, $F(3, 294) = 3.13$, $p < .05$. In line

with the results of the main parenting effects, indulgent parenting style was associated with equal or even better results than authoritative, whereas neglectful and authoritarian parenting styles were associated with the poorest results (Fig. 1). For girls, no significant differences were found in traditional bullying between the four parenting style groups. Significant differences were found between adolescent boys. In increasing order, from less to more risk of peer victimization, were adolescents raised in indulgent, authoritative, neglectful, and authoritarian homes.

3.4. Sex and age main effects

Although not central to the thrust of this study, we analyzed main effects for sex, $\Lambda = 760$, $F(11.0, 914.0) = 26.74$, $p < .001$, and age, $\Lambda = 0.960$, $F(11.0, 914.0) = 3.66$, $p < .001$ (Table 2). Girls showed lower levels of traditional bullying, $F(1, 924) = 34.02$, $p < .01$, cyberbullying victimization, $F(1, 924) = 79.79$, $p < .01$, and harmful behavior, $F(1, 924) = 14.22$, $p < .001$, than boys (Table 4). Moreover, girls showed higher scores on grade point average, $F(1, 924) = 16.54$, $p < .001$, academic engagement, $F(1, 924) = 8.24$; $p < .01$, and academic self-esteem, $F(1, 924) = 27.32$, $p < .01$, than boys. On the contrary, boys scored higher than girls on emotional, $F(1, 924) = 74.14$, $p < .01$ and physical self-esteem, $F(1, 924) = 50.22$, $p < .01$.

Table 4. Means, Standard Deviations (in Brackets), *F* Values, Probabilities of a Type I Error, and Post Hoc Bonferroni^a Procedure Parenting Style Groups across Adolescent Bullying Victimization and Adjustment Outcomes

Source of variation	Predisposition to aggression					Age			Sex	
	Low	High	<i>F</i>	12-14	15-17	<i>F</i>	Girls	Boys		
Bullying victimization										
Traditional Bullying	1.20 (.27)	1.52 (.47)	180.09***	1.35 (.40)	1.38 (.43)	.070	1.24 (.32)	1.47 (.46)		
Cyberbullying	1.20 (.25)	1.48 (.45)	156.31***	1.34 (.38)	1.34 (.41)	1.27	1.26 (.35)	1.41 (.42)		
Antisocial behavior										
Disruptive behavior	1.42 (.35)	1.94 (.59)	255.95***	1.59 (.52)	1.76 (.58)	6.07*	1.66 (.54)	1.69 (.56)		
Harmful behavior	1.07 (.21)	1.29 (.48)	83.79***	1.13 (.31)	1.21 (.44)	2.48	1.13 (.29)	1.23 (.45)		
School Adjustment										
Academic Engagement	3.48 (1.07)	2.99 (1.25)	32.36***	3.52 (1.06)	3.15 (1.22)	17.02***	3.38 (1.16)	3.11 (1.20)		
Grade point average	4.66 (.29)	4.19 (.55)	249.94***	4.50 (.45)	4.36 (.55)	4.64*	4.48 (.45)	4.37 (.53)		
Self-esteem										
Academic	6.74 (1.91)	5.50 (2.21)	78.84***	6.44 (2.14)	5.98 (2.14)	3.04	6.48 (2.06)	5.77 (2.18)		
Social	7.61 (1.55)	7.47 (1.56)	5.17*	7.63 (1.56)	7.49 (1.51)	1.85	7.50 (1.56)	7.57 (1.56)		
Emotional	6.06 (2.06)	5.87 (2.12)	3.97*	6.04 (2.18)	5.87 (2.00)	.67	5.43 (2.12)	6.50 (1.92)		
Family	8.68 (1.50)	7.99 (1.90)	27.93***	8.64 (1.62)	8.19 (1.74)	5.44**	8.38 (1.79)	8.31 (1.70)		
Physical	6.07 (2.07)	6.12 (2.03)	.99	6.21 (2.14)	6.03 (1.99)	.09	5.59 (2.02)	6.59 (1.96)		

Note: ^aAll ANOVAs $F(1, 924)$. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Additionally, the univariate F test indicated differences between groups of ages. Middle adolescents showed lower levels of disruptive behavior, $F(1, 924) = 6.07, p < .05$ and better scores on academic engagement, $F(1, 924) = 4.64, p < .05$, grade point average, $F(1, 924) = 17.02, p < .001$, and family self-esteem, $F(1, 924) = 5.44, p < .01$, than adolescents of 15–17 years old.

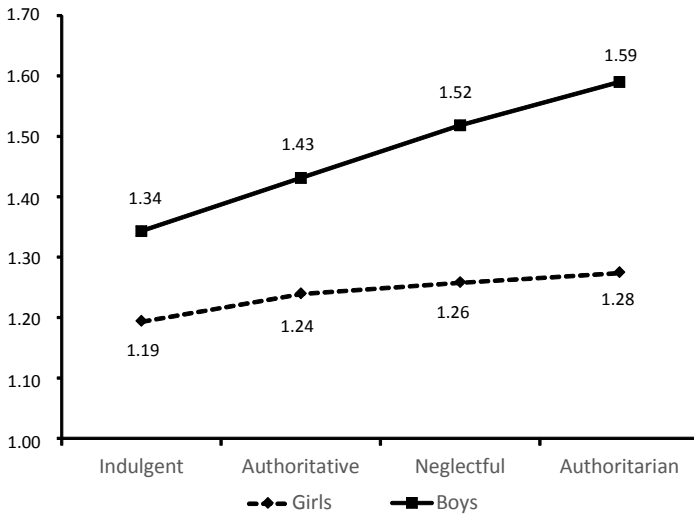


Figure 1. Means of parenting style by adolescent sex for Traditional bullying

4. Discussion

Overall, the results confirm the hypothesis of this research, indulgent parenting, characterized by acceptance and involvement practices, is the most protective style across all the outcomes analyzed. On one side, indulgent parenting is associated with the lowest levels of traditional bullying and cyberbullying victimization, acting as a protective factor irrespective of the adolescents' predisposition to aggression. On the opposite side, authoritarian parenting, characterized by strictness and imposition, is associated with the highest levels of traditional bullying and cyberbullying victimization, acting as a risk factor irrespective of the adolescents'

predisposition to aggression. The protective and risk effects of parenting styles over traditional bullying and over cyberbullying victimization are consistent within the two age ranges of this study. Furthermore, the protective and risk effects of parenting over cyberbullying are consistent for boys and girls. However, in the case of traditional bullying the risk and protective effects of parenting styles only affect boys, showing that for boys, indulgent parenting is the most protective style whereas authoritarian parenting is the highest risk factor. This result is consistent with other research that have found differences in the relationship between bullying victimization and parenting between boys and girls (Ladd & Ladd, 1998).

The results also confirm a protective effect of indulgent parenting for antisocial behavior, specifically for disruptive behavior. Additionally, authoritative parenting also acts as a protective factor for disruptive behavior. This result is consistent with previous emergent research that has shown that parenting styles characterized by the use of acceptance and involvement practices tend to act as a protective factor for adolescent maladjustment, antisocial behavior and substance use (Calafat et al., 2014; Fuentes, Garcia et al., 2015; García & Gracia, 2009, 2010; Lund & Scheffels, 2018; Martínez et al., 2013).

A similar result is noted in relation to the association between parenting with adolescents' self-esteem and school adjustment. Indulgent and authoritative parenting are associated with higher academic, physical and social self-esteem than authoritarian and neglectful parenting, and with higher social self-esteem than authoritarian parenting. The result supports previous research in Spain that has consistently shown that parenting styles characterized by acceptance and involvement practices are associated with the highest self-esteem (García & Gracia, 2009, 2010; Martínez & García, 2007). School adjustment is also influenced by parenting styles in the direction expected; adolescents from indulgent families' present higher academic engagement than do adolescents from authoritarian and neglectful homes, supporting previous research (Veiga et al., 2015).

According to the hypothesis, all of the protective and risk effects of parenting styles over child adjustment take place irrespective of the adolescents' predisposition to aggression. Furthermore, as expected, and in line with previous research, adolescents' predisposition to aggression is related with traditional bullying and cyberbullying

victimization; adolescents with high predisposition to aggression are more likely to be traditional bullying and cyberbullying victims than adolescents with low predisposition to aggression (Barker et al., 2008; Cerezo et al., 2015; Duong et al., 2009; Garaigordobil & Aliri, 2012). In the same way, adolescents with high predisposition to aggression are more likely to be involved in antisocial behavior, disruptive and harmful behavior, than adolescents with low predisposition to aggression. With respect to school adjustment, the results confirm that adolescents with high predisposition to aggression have lower grade point averages and academic engagement than adolescents with low predisposition to aggression. Finally, adolescents with high predisposition to aggression show the lowest levels of academic, social, emotional, and family self-esteem.

The age range analyzed in this study does not present differences neither in traditional bullying nor in cyberbullying peer victimization. This result is consistent with others studies that do not report differences in bullying with age (Baldry & Farrington, 2000), although it must be taken into account that early adolescence, which is the age range of the present study, is itself a risk factor, for both being a bully and a victim (Schlack et al., 2009). Furthermore, the present results show other age related differences consistent with previous research (García & Gracia, 2009, 2010; Martínez et al., 2013); older adolescents present more disruptive behavior than young ones, whereas young adolescents show the highest school achievement (grade point average and academic engagement), and family self-esteem.

Finally, the results show that boys are more likely to be victims of traditional bullying and of cyberbullying than girls, which confirms gender differences in bullying victimization in previous research (Mesch, 2009; Schlack et al., 2009). Furthermore, boys present more harmful behavior than girls, whereas girls show the highest school achievement. The classical differences in self-esteem by gender are also noted in the study: girls have higher academic self-esteem than boys, while boys have higher emotional and physical self-esteem than girls (Martínez & García, 2007).

Therefore, the results confirm recent research in parenting styles carried out in Spain and other European and Latin-American countries (Calafat et al., 2014; DiMaggio & Zappulla, 2014; Lund & Scheffels,

2018; Martínez & García, 2008; Martínez et al., 2013; Rodrigues et al., 2013; Turkel & Tezer, 2008; Wolfradt et al., 2003), and extend the protective effects of parenting styles to bullying and cyberbullying victimization, showing that indulgent parenting, characterized by the use of reasoning and warmth practices, can act as protective factor for both traditional bullying and cyberbullying victimization. On the contrary, authoritarian parenting, characterized by the use of physical coercion, verbal coercion, and privation practices, would act as a risk factor for cyberbullying and traditional bullying victimization, especially for boys in the case of traditional bullying.

4.1. Limitations of the study

Finally, this research presents some limitations. The design of present study was cross-sectional, which precluded the possibility to draw firm conclusions on issues of directionality. Therefore, the lack of longitudinal or experimental evidence, the findings here must be considered as preliminary. The classification of the families within one of the four parenting styles was based on the responses of the adolescents. Although research indicates that adolescent self-reports contribute importantly to our understanding of the family process (Steinberg et al., 1994), and similar results have been obtained on parenting styles in spite of different methods of data collection (see Baumrind, 1991; García & Gracia, 2009; Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994). It should also be noted that the adolescents was sampled in this study from middle class high school neighborhoods, future consideration of public schools located in poor neighborhoods and private schools is warranted

4.2. Future studies

Future research is needed to analyze the protective or risk effects of parenting styles on bullying and cyberbullying behavior in other European and non-European contexts. This study focused on analyzing the protective and risk effects of parenting styles for bullying and cyberbullying victimization, therefore more studies that analyze the protective or risk effects of parenting for bullies and cyberbullies are needed. Findings of this study extend previous research proving the protective and risk effects of parenting on adolescent adjustment to bullying and cyberbullying victimization. In

accordance with some emerging research in European and Latin American countries, this research shows the benefits of indulgent and authoritative parenting as opposed to authoritarian parenting.

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Researching parental socialization styles across three cultural contexts: Scale ESPA29 bi-dimensional validity in Spain, Portugal and Brazil

Martinez, I., Garcia, F., Fuentes, M. C., Veiga, F., **Garcia, O. F.**, Rodrigues, Y., Cruise, E., & Serra, E. (2019). Researching parental socialization styles across three cultural contexts: Scale ESPA29 bi-dimensional validity in Spain, Portugal and Brazil. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 16, 1-14. doi:10.3390/ijerph16020197 (Impact factor 2018 = **2.648**; 38/162; **Q1**, Public, Environmental & Occupational Health; Times cited in WOS September 2019: **11**).

Abstract

Recent research that relates parenting with adolescent adjustment has shown the importance of considering the cultural context of the relationship. New results are emerging when considering the classical four-typologies model of parental socialization in some European and South-American countries. Among the instruments used in this emergent research is the Parental Socialization Scale ESPA29. This scale is a bi-dimensional parenting instrument that was specifically developed to measure the four parenting typologies, through the

dimensions of acceptance/involvement and strictness/imposition. This study examines the good fit of the orthogonal bi-factor model based on the ESPA29 versus one-dimensional and bi-dimensional oblique alternative models, with three adolescent samples from 12 to 17 years old (53.4% girls), from Spain ($N = 826$), Portugal ($N = 752$), and Brazil ($N = 628$). We applied structural equation models (SEMs) to analyze the fit of the models to the data. The results confirm a better fit to the data for the orthogonal bi-factor model versus one-dimensional and bi-dimensional oblique alternative models across country, adolescent sex, and the three age groups. Additionally, the convergent validity of the scale was proved by showing the relation of the two parenting dimensions with self-concept. The results guarantee the adequacy of the ESPA29 to measure parenting styles.

Keywords: parenting styles; parental warmth and strictness; adolescents; factorial invariance; multi-group analysis.

1. Introduction

Research on parental socialization has coincided in pointing out two dimensions of parenting behavior. Although the labels utilized to denominate the dimensions have varied since the work of Maccoby and Martin (1983) [1] they have frequently been denominated as demandingness and responsiveness [2]. The demandingness dimension represents to what degree parents supervise and demand maturity of their children, assertively uphold their authority and use control over their children. The responsiveness dimension refers to the extent to which parents demonstrate emotional warmth, such as affection, and acceptance to their children, support them and utilize reasoning in their communication with them [3,4].

Earlier scholars utilized other labels such as control (Watson, 1928) [5] or attachment (Freud, 1933; Rogers, 1960) [6,7] to define the two main parenting dimensions. Symonds (1939) [8] used the terms acceptance/rejection and domination/submission, whereas Baldwin (1955) [9] named them emotional warmth/hostility and indifference/commitment. In the same line, Schaefer (1959) [10] named the two dimensions love/hostility and autonomy/control, while Sears, MacCoby, and Levin (1957) [11] used the labels of warmth and permissiveness/inflexibility, and Becker (1964) [3] talked about

warmth/hostility and restriction/permissiveness. Baumrind [12–15] also confirmed two underlying dimensions in parent–child relationships named acceptance and paternal control. Later, in the work carried out by Steinberg and colleagues (1994) [16], two dimensions with similar connotations were identified: Acceptance/involvement and strictness/supervision [17,18]. Acceptance/involvement and strictness/imposition (ESPA29, Musitu & García, 2001) [19], have also been utilized in different recent works [20–22]. To sum up, these two central parenting dimensions represent two different and theoretically unrelated parental behavior patterns [23] that when considered together lead to the four parental socialization styles: Authoritative—high use of demandingness parenting behaviors and high use responsiveness behaviors; neglectful—low use of both dimensions; indulgent—low use of demandingness and high use of responsiveness; and authoritarian style—high use of both dimensions [1,18,24]. Responsiveness has often been measured through parental warmth and acceptance, while demandingness has been operationalized as parental firmness [2].

The Parental Socialization Scale ESPA29 [19] is a bi-dimensional parenting instrument that was created with the precise purpose of measuring the aforementioned parenting typologies. The four parenting typologies are measured through the dimensions of acceptance/involvement and strictness/imposition, which are considered independent. The questionnaire specifically considers the distinction between socialization practices and styles [23,25,26] using a contextual [23] and situational [26] approach. The ESPA29 analyzes behaviors showed by parents in specific situations that delineate day-to-day life within a family in Western culture. The instrument inquires about parental behavior within said situations through questions posed to the adolescent. The scale measures the use that mothers and fathers make of seven different practices of socialization: Warmth, indifference, reasoning, detachment, verbal scolding, physical punishment, and revoking privileges. The acceptance/involvement dimension consists of the practices of warmth and reasoning that compose the positive pole of the dimension, whereas indifference and detachment practices form the negative pole. The strictness/imposition dimension is formed with the verbal scolding, physical punishment, and revoking privileges practices. The practices that make up the two

dimensions do not relate to each other; the strictness/imposition practices are impositive practices that are independent of the degree of acceptance/involvement. In this way, the possibility of a parent using an acceptance/involvement practice, such as reasoning, following the use of a strictness/imposition practice, such as scolding or revoking privileges, is accounted for, as well as the possibility of a parent choosing to use only one of these practices of the two dimensions. The four parenting styles—authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent, and neglectful—are formed through the scores obtained on parental behavior comprising the acceptance/involvement and strictness/imposition dimensions. The ESPA29 has been utilized to relate parenting with a wide variety of variables that capture adolescent adjustment using the four parenting styles [1,27–29] or the two main dimensions of parenting [30–32]. Among the adolescent adjustment criteria utilized are self-esteem [4], personal values [33], academic engagement [34], bullying and cyberbullying involvement [35], substance use [36], and antisocial behavior [37,38]. The instrument has been used mainly in Spain [31,33,37,39] but also in other countries like Portugal [40], Brazil [4,41], the United States [30], Italy [42], and Peru [43]. The ESPA29 scale is among the instruments used in emergent research that question authoritative parenting as the optimal style of socialization in any culture. Studies recently carried out in Europe and Latin America, namely in Spain [44], Italy [45], UK, Sweden, Slovenia, Czech Republic [46] Norway [22], Germany [47], Portugal [40], Turkey [48], Brazil [49], and Mexico [50], coincide in finding that, in those cultural contexts, the indulgent parenting style relates to equal or even higher adolescent adjustment than authoritative parenting.

The theoretical factor structure of the ESPA29 has been confirmed by the Exploratory Factor Analyses (EFAs) in Spain, where the scale was originally developed [19]. Subsequently, the factor structure has been confirmed in other languages and countries, including the Basque Country [51], Italy [42], and Brazil [41,52], using EFA and Procrustes Rotations [53]. The concurrent validity of the ESPA29 has also been successfully tested with two different samples from Spain [27,54]. Finally, Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) was applied in the validation of the ESPA29 in a sample from the United States [30], although CFA has not yet been applied in Spain or any other country

where the instrument has been used. Furthermore, the better fit of the two dimensions of the scale in an orthogonal model in comparison to oblique or one-dimensional models has not been confirmed.

The present study has two objectives. The first is to analyze the orthogonal bi-factor model based on ESPA29 as compared to one-dimensional and bi-dimensional oblique alternative models with three adolescent samples, one Spanish, one Portuguese, and another Brazilian. The second objective is to examine the invariance of the orthogonal bi-factor model based on the ESPA29 with the three samples of Spanish, Portuguese, and Brazilian adolescents. It is hypothesized that: (1) The bi-factor orthogonal model will provide a better fit to the data than the two alternative models; and (2) the adjustment of Spanish, Portuguese, and Brazilian samples will be invariant with respect to country, sex, and age.

Additionally, to test the convergent validity of the scale, the two dimensions—acceptance/ involvement and strictness/imposition—will be related to adolescent self-esteem, a classic criteria variable in parental socialization studies [33,55,56]. According to previous research [31,57], it is hypothesized that the practices of acceptance/involvement will relate positively to self-esteem, whereas the strictness/imposition dimension will relate negatively.

2. Materials and Methods

2.1. Participants

The sample was composed of 2,207 adolescents (53.4% being women, 37.4% Spanish, 34.1% Portuguese, and 28.5% Brazilian) covering the adolescent age range of 12 to 17 years old ($M = 14.12$, $SD = 1.67$) (see Table 1).

Table 1. Sample distribution of fathers' and mothers' parenting practices by country, sex, and age.

Sample	N	Acceptance/involvement					Strictness/imposition					α^1
		Min	Max	M	SD	Skew	Min	Max	M	SD	Skew	
Father												
All	2207	1.00	4.00	3.11	0.53	-0.73	1.00	3.38	1.72	0.41	0.65	.93
Spanish	826	1.28	4.00	3.17	0.45	-0.66	1.00	3.04	1.70	0.37	0.62	.92
Portuguese	752	1.00	4.00	3.09	0.58	-0.73	1.00	3.21	1.69	0.43	0.79	.93
Brazilian	629	1.08	4.00	3.07	0.54	-0.62	1.00	3.38	1.79	0.41	0.51	.93
Women	1178	1.00	4.00	3.13	0.55	-0.89	1.00	3.19	1.68	0.39	0.67	.93
Men	1029	1.00	4.00	3.09	0.50	-0.50	1.00	3.38	1.78	0.42	0.63	.93
12-13	770	1.10	4.00	3.21	0.50	-0.73	1.00	3.38	1.84	0.43	0.47	.93
14-15	776	1.00	4.00	3.01	0.54	-0.78	1.00	3.17	1.71	0.39	0.68	.92
16-17	661	1.00	3.97	3.02	0.52	-0.68	1.00	2.88	1.61	0.35	0.29	.92
Mother												
All	2207	1.38	4.00	3.20	0.47	-0.51	1.00	3.38	1.75	0.40	0.60	.93
Spanish	826	1.38	4.00	3.18	0.46	-0.53	1.00	3.06	1.71	0.39	0.62	.93
Portuguese	752	1.38	4.00	3.24	0.49	-0.61	1.00	3.38	1.74	0.40	0.77	.93
Brazilian	629	1.68	4.00	3.18	0.47	-0.37	1.02	3.15	1.82	0.38	0.39	.91
Women	1178	1.38	4.00	3.23	0.47	-0.60	1.00	3.38	1.72	0.39	0.72	.93
Men	1029	1.38	4.00	3.16	0.47	-0.41	1.00	3.17	1.80	0.41	0.47	.93
12-13	770	1.68	4.00	3.30	0.46	-0.47	1.00	3.38	1.88	0.42	0.47	.93
14-15	776	1.38	4.00	3.18	0.48	-0.57	1.00	3.04	1.73	0.39	0.63	.92
16-17	661	1.38	4.00	3.11	0.47	-0.44	1.00	3.02	1.64	0.37	0.68	.92

¹ α , alpha of Cronbach.

2.2. Procedure

Our sample was drawn from students attending educational centers from urban areas with a population of over one million in the three

cities where the study was carried out, situated on the East Coast of Spain, the Middle West Coast of Portugal, and in the Southeast of Brazil. The data were collected from 16 secondary schools (5 Spanish, 5 Portuguese, and 6 Brazilian) chosen at random utilizing the simple random sampling method from a comprehensive list of those cities' schools.

We obtained approval to conduct this research through the Valencian Research Ethics Committee of the Program for the Promotion of Scientific Research, Technological Development and Innovation in Spain. After that, it was necessary for each of the Research and Evaluation Boards in the cities where the study was carried out to approve this research. After having obtained their approval, we were then allowed to conduct the study in the individual secondary schools by the head or principal of each educational center. The next step of approval was then granted by each teacher or instructor for our questionnaires to be completed during their class time. Our team informed each student and their parents or legal guardians of the nature of our study through a letter, which was then signed by both a parent/guardian and the student, ensuring we were granted permission from a parent/guardian, as well as assent from the student agreeing to partake in the research voluntarily. The anonymous questionnaires were only administered to those students who agreed to complete it and had parental/guardian permission to do so. We examined the questionnaires for aberrant response patterns, such as reporting implausible inconsistencies between negatively and positively worded responses or "maximum-scale" behavior [44,57–59]. About 4% ($n = 83$) of the cases contained such inconsistencies and were therefore eliminated from the sample.

2.3. Instruments

2.3.1. Parental Socialization

The Parental Socialization Scale ESPA29 [19] is a self-report instrument, designed to examine parenting styles via children's and adolescents' responses, aged 10 to 18 years. This instrument measures distinct parenting practices in the context of day-to-day family life. These specific parenting practices are measured as responses to 29 situational contexts which are common occurrences between

adolescents and their parents. Within the 29 situations, there are 13 which give the context of obedience in which the family norm is followed (e.g., “If I bring home my report card with good grades”) and 16 which portray a context of disobedience in which the family norm is contravened (e.g., “If they find out that I have lied”). The parenting practices of warmth (“He/she shows affection”) and indifference (“He/she seems indifferent”) are measured in response to the 13 contexts of obedience while the parenting practices of reasoning (“He/she talks to me”), detachment (It’s the same to him/her”), verbal scolding (“He/she scolds me”), physical punishment (“He/she hits me”), and revoking privileges (“He/she takes something away from me”) are measured in response to the 16 contexts of disobedience. The adolescent respondent uses a 4-point scale to indicate the frequency in which their mother and father make use of the seven specified parenting practices, with 1 meaning “never”, 2 “sometimes”, 3 “most times”, and 4 “always”.

To calculate the score of the acceptance/involvement dimension, the scores of the detachment and indifference subscales are first inverted given their negative relation to the dimension. Then, the scores of warmth, reasoning, indifference, and detachment subscales can be averaged to produce the aggregate score for the dimension. Similarly, the strictness/imposition dimension score is also comprised of an average of the revoking privileges, verbal scolding, and physical punishment subscales. No inversion is necessary in this case as all three subscales relate positively to the dimension. The aggregate dimension scores for each sample across country, sex, and age group can be found in Table 1.

The instrument needed to be translated from Spanish into Portuguese in order to carry out this study. We first obtained permission from the scale’s authors to do so and then selected three bilingual (Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking) colleagues to perform the Spanish to Portuguese translation.

The bilingual team verified equivalence in grammar, clarity, and content item by item. Once that was completed, a back-translation was performed by an additional bilingual researcher independent from the present study. Finally, the scale’s authors reviewed the back-translated Portuguese to Spanish version for final verification and approval [41,60].

2.3.2. Multidimensional Self-Concept

The AF5 [61,62] measures self-concept through five dimensions: Academic (e.g., “I work very hard in class”), social (e.g., “I make friends easily”), emotional (e.g., reversed item, “It is difficult for me to talk to strangers”), family (e.g., “I am happy at home”), and physical (e.g., “I take good care of my physical health”). There is a total of 30 items that comprise the scale divided into six per dimension. The participant rates the items, which are statements, according to his/her level of agreement or disagreement using a 99-point scale (portrayed by a thermometer), which ranges from 1, representing complete disagreement, to 99, representing complete agreement.

The factor structure of the AF5 was confirmed with exploratory and confirmatory analyses [57–65] and no method effect appears to be associated with negatively-worded items [58,59]. The instrument was originally developed and validated in Spain [61] and has also been validated in English [60], Basque [64], and Catalan languages [65]. Numerous studies have utilized the AF5 to relate self-esteem to other variables (e.g., gender stereotypes, body image, and sport practice [66], physical activity [67], motivational climate [68], food neophobia [57], substance use [69–71], participation in school violence [37], and subjective well-being [72]) with consistent results. Lastly, higher adolescent self-esteem has been found to be related to the ESPA29 dimension of parental acceptance/involvement, whereas lower adolescent self-esteem has been related to the strictness/imposition dimension in different studies [30,31,57].

2.4. Data Analysis

We began by examining how well the theoretical orthogonal two-factor model of socialization fit the data against two alternative models. We first tested a one-factor model, which conceives parenting as a one-dimensional construct (e.g., one-dimensional parental acceptance-rejection socialization theory [73]). Next, we tested the oblique (correlated) two-factor model, whereby parenting is as a bi-dimensional construct in which parental acceptance/involvement and parental strictness/imposition are correlated [25,46,74]. Third, we tested the theoretical orthogonal two-dimensional model. Under this model, parenting is conceived as a bi-dimensional construct where the

underpinning parenting dimensions are unrelated or orthogonal. In this model, we free the covariate between the two factors of the bi-factor model. This theoretical orthogonal bi-factor model is the same model as the previous oblique one but with the two dimensions non-correlated [23,26,27,30]. We freed error covariances for the strongly correlated pairs of parenting practices whose content was more alike [30,57,75,76].

In order to analyze the fit of the models to the data, we calculated structural equation models (SEMs) using EQS 6.1 (Multivariate Software, Encino, CA, USA) [9]. We employed the maximum likelihood robust estimation method due to the deviation of the multinormal data (all Mardia's normalized coefficient >25 , $p < 0.01$). In order to control non-normality, the scale of parenting practices was transformed into quartiles [59,77], the correlation matrices used were polychoric, and the models were tested with the Satorra-Bentler chi-squared statistic [78] and associated robust confirmatory fit index provided by EQS 6.1 [9]. The criteria used are in line with those proposed by Hu and Bentler [79] and are the usual criteria utilized in this type of analysis [30,57].

The CFA technique allows for the adjustment of the model to the data to be evaluated through the chi-squared value obtained. However, the chi-squared test has shown serious problems of sensitivity to sample size [21,80,81]. Methodological studies provide other fit indexes which have the advantage of a pre-established cut-off criteria [30,60,63,81]. We applied the following indexes: Root mean squared error of approximation (RMSEA), where values lower than 0.08 are considered acceptable; normed fit index, incremental fit index, and comparative fit index, NFI, IFI, and CFI, whose value must exceed 0.90; and the information criterion of Akaike, AIC (Akaike information criterion), where the lowest value indicates the highest parsimony [82]. RMSEA too often falsely indicates a poorly fitting model for small *df* models [83], i.e., one-dimensional and two-dimensional parenting practices models.

To test the second hypothesis—the invariance of the country, sex, and age sample—we evaluated four nested models that progressively increased the number of restrictions by constraining free parameters. After establishing what the model baseline was, we conducted the following sequence of increasingly more restrictive tests of invariance across the three samples: Model A, unconstrained, without any restrictions across any parameters for the three samples examined; Model B, we fixed factor pattern coefficients; Model C, we fixed

factor variances and covariances; and Model D, finally, we established the equality of the error variances. At each step, when the parameters of the previous model are restricted, the degrees of freedom of the new model increase and chi-square also tends to increase. When $\Delta\chi^2$ value is statistically significant, the null hypothesis that the models are equivalent to, it rejects. Cheung and Rensvold (2002) [81] provided a solution to the oversensitivity problem of $\Delta\chi^2$ to sample size by examining the invariance of nested models via the ΔCFI . After analyzing 20 different adjustment indexes, these authors (2002, p. 251) [81] concluded that an absolute ΔCFI value higher than 0.01 (i.e., $|\Delta\text{CFI}| > 0.01$) signifies a meaningful fall in fit.

3. Results

3.1. Fitting of Model to Data from the One-Dimensional to Two-Dimensional Orthogonal Model

First, we constrained the data to test their adjustment with the one-dimensional model (Table 2). The statistics produced from that calculation did not reach cut-off values, resulting in a poor fit of the model to the data (father, RMSEA = 0.20, CFI = 0.80, IFI = 0.80, NFI = 0.80, AIC = 710; mother, RMSEA = 0.18, CFI = 0.82, IFI = 0.82, NFI = 0.81, AIC = 566). Second, we constrained the data to test their adjustment with the two-dimensional oblique model, which resulted in a significantly improved fit against the previous model (father, RMSEA = 0.10, CFI = 0.96, IFI = 0.96, NFI = 0.96, AIC = 144; mother, RMSEA = 0.11, CFI = 0.96, IFI = 0.96, NFI = 0.96, AIC = 163). Finally, we constrained the data to test their adjustment with the theoretical orthogonal model, which did not yield a fall in fit compared to the oblique model (father, RMSEA = 0.10, CFI = 0.95, IFI = 0.95, NFI = 0.95, AIC = 160; mother, RMSEA = 0.08, CFI = 0.97, IFI = 0.96, NFI = 0.96, AIC = 100), although the orthogonality restriction has been included by fixing the covariation between the two factors to 0 (i.e., Acceptance/involvement and strictness/imposition).

Table 2. Confirmatory factor analysis of fathers' and mothers' parenting practices.

Model	S-B χ^2	df	CFI	IFI	NFI	AIC	RMSEA [90%CI]
Father							
One-dimensional	726.36**	8	.803	.803	.802	710.36	.202 [.189-.214]
Oblique	157.73**	7	.959	.959	.957	143.73	.099 [.086-.112]
Orthogonal	176.18**	8	.954	.954	.952	160.18	.098 [.085-.110]
Mother							
One-dimensional	581.83**	8	.815	.816	.813	565.83	.180 [.168-.193]
Oblique	176.56**	7	.957	.955	.955	162.56	.105 [.092-.118]
Orthogonal	115.96**	8	.965	.963	.963	99.96	.078 [.066-.091]

¹ S-B χ^2 , Satorra-Bentler chi-squared; df, degrees of freedom; CFI, comparative fit index; IFI, incremental fit index; NFI, normed fit index; AIC, Akaike information criterion (computed as $\chi^2 - 2df$); RMSEA, root mean squared error of approximation. All indexes are the robust version. In oblique and orthogonal bi-dimensional models, covariation between the residuals errors more correlated was added. ** $p < .01$.

3.2. Multi-Group Confirmatory Factor Analyses of Invariance

Multi-group confirmatory factor analyses of invariance across country, age, and sex groups are reported in Table 3. The

unconstrained parsimoniously orthogonal model indicated a good fit, suggesting a common factor structure across country, sex, and age groups. Constraining the measurement weights, structural variances, and covariances, and measurement residuals yielded non-significant changes in fit across country, sex, and age groups, $|\Delta CFI| < 0.01$.

Table 3. Multi-sample analysis of invariance across country, age and sex of fathers' and mothers' parenting practices.

Model	S-B χ^2	df	CFI	ΔCFI	IFI	NFI	AIC	RMSEA [90% CI]
COUNTRY								
Father								
Model A	183.70**	24	.953		.953	.953	135.70	.055 [.048-.062]
Model B	247.13**	34	.945	.008	.945	.937	179.13	.053 [.047-.060]
Model C	274.20**	32	.939	.006	.939	.930	21.20	.053 [.047-.059]
Model D	372.89**	52	.932	.007	.932	.922	268.89	.053 [.048-.058]
Mother								
Model A	146.47**	24	.962		.963	.956	98.47	.048 [.041-.056]
Model B	163.42**	34	.960	.002	.960	.950	95.42	.042 [.035-.048]
Model C	185.17**	38	.954	.006	.955	.944	109.17	.042 [.036-.048]
Model D	245.66**	52	.951	.003	.951	.939	141.66	.041 [.036-.046]
SEX								
Father								
Model A	181.80**	16	.955		.955	.951	149.80	.069 [.060-.078]
Model B	191.84**	21	.953	.002	.954	.948	149.84	.061 [.053-.069]
Model C	204.37**	23	.951	.002	.945	.945	158.37	.060 [.052-.067]
Model D	239.05**	30	.951	.000	.951	.945	179.05	.056 [.050-.063]
Mother								
Model A	127.53**	16	.964		.965	.960	95.53	.056 [.047-.065]
Model B	137.85**	19	.963	.001	.963	.957	99.85	.050 [.042-.058]
Model C	144.22**	21	.961	.002	.961	.954	102.22	.049 [.041-.057]
Model D	168.96**	30	.962	-.001	.962	.954	108.96	.046 [.039-.053]
AGE								
Father								
Model A	193.71**	24	.954		.954	.948	145.71	.057 [.049-.064]
Model B	218.83**	34	.950	.004	.950	.941	15.83	.050 [.043-.056]
Model C	234.24**	38	.946	.004	.947	.937	158.24	.048 [.042-.054]
Model D	279.11**	52	.949	-.003	.949	.939	175.11	.045 [.039-.050]
Mother								
Model A	16.70**	24	.957		.958	.951	112.70	.051 [.043-.058]
Model B	186.32**	34	.952	.005	.953	.943	118.32	.045 [.039-.051]
Model C	199.45**	38	.949	.003	.950	.939	123.45	.044 [.038-.050]
Model D	249.84**	52	.949	.000	.950	.937	145.84	.042 [.036-.047]

¹ S-B χ^2 , Satorra-Bentler chi-squared; df, degrees of freedom; CFI, comparative fit index; IFI, incremental fit index; NFI, normed fit index; AIC, Akaike information criterion (computed as $\chi^2 - 2df$); RMSEA, root mean squared error of approximation. All indexes are the robust version. ** $p < .01$. Model A, unconstrained baseline model; Model B, measurement weights; Model C, structural variances and covariances; and Model D, measurement residuals

Table 4 gives an overview of the factor loadings estimated in the most constrained model. Invariance testing across language, sex, and

adolescent age indicated analogous functioning of the orthogonal bi-factor model in all of the samples examined.

Additionally, we calculated the two parenting dimensions, acceptance/involvement and strictness/imposition, with raw data. Father parenting practices were modestly correlated, $r = 0.16$, $R^2 = 0.02$ (2%), $p < 0.01$. Neither the 95% CI (0.12, 0.20) nor the 95% CI proportion of variance (0.01, 0.04) included zero. In the same line, mother parenting dimensions were also modestly correlated, $r = 0.09$, $R^2 = 0.01$ (1%), $p < 0.01$. Although the 95% CI (0.09, 0.05) did not include zero, the 95% CI proportion of variance (0.00, 0.02) did include zero.

Table 4. Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) standardized factor loadings of fathers' and mothers' parenting practices of the most constrained model.

Parental Practice	Father			Mother		
	Sex	Country	Age	Sex	Country	Age
Acceptance/involvement						
Warmth	.46**	.50**	.45**	.52**	.51**	.52**
Indifference	-.70 ^a	-.71 ^a	-.70 ^a	-.68 ^a	-.69 ^a	-.68 ^a
Detachment	-.53**	-.52**	-.53**	-.51**	-.52**	-.51**
Reasoning	.81**	.80**	.81**	.74**	.74**	.74**
Strictness/imposition						
Verbal scolding	.56 ^a	.56 ^a	.56 ^a	.58 ^a	.58 ^a	.56 ^a
Physical punishment	.49**	.46**	.49**	.47**	.48**	.53**
Revoking privileges	.84**	.84**	.85**	.76**	.76**	.79**

^a Fixed to 1 during estimation. ** $p < .01$.

3.3. Reliability

Father alpha reliability coefficients for the total scale were 0.93, in the Spanish sample, 0.92, in the Portuguese, 0.93, in the Brazilian, 0.93, in women, 0.93, in men, 0.93, in the 12–13-year-old age group, 0.93, in the 14–15-year-old age group, 0.92, and in the 16–17-year-old age group, 0.92. Mother alpha reliability coefficients for the total scale were 0.93, in the Spanish sample, 0.93, in the Portuguese, 0.93, in the Brazilian, 0.91, in women, 0.93, in men, 0.93, in the 12–13-year-old age group, 0.93, in the 14–15-year-old age group, 0.92, and in the 16–17-year-old age group, 0.92 (see Table 1).

3.4. Relation with Self-Concept Dimensions

Regarding the relation between the ESPA29 acceptance/involvement dimension and self-concept, the Pearson correlation revealed that father

and mother scales were positively associated with academic, social, family, and physical self-concept. With respect to the strictness/imposition dimension, the father scales showed a negative association with academic, social, emotional, and family self-concept, as well as the mother scales with emotional and family self-concept (Table 5).

Table 5. Correlations and R^2 between two main parental socialization dimensions with five self-concept dimensions.

	Acceptance/involvement		Strictness/imposition	
	r [95% CI]	R ² [95% CI]	r [95% CI]	R ² [95% CI]
Father				
Academic	.234 [.194,.273]	.05 [.04,.07]*	-.143 [-.184,-.102]	.02 [.03,.01]*
Social	.168 [.127,.208]	.03 [.02,.04]*	-.128 [-.169,-.087]	.02 [.03,.01]*
Emotional	-.011 [-.053,.031]	.00 [.00,.00]+	-.034 [-.076,.008]	.00 [.01,.00]+
Family	.421 [.386,.455]	.18 [.15,.21]**	-.325 [-.362,-.287]	.11 [.13,.08]**
Physical	.133 [.092,.174]	.02 [.01,.03]*	-.092 [-.133,-.050]	.01 [.02,.00]+
Mother				
Academic	.245 [.205,.284]	.06 [.04,.08]*	.018 [-.024,.060]	.00 [.00,.00]+
Social	.191 [.150,.231]	.04 [.02,.05]*	.011 [-.031,.053]	.00 [.00,.00]+
Emotional	-.030 [-.072,.012]	.00 [.01,.00]+	-.178 [-.218,-.137]	.03 [.05,.02]*
Family	.409 [.374,.443]	.17 [.14,.20]**	-.160 [-.200,-.119]	.03 [.04,.01]*
Physical	.135 [.094,.176]	.02 [.01,.03]*	.051 [.009,.093]	.00 [.00,.01]+

+ 95% CI proportion of variance did include zero. * 95% CI proportion of variance between lower .01 and upper .08. ** 95% CI proportion of variance between lower .08 and upper .21.

The size of the correlations between parental socialization dimensions and self-concept is similar to those reported in previous studies that examine the relation between these two variables [19,30,55,56]. It was noted that family self-concept correlation with acceptance/involvement was 0.42 ($r^2 = 18\%$) for the father and 0.41 ($R^2 = 17\%$) for the mother. Additionally, strictness/imposition correlation with family self-concept was -0.33 ($R^2 = 11\%$) for the father and -0.16 ($R^2 = 3\%$) for the mother [19,84]. In addition, it was noted that strictness/imposition correlation with emotional self-concept was 0.18 ($R^2 = 3\%$) for the mother.

4. Discussion

The results of this work confirm the orthogonal bi-dimensional structure of the Parental Socialization Scale ESPA29 [19] with three samples of adolescents from Spain, Portugal, and Brazil. Confirmatory Factor Analyses confirm a better fit to the data of the orthogonal bi-factor model as compared to competitive one-

dimensional and bi-dimensional oblique alternative models of parenting across country (Spain, Portugal, and Brazil), adolescent sex, and three age groups from 12–17 years old. These results are consistent for both fathers' and mothers' scores, supporting the two dimensions of parental conduct proposed in the ESPA29, where the dimension of acceptance/involvement is measured with the warmth and reasoning subscales, which loaded positively onto the dimension, and indifference and detachment subscales, which loaded negatively. Meanwhile, the subscales of physical punishment, verbal scolding, and revoking privileges loaded positively onto the strictness/imposition dimension. Furthermore, combined multi-sample nested factor analysis showed that the ESPA29 orthogonal bi-dimensional model is largely invariant across related samples of country (Spain, Portugal, and Brazil), sex, and adolescent age for both fathers' and mothers' scores.

The results of the study underline the importance of considering parental practices of socialization in two independent, non-related dimensions [1,23,26] in opposition to one-dimensional or two dimensional oblique models. One-dimensional models [73] would only include a part of the total variance, without considering all the variation of the parenting socialization construct. Moreover, oblique models, where the two parenting dimensions are related, do not allow for the proper measurement of the four parenting styles, since the dimensions will not equally represent the different parenting styles that are defined. For example, the strictness dimension is shared by authoritative and authoritarian styles and should equally define both styles, however, "monitoring", which has been widely used to capture strictness [16,18], has received serious critiques for not equally representing the two styles (authoritative and authoritarian [25,74]). Although monitoring was initially conceptualized as a parenting practice involving active parents' attempts to watch over children as a resource of firm control or strictness [16,18], researchers have complained that most of the adolescent outcomes that parental monitoring predicts are explained by adolescents' spontaneous disclosure of information to parents (characteristic of authoritative parenting), but not by parents' attempts to obtain accurate information (characteristic of authoritarian parenting) [25,27,46,74,85–88].

Therefore, the ESPA29 conforms to the theoretical model of parenting repeatedly identified in the literature during the last ten decades [1,5,8,11],

which identifies two main parental dimensions [16,18,20,21]. When these two dimensions are considered together, they make up the classical parenting typology, which establishes four family styles of parenting: Authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent, and neglectful. In this way, the quadripartite model contemplates the differentiation between neglectful and indulgent parenting unlike tripartite models, such as Baumrind's model [12–15], which ignores variations in warmth among families characterized by low levels of control. In doing so, tripartite models use a single category labeled 'permissive' to describe these two parenting groups (Lamborn et al. 1991, p. 1050)".

Additionally, the convergent validity of the scale in those samples was proved by showing the relation of the two parenting dimensions with self-concept, a classic criteria variable in parenting studies [1,16,18,20,21]. The results show that the acceptance/involvement dimension is positively related with self-esteem for mothers' and fathers' scores, whereas the strictness/imposition dimension is negatively-related with adolescents' self-esteem for mothers' and fathers' scores. Our results are like those reported in other studies which examine the parenting and self-esteem relationship [89] in that positive parenting is associated with high self-esteem, whereas negative parenting is associated with low self-esteem [16,18,46]. Furthermore, similar results are reported in other studies using the ESPA29 [27,30,31].

This article is not without limitations. Fathers' and mothers' scores were calculated from the adolescents' responses, though research indicates that adolescent self-reports contribute to our comprehension of the family process in a meaningful way [16], and similar results have been obtained on parenting styles despite different methods of data collection [16,18,28,29]. Second, our results are in the context of three countries (Spain, Portugal, and Brazil), but possible differences must be kept in mind if extrapolating to other countries and cultures. Despite the aforementioned limitations, the present work fully corroborates the bi-dimensional structure of parenting as conceptualized and measured by the ESPA29.

5. Conclusions

The present work reinforces the bi-dimensional structure of parenting. The theoretical structure of the Parental Socialization Scale ESPA29 [19], is confirmed with CFA in three samples from Spain, Portugal, and Brazil. The bi-dimensional orthogonal model results in a better fit as compared to the competitive one-dimensional and bi-dimensional oblique alternative models. The results are consistent across country, adolescent sex, and the three age groups from 12 to 17 years old. Therefore, the results confirm the adequacy of the ESPA29 scale to measure parenting styles.

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A Third Emerging Stage for the Current Digital Society? Optimal Parenting Styles in Spain, the United States, Germany, and Brazil

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Abstract

Abstract: We propose a new paradigm with three historical stages for an optimal parenting style (i.e., indulgent parenting style), which extends the traditional paradigm of only two stages (i.e., authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles). The three stages concur, at the same time, in different environments, context, and cultures. We studied the third stage for optimal parent–child relationships through the offspring’s personal and social well-being, with four adolescent samples from 11 to 19 years old (52.2% girls) from Spain ($n = 689$), the United States ($n = 488$), Germany ($n = 606$), and Brazil ($n = 672$). The offspring’s personal well-being was measured through self-esteem (academic, social, emotional, family, and physical), while social well-

being was measured with the internalization of self-transcendence (universalism and benevolence) and conservation values (security, conformity, and tradition). The parent–child parenting style was measured through parental warmth and strictness, and the adolescents’ parents were classified into one of four groups (indulgent, authoritarian, authoritative, and neglectful). Remarkably, the greatest personal well-being was found for adolescents raised with higher parental warmth and lower parental strictness (i.e., indulgent), and the greatest social well-being was found for adolescents raised with higher parental warmth (i.e., indulgent and authoritative; $p < 0.05$ for all countries). Consistently, poorer personal well-being and social well-being were associated with less parental warmth (i.e., authoritarian and neglectful). Findings suggest that the parent–child relationships analyzed have a common pattern associated with personal and social well-being that coincide with a proposed third stage.

Keywords: family socialization; parental warmth; parental strictness; parenting styles

1. Introduction

Parents raise their children within a specific time and cultural environment. Parenting literature has traditionally suggested two different historical stages of optimal parenting styles over the past century or so. Early in the last century, in a first stage, for example, John B. Watson (1928) [1] warned parents about spoiling their children with superfluous displays of affection and warmth, while recommending strictness—imposing regular habits on them in order to instill self-discipline, following an authoritarian style. In the historical second stage, considering an industrial society perspective and unclear parenting research evidence, Laurence Steinberg (2001) [2] strengthened the idea that parental warmth and parental strictness, characterizing the authoritative style, are both key to children’s well-being in “contemporary, industrialized societies” (Steinberg, 2001, p. 13) [2]

Furthermore, the current emergent research in the digital era is beginning to seriously doubt whether the parental strictness and imposition component of certain parenting styles is still needed in order to foster the personal and social well-being of adolescents [3–5].

In this work, we posit that a third stage perspective is needed in order to fully understand an optimal parenting style in the current digital era.

1.1. The Past Century Paradigm with Two Parenting Stages Perspectives

Traditionally, numerous studies have captured parent–child relationships in two main orthogonal dimensions—identified as warmth and strictness (Darling and Steinberg, 1993, pp. 491–492 [6]; Smetana, 1995, p. 299 [7]; Steinberg, 2005, p. 71 [8]) or labels with similar meaning [9]. The parental dimension of warmth describes the degree to which parents demonstrate their care and acceptance to their children, and how they support and communicate with them. The warmth dimension has been labeled with other names with a similar meaning, such as responsiveness, assurance, implication, or involvement. The dimension of parental strictness refers to the degree parents establish the norms for their children’s behavior. This dimension has traditionally been labeled with other names, such as demandingness, domination, hostility, inflexibility, control, restriction, or parental firmness [4,6,8,10,11]. Four parenting styles have been derived from these dimensions—authoritative (characterized by both warmth and strictness), authoritarian (characterized by strictness but lacking warmth), indulgent (characterized by warmth without strictness), and neglectful (lacking both warmth and strictness) [4,10,12]. A parenting-styles approach captures the overarching, persisting parenting characteristics; better integrates and organizes particular parenting practices; and accurately organizes the relationships among parenting styles, parenting practices, and their associations with children’s personal and social well-being [4,6,8,10,12–15].

Since the early 1900’s, numerous studies have repeatedly verified that the authoritative parenting style (both warmth and strictness) is optimal for children and adolescents. Authoritativeness during childhood has been clearly and repeatedly associated with good functioning, even in late adulthood. Authoritative parenting was identified as optimal (the highest parent–child relationship quality) for children and adolescents from middle-class European–American families [12,16,17]. Even beyond adolescence, authoritativeness in childhood has been associated with positive functioning in late

adulthood [18,19]. Warmth and strictness (which define the authoritative parenting style) have both been found to be critical to children's development [16,20–23]. Authoritative parents would offer emotional support by means of warmth (acceptance and involvement), and would establish adequate guidelines and limits to control children's behavior through strictness [2,16]. Because of the diversity of the cultural values present in these and other studies conducted, Steinberg (2001) [2] came to note that the benefits of authoritative parenting cut across the boundaries of ethnic background, socioeconomic status, and household structure, from an industrialized society perspective.

Furthermore, classical studies have also widely recognized that the authoritarian parenting style (strictness lacking warmth) leads to optimal adjustment, in ethnic minorities in the United States [24,25], hierarchical collectivistic countries [26,27], and sociocultural environments where the implications of disobeying parental rules may be of grave and detrimental consequence to the self and others [28–30]. Even the earliest literature on parenting supports the idea that the parenting style that is normative in one culture may not be normative in another. Some studies found differences among black and white youth concerning the authoritarian parenting style, specifically in youth outcomes, such as cognitive competence, social competence, and lower internalizing problems, where there were positive associations for black youth, but not for their white counterparts (e.g., Brody and Flor, 1998 [31]). Baumrind (1972) [24] analyzed the differences in race by parenting style, in addition to the preschooler behavior effects from the parenting style, in her landmark study. She found that black children raised under the authoritarian style showed better outcomes, compared with white children, which could indicate a difference in what scoring highly on authoritarian parenting means [28].

1.2. The Three Parenting Stages Perspectives

Different but related lines of argumentation have been suggested in order to explain these variations in the universality of the authoritative parenting style being optimal. Framed within the person–environment fit model, according to the ideas of the ecology of human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1986 [32]), studies have suggested that people fit better in environments where their attitudes, values, and experiences are held in common. As low socioeconomic status families of ethnic

minorities are more likely to live in hazardous communities where crime is higher, authoritarian parenting may not be as harmful in this environment, and it may even have some protective benefits [33]. In agreement with the first stage that characterizes the initial studies of parenting in the beginning of the century, some societies and cultural contexts seem persistently related to the authoritarian parenting style as being optimal [28]. For example, authoritarian parenting practices in black communities are seen as caring, loving, respectful, protective, and beneficial for the child [34]. Moreover, in an environment where disobedience may result in harm to the self and others, an authoritarian parenting style could possibly be as functional as other styles [28,29].

Horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism macrosocial concepts have been used by researchers to explain the observed differences in the relation between parenting styles and child adjustment [35–37], whereby studies carried out in Asian and Arab societies show that children in these collectivist cultures understand the individual self as part of the family self. In such societies, the expectation is for intergenerational relationships to be vertical and hierarchical, with strictness and imposition representing a major component of parental responsibility. Strict authoritarian discipline is viewed as being in children's best interest, while if such discipline were lacking, it would be viewed as an absence of supervision and care [26,38]. Conversely, studies carried out mainly in Spain and Brazil have suggested that in horizontal collectivist cultures, such as South American or some European countries, the self is also conceptualized as part of a larger group (the family), but in contrast to hierarchical cultures, the organization of the group is egalitarian, rather than hierarchical [4,39,40]. Horizontal collectivist cultures underscore egalitarian relations, and the use of affection, acceptance, and involvement in raising children is of greater focus. Additionally, strictness and firm control in child rearing seem to be perceived negatively in horizontal collectivist cultures [4,35,39]. Recent emerging studies continuously reinforce this perspective, analyzing Spanish adolescents and older adults [41], traditional bullying and cyberbullying victimization [42,43], reactive and proactive adolescent violence [44], child-to-parent violence [45,46], parenting children with poor school performance [47], antisocial tendencies [48,49], and drug-use problems [3,50].

However, beyond the clear nationwide limits, recent evidence seems to indicate that traditional vertical individualist societies (i.e., Great Britain) and horizontal individualist societies (i.e., Sweden) are moving toward a third stage, where an indulgent parenting style seems to be optimal. Strictness practices do not seem to be effective, and high levels of reasoning, parental affection, acceptance, and involvement would be enough to obtain optimal adolescent adjustment (even for drug-use, e.g., [3–5]), without needing the authoritative component of high-levels of strictness. A study conducted with a large sample of European adolescents (Sweden, Slovenia, Czech Republic, the United Kingdom, Spain, and Portugal) found that regardless of the country, an authoritative parenting style and an indulgent parenting style (support without strictness and imposition to set limits) were equally protective against drug-use, but the indulgent parenting style performed even better than the authoritative parenting style when examining the outcomes of self-esteem and school performance. This pattern persisted across the sample set, even among adolescents from two archetypal individualist countries in Northern Europe (i.e., the United Kingdom [3] and Sweden [5]). Furthermore, in analyzing parenting styles beyond adolescence, a recent study with samples in Great Britain found that high-care is beneficial for well-being, self-esteem, and social competence, regardless of the level of strictness, with a common pattern in both the short- and long-term (from adolescence to early older age) [51]. Additionally, recent meta-analyses examining the relations between parenting styles with externalizing problems [52,53], behavior problems, and academic achievement [54], and self-esteem in children and adolescents [55], are starting to recognize the benefits of indulgent parenting. These emergent findings suggest the need for a third stage, with a new perspective on the family, in contrast to the previous perspective on the family, where both parental warmth and parental strictness were key to children's well-being. In this new third stage, parental strictness and imposition seem not only not beneficial, but even harmful, and so the parental warmth dimension is enough to support children when they behave well, and to correct children's misconduct through reasoning and communicative practices [4,40,56].

Finally, the relation of parenting styles with those patterns of adjustment and maladjustment have shown to be consistent across

adolescent age and sex, despite the multiple differences that have been established in different aspects of adolescent adjustment depending on age and sex. For example, it has been confirmed that girls tend to present higher academic self-esteem, whereas boys tend to have higher emotional and physical self-esteem [39,40,50]. In the same way, adolescents tend to score higher than older adults in some self-esteem dimensions, such as social and family self-esteem [42,50], especially early adolescents, who have shown higher family, emotional, and physical self-esteem than older adolescents [50]. Contrastingly, values internalization tends to be higher in older adults than in adolescents [42].

1.3. The Present Study

This study aims to examine the parent–child relationship quality, and the positive personal and social well-being outcomes of adolescents from four countries. We test the third stage paradigm with data from Spain (horizontal-collective culture), the United States (vertical-individualist culture), Germany (horizontal-individualist culture), and Brazil (horizontal-collective culture) [39,40,57,58].

The positive personal well-being of the offspring was captured through multidimensional self-esteem (academic, social, emotional, family, and physical), while the social well-being of the offspring was captured through the internalization of self-transcendence values (universalism and benevolence) and conservation values (security, conformity, and tradition). Both the child’s self-esteem and the internalization of social values are central objectives of parental socialization [59].

Self-esteem has been one of the traditional outcomes of children’s adjustment in parenting studies [35], and one of the main keys to positive personal well-being [50,60–62], which captures more than only self-discipline [1]. Different authors have repeatedly stressed the importance of parenting styles in children’s internalization of social values [35,38,56]. Internalization, defined as, “taking over the values and attitudes of society as one’s own so that socially acceptable behavior is motivated not by anticipation of external consequences but by intrinsic or internal factors” (Grusec and Goodnow, 1994, p. 4 [59]), has been established as a key distinctive component of positive well-adjusted children [6,21,22,63]. This internalization of social values

can only be fully articulated in a parental context of parental warmth, responsiveness, and involvement shared by authoritative and indulgent parenting styles. This said internalization even emphasizes positive effects on others, fostering a child's feelings of empathy and consideration for others [22,64]. Self-transcendence and conservation values focus on consideration for others and acceptance of social norms, becoming goals that guide adult development [65–67].

In this study, we investigate the positive development of children, considering that well-being is not limited to the absence of behavioral disorders (e.g., drug-use of adolescents). Any socialization context (that transforms individuals into social human beings) should always have a self-discipline component, but also preserve, or even develop, the individual self of the child as part of the person. The internalization of social values guarantees the quality of the socialization process, by not only getting children to obey the social norms [39,40,66], but also by internalizing them. Parents are the main source of influence for children's well-being, and they can enable a positive self (high self-esteem) in their child [21]. Positive self-esteem is a main aim of positive parenting, and, by extension, by positive psychology.

Based on the literature review, we hypothesize a third stage. We expect that high levels of parental warmth (present in both the authoritative and indulgent parenting styles) will be associated with better socialization outcomes (self-esteem and internalization of values) among adolescents from four countries. We expect this association will be consistent, independent of the sex and age of the participants.

2. Materials and Methods

2.1. Participants

The sample was composed of 2455 students (52.2% women) covering the adolescent age range (aged 11 to 19 years old, mean (M) = 15.24, standard deviation (SD) = 1.98)—1350 early (55.0%, from 11 to 15 years old) and 1105 late (45.0%, from 16 to 19 years old) adolescents. Sampled from Spain (689, 28.1%; 50.4% being women; mean age = 14.53, SD = 1.77, range = 11–18 years; 455, 66.0%, being

early adolescents), United States (488, 19.9%; 49.0% being women; mean age = 15.61, SD = 1.29, range = 13–19 years; 249, 51.0%, being early adolescents), Germany (606, 24.7%; 58.3% being women; mean age = 16.07, SD = 2.12, range = 12–17 years; 250, 41.3%, being early adolescents), and Brazil (672, 27.4%; 51.0% being women; mean age = 14.95, SD = 2.14, range = 11–17 years; 396, 58.9%, being early adolescents).

2.2. Procedure

The sample frame of the present study was adolescents from secondary schools from large metropolitan areas (with over one million inhabitants in each area) on the East Coast Spain, the Midwestern United States, Middle West Germany, and in the Northeast of Brazil. The data was collected from 26 educational centers (six Spanish, five North American, seven German, and eight Brazilian), selected through the simple random sampling method from a complete list of centers [4,42,62,68,69]. In the samples of the four countries, we selected adolescents from middle class neighborhoods who (a) lived in two-parent nuclear families, with a mother or primary female caregiver and father or primary male caregiver, and (b) their parents and four grandparents were born in the country of each sample (Spain, Germany, Brazil, and the United States) [4,70]. Additionally, in the case of the sample of the United States, we only selected white European–American adolescents [4,25,70].

An a priori power analysis was computed so as to calculate the minimum sample size that was required in order to fix the conventional statistical errors of type I ($\alpha = 0.05$) and type II ($\beta = 0.05$) when fixing a medium–small effect size ($f = 0.17$, estimated from ANOVAs of Lamborn et al., 1991 [12]) in a univariate F -test between the four parenting style groups [71,72]. The a priori power analyses ($\alpha = 0.05$; $1 - \beta = 0.80$; $f = 0.17$) showed a minimum sample size of 384 participants. In the four countries, the sample size was always over what was planned. A post-hoc power analysis [71,72] showed that the F -probe could detect in the worst case (the United States: $n = 488$; $\alpha = 0.05$; $\beta = 0.20$) the expected effect size ($f = 0.17$), with a power that exceeded the a priori fixed value ($1 - \beta = 0.90$). On the other hand, the sensitivity power analysis with the full sample ($n = 2455$; $\alpha = \beta = 0.05$)

indicated that the F main effects between the four parenting styles could detect even a small effect size ($f = 0.08$) [71–73].

We obtained the approval to carry out this study through the Valencian Research Ethics Committee of the Program for the Promotion of Scientific Research, Technological Development, and Innovation in Spain. Next, the research was approved in the Research and Evaluation Boards of each city where the study was conducted. After that, the head or principal of each educational center gave their approval to conduct the study in the individual secondary schools. Finally, each teacher or instructor gave permission for the questionnaires to be completed during their class time. Our teams sent a letter to inform each student and their parents or legal guardians of the details of our questionnaires, as well as the purpose of our research. All of the participants had signed parental/guardian permission, and we also had the signed assent from the students themselves, assuring voluntary participation. All of the questionnaires were completed anonymously. We tested the questionnaires for aberrant response patterns, such as reporting implausible inconsistencies between negatively and positively worded responses or “maximum-scale” behavior [11,49,74–77]. Approximately 6% ($n = 147$) of the data set contained aberrant response patterns, and were removed from the sample.

2.3. Instruments

2.3.1. Parental Socialization

Parental socialization was measured with the Parental Socialization Scale ESPA29 [78]. It is a self-report instrument designed to examine parenting styles through children’s and adolescents’ (aged 10 to 18 years) responses. The acceptance/involvement dimension was measured with warmth, reasoning, indifference, and detachment subscales (both the detachment and indifference subscales have a negative relation to the dimension). The following subscales measured the strictness/imposition dimension: revoking privileges, verbal scolding, and physical punishment. All of the subscales were measured in response to 29 situations that reflect the context of day-to-day family life between adolescents and their parents. There were 13 scenarios where the context of obedience was established, which is that the family norm is followed (e.g., “If I do what he/she tells me to do”),

and 16 scenarios where the context was of disobedience, meaning that the family norm is broken (e.g., “If I break or ruin something at home”). The parenting practices of warmth (“He/she shows affection”) and indifference (“He/she seems indifferent”) were measured in response to the 13 contexts of obedience, while the parenting practices of reasoning (“He/she talks to me”), detachment (“It’s the same to him/her”), verbal scolding (“He/she scolds me”), physical punishment (“He/she hits me”), and revoking privileges (“He/she takes something away from me”) were measured in response to the 16 disobedience contexts. A four-point scale was used to indicate how often the respondent’s mother and father employ the seven specified parenting practices, with ranges from one, meaning “never”; two, meaning “sometimes”; three, meaning “most times”; to four, meaning “always”.

The ESPA29 factor structure was confirmed with exploratory [9,78,79] and confirmatory [11,15] analyses. The instrument was originally developed and validated in Spain [78], and was also validated in the English [15], Portuguese [11], Brazilian-Portuguese [9,79], and Basque [80] languages. The ESPA29 dimensions and subscales have been applied to analyze multiple socialization outcomes, such as school adjustment [81], drug use [81,82], behavioral problems [83], neighborhood violence [70], reactive and proactive adolescent violence [44], bullying and cyberbullying [42], child-to-parent violence [45], self-concept [84], and prosocial values [40]. The Cronbach’s alpha, in the present study, for the two main dimensions, were the following: acceptance/involvement (0.968) and strictness/imposition (0.964). For each subscale, the Cronbach’s alpha values were warmth (0.961), indifference (0.950), reasoning (0.950), detachment (0.920), verbal scolding (0.954), physical punishment, 0.936, and revoking privileges (0.952).

2.3.2. Multidimensional Self-Concept

The AF5 [85] questionnaire was designed to measure self-concept with the following five dimensions: academic (e.g., “I am a good student”), social (e.g., reversed item, “It is difficult for me to make friends”), emotional (e.g., reversed item, “I get scared easily”), family (e.g., “My parents give me a lot of confidence”), and physical (e.g., “I am an attractive person”). The scale consists of a total of 30 items

across five dimensions of self-esteem, which are evenly distributed with six items measuring each dimension. The participant rates the statements according to his/her level of agreement or disagreement using a 99-point scale (portrayed by a thermometer), ranging from 1 = complete disagreement, to 99 = complete agreement. Modifications were made to obtain a score index ranging from 0.10 to 9.99.

The five-factor multidimensional structure of the AF5 was confirmed with exploratory [85] and confirmatory [74,86] analyses, and no method effect appears to be associated with negatively-worded items [76,77,85]. The instrument was originally developed and validated in Spain [85], and was also validated in the English [87], Portuguese [88], Brazilian-Portuguese [74], Basque [89], and Catalan [90] languages. The AF5 scales have been applied in multiple research fields, such as in connection with nature [91], academic performance [92], interpersonal communication [91,93], transcultural parenting [74], parenting with antisocial children [49] and adolescents with school problems [47], intergenerational parenting socialization [41], and parenting socialization in the current digital age [42]. The alpha reliability coefficients in the present study were as follows: academic (0.859), social (0.676), emotional (0.735), family (0.784), and physical (0.727).

2.3.3. Internalization of Social Values

The social values internalization was measured with 27 items from the Schwartz (1992) [94] Value Inventory [39–41,66,95]. Self-transcendence higher order values included universalism (e.g., “Being at one with nature (integration with nature)”) and benevolence (e.g., “Faithful (loyal to my friends and to people I identify with)”) values subscales, and conservation higher order values included tradition (e.g., “Being accepting of life (assimilating the circumstances of life)”), conformity (e.g., “Courtesy (education and good manners)”), and security (e.g., “Reciprocity of favors (not being in debt with anyone)”) values subscales. The participant rated the items with a 99-point rating scale (portrayed by a thermometer), which ranges from 1 (opposed to my values) to 99 (of supreme importance). Modifications were made to obtain a score index ranging from 0.10 to 9.99. The conservation and self-transcendence higher order values are characterized as being oriented to social focus [66,95]. Conservation

and self-transcendence values have been used in parenting research as child social outcomes [39–41]. The Schwartz Value Inventory scales have been used in hundreds of research areas, as varied as drug use [96] and abuse [97,98], or as the main key for underlying and undermining well-being across different countries [66]. Cronbach's alphas for the subscales in present study were as follows: universalism (0.745), benevolence (0.721), security (0.564), conformity (0.689), and tradition (0.582). These reliability indices were within the range of variation commonly observed for these value types [39,40,66].

2.4. Data Analysis

To analyze the influence of parenting styles on socialization outcomes, a four-way multifactorial ($4 \times 4 \times 2 \times 2$) multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was applied to two sets of outcome variables (self-esteem and internalization of values) with parenting styles (authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent, and neglectful), country (Spain, the United States, Germany, and Brazil), age groups (early vs late adolescents), and sex (men vs women) as independent variables. Follow-up univariate *F*-tests were conducted for the outcome variables that had multivariate significant overall differences, and significant results on the univariate tests were followed up with Bonferroni comparisons of all possible pairs of means [4,12,17,62,68].

3. Results

3.1. Parenting Style Groups

Participants from the four countries (i.e., Spain, Brazil, the United States, and Germany) were classified into one of four parenting households (i.e., indulgent, authoritative, authoritarian, or neglectful; Table 1). The indulgent family contained 572 adolescents (23.3%) with high warmth, $M = 3.47$ and $SD = 0.25$, but low strictness, $M = 1.37$ and $SD = 0.21$; the authoritative family contained 659 (26.8%) with high warmth, $M = 3.49$ and $SD = 0.45$, and high strictness, $M = 1.88$ and $SD = 0.25$; the authoritarian group contained 574 (23.4%) with low warmth, $M = 2.79$ and $SD = 0.31$, and high strictness, $M = 1.87$ and $SD = 0.33$; and the neglectful family contained 650 (26.5%)

with low warmth, $M = 2.78$ and $SD = 0.32$, and low strictness, $M = 1.35$ and $SD = 0.21$.

Table 1. Number of cases in parenting style groups, mean scores, and standard deviations for main measures of parental dimensions. SD—standard deviation.

	Total	Authoritative	Indulgent	Authoritarian	Neglectful
Frequency	2445	659	572	574	650
Percent	100	26.8	23.3	23.4	26.5
Warmth					
Mean	3.15	3.49	3.47	2.79	2.78
SD	0.45	0.25	0.25	0.31	0.32
Strictness					
Mean	1.62	1.88	1.37	1.87	1.35
SD	0.38	0.32	0.21	0.33	0.21

3.2. Preliminary Multivariate Analysis for Multidimensional Self-Esteem

The results for the MANOVA conducted in the five multidimensional self-esteem outcomes (i.e., academic, social, emotional, family, and physical) yielded significant main effects for the parenting style ($\Lambda = 0.860$, $F(15, 6589.9) = 24.72$, $p < 0.001$), sex ($\Lambda = 0.875$, $F(5, 2387.0) = 68.37$, $p < 0.001$), age ($\Lambda = 0.989$, $F(5, 2387.0) = 5.26$, $p < 0.001$), and country ($\Lambda = 0.856$, $F(15, 6589.9) = 25.55$, $p < 0.001$; Table 2). Additionally, interaction effects between sex and country ($\Lambda = 0.981$, $F(15, 6589.9) = 3.13$, $p < 0.001$), and age and country ($\Lambda = 0.976$, $F(15, 6589.9) = 3.90$, $p < 0.001$) were found.

3.3. Parenting Styles and Self-Esteem

The univariate results showed that parenting styles had statistically significant main effects in all self-esteem dimensions (see Table 2). Overall, indulgent parenting was related to equal or even better self-esteem than authoritative parenting; contrastingly, authoritarian and neglectful parenting were related to poor self-esteem. Regarding academic self-esteem, adolescents from indulgent homes obtained better scores than those from authoritative, authoritarian, and neglectful homes. Adolescents raised with authoritative parenting scored between those with indulgent parents (who reported the highest scores) and those with authoritarian and neglectful parents (who reported the lowest scores). For social self-esteem, adolescents from

indulgent and authoritative households reported higher scores than their peers from authoritarian and neglectful families. Concerning emotional self-esteem, indulgent and neglectful parenting were related to higher scores than the authoritative and authoritarian styles. With respect to family self-esteem, adolescents from indulgent households reported higher scores than those with authoritative, authoritarian, and neglectful parents; authoritative parenting was associated with higher scores than authoritarian and neglectful parenting, and the lowest scores corresponded with authoritarian parenting. Finally, for physical self-esteem, the adolescents who characterized their parents as indulgent reported the highest scores, whereas the lowest scores corresponded with those raised by neglectful and authoritarian parents; additionally, authoritative parenting was related with higher scores than authoritative style.

Table 2. Means (and standard deviations) for parenting style, and the main univariate F-values for self-esteem and the internalization of social values (self-transcendence and conservation)

Self-Esteem	Parenting Style					F(3, 2391)
	Authoritative	Indulgent	Authoritarian	Neglectful		
Academic	6.82 ² (1.76)	7.10 ¹ (1.67)	6.20 ³ (1.81)	6.39 ³ (1.88)	28.85 ***	
Social	7.47 ¹ (1.45)	7.65 ¹ (1.31)	7.10 ² (1.48)	7.22 ² (1.39)	14.88 ***	
Emotional	5.30 ² (1.9)	5.81 ¹ (1.98)	5.28 ² (1.95)	5.88 ¹ (1.88)	16.51 ***	
Family	8.43 ² (1.36)	8.90 ¹ (1.00)	7.37 ⁴ (1.89)	8.13 ⁴ (1.49)	100.01 ***	
Physical	6.38 ^a (1.91)	6.60 ¹ (1.83)	6.07 ^{2,b} (1.82)	6.12 ² (1.81)	10.54 ***	

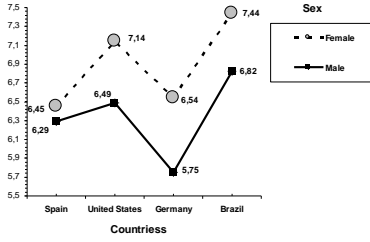
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; Bonferroni test: $\alpha = 0.05$; $1 > 2 > 3 > 4$; $a > b$.

3.4. Demographic Variables and Self-Esteem

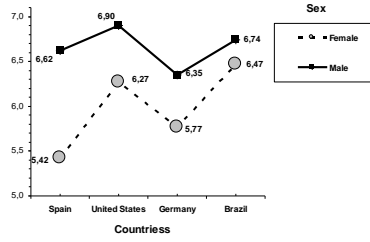
Although not the focus of the present study, several univariate main effects for sex, age, and country attained a significant statistical level (see Table 3). The sex-related differences revealed that females reported more academic self-esteem, but less emotional and physical

self-esteem than males. Additionally, an interaction between sex and country was found on academic self-esteem ($F(3, 2391) = 3.64, p = 0.012$), and physical self-esteem ($F(3, 2391) = 8.57, p < 0.001$; see Figure 1). In a similar way, although females reported higher academic self-esteem, this pattern was weaker in Spain than in the United States, Germany, and Brazil. Also, males have greater physical self-esteem than females, although this tendency was less clear in Brazil than in the other three countries. Age-related differences indicated that early adolescence (i.e., 11–15 years) was related to higher self-esteem than late adolescence (i.e., 16–19 years; see Table 3). Again, an interaction effect between age and country was found on academic self-esteem ($F(3, 2391) = 9.08, p < 0.001$), emotional self-esteem ($F(3, 2391) = 6.15, p < 0.001$), and physical self-esteem ($F(3, 2391) = 4.78, p = 0.003$; see Figure 1). Interestingly, age-related patterns in self-esteem outcomes showed a different trend by country. In the United States, late adolescents reported higher academic, emotional, and physical self-esteem than early adolescents. Oppositely, early adolescents from Spain and Brazil (in academic and physical self-esteem) and those from Germany (in emotional self-esteem) reported higher scores than their country-peers from the late adolescent group. Some country-related differences were found. Remarkably, on academic self-esteem, adolescents from the United States and Germany scored between the highest scores of Brazilian adolescents, and the lowest scores of Spanish and German adolescents. In contrast, on social self-esteem, the highest scores were reported by United States adolescents, the lowest by Brazilian adolescents, and adolescents from Spain and Germany were in the middle position. Finally, whereas Spanish and German adolescents reported the highest family self-esteem, the United States and Brazilian adolescents showed the highest physical self-esteem.

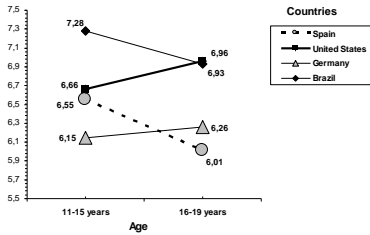
Anexo: otras publicaciones: A Third Emerging Stage for the Current Digital Society? Optimal Parenting Styles in Spain, the United States, Germany, and Brazil



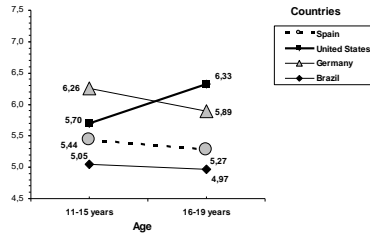
Academic Self-esteem (a)



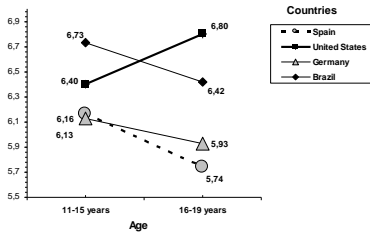
Physical Self-esteem (b)



Academic Self-esteem (c)



Emotional Self-esteem (d)



Physical Self-esteem (e)

Figure 1. Interactions for sex and country. (a) Academic self-esteem and (b) physical self-esteem. Interactions for age and country. (c) Academic self-esteem, (d) emotional self-esteem, and (e) physical self-esteem.

Table 3. Means (and standard deviations) for parenting style and school performance, and the main univariate *F*-values for the set of outcome measures (self-esteem and internalization of social values).

Outcome Measures	Sex		Age				Country				
	Female	Male	<i>F</i> (1, 2391)	11–15 Years	16–19 Years	<i>F</i> (1, 2391)	Spain	United States	Germany	Brazil	<i>F</i> (3, 2391)
Self-esteem											
Academic	6.87 (1.78)	6.36 (1.82)	63.248***	6.71 (1.88)	6.53 (1.73)	3.469	6.37 ³ (1.85)	6.81 ² (1.83)	6.21 ³ (1.73)	7.14 ¹ (1.70)	41.518***
Social	7.36 (1.50)	7.36 (1.34)	0.132	7.46 (1.39)	7.23 (1.46)	14.139***	7.43 (1.35)	7.43 (1.43)	7.27 (1.52)	7.31 (1.41)	1.533
Emotional	5.19 (1.99)	5.98 (1.80)	112.775***	5.52 (1.95)	5.62 (1.94)	0.158	5.38 ² (1.94)	6.01 ¹ (1.88)	6.04 ¹ (1.87)	5.01 ³ (1.89)	47.424***
Family	8.22 (1.64)	8.20 (1.48)	0.231	8.30 (1.53)	8.11 (1.59)	13.873***	8.28 ¹ (1.52)	8.04 ² (1.62)	8.48 ¹ (1.34)	8.03 ² (1.70)	13.459***
Physical	5.96 (1.87)	6.66 (1.77)	77.378***	6.36 (1.86)	6.20 (1.84)	2.032	6.02 ² (1.84)	6.59 ¹ (1.81)	6.01 ² (1.77)	6.60 ¹ (1.89)	19.321***
Internalization of social values											
Self-transcendence											
Universalism	7.95 (1.21)	7.64 (1.43)	50.842***	7.86 (1.36)	7.73 (1.29)	0.475	7.73 ^{2,a} (1.22)	7.54 ² (1.26)	7.37 ^{2,b} (1.35)	8.46 ¹ (1.23)	99.959***
Benevolence	8.40 (1.17)	7.99 (1.37)	74.247***	8.18 (1.33)	8.23 (1.23)	2.432	7.95 ³ (1.23)	8.26 ² (1.18)	8.04 ³ (1.24)	8.56 ¹ (1.38)	37.326***
Conservation											
Security	7.85 (1.34)	7.65 (1.41)	15.907***	7.80 (1.36)	7.71 (1.4)	3.395	7.48 ^{2,b} (1.30)	7.58 ² (1.29)	7.73 ^{2,a} (1.38)	8.20 ¹ (1.41)	41.475***
Conformity	8.10 (1.39)	7.81 (1.52)	30.738***	7.98 (1.48)	7.93 (1.44)	0.093	7.76 ² (1.43)	7.94 ^{2,a} (1.39)	7.67 ^{2,b} (1.45)	8.44 ¹ (1.44)	46.350***
Tradition	6.78 (1.64)	6.73 (1.68)	3.610	6.81 (1.68)	6.70 (1.64)	0.067	6.41 ³ (1.42)	6.93 ² (1.48)	6.11 ⁴ (1.74)	7.58 ¹ (1.57)	117.692***

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; [‡] $\alpha = 0.05$; 1 > 2 > 3 > 4; a > b.

3.5. Preliminary Multivariate Analysis for Internalization of Social Values

The results for the MANOVA conducted in the social values of self-transcendence (i.e., universalism and benevolence) and conservation (i.e., security, conformity, and tradition) yielded significant main effects for parenting style ($\Lambda = 0.933$, $F(15, 6589.9) = 11.16$, $p < 0.001$), sex ($\Lambda = 0.961$, $F(5, 2387.0) = 19.38$, $p < 0.001$), age ($\Lambda = 0.995$, $F(5, 2387.0) = 2.47$, $p = 0.031$), and country ($\Lambda = 0.796$, $F(15, 6589.9) = 37.89$, $p < 0.001$). Additionally, the

interaction effects between parenting style and age ($\Lambda = 0.989$, $F(15, 6589.9) = 1.78$, $p = 0.031$), parenting style and country ($\Lambda = 0.966$, $F(45, 10,680.7) = 1.82$, $p < 0.001$), age and country ($\Lambda = 0.970$, $F(15, 6589.9) = 4.88$, $p < 0.001$) were found.

3.6. Parenting Styles and Internalization of Social Values

Again, the results from the univariate analysis showed that adolescents who characterized their parents as indulgent and authoritative reported a greater priority to self-transcendence values (i.e., universalism and benevolence), as well as giving greater priority to conservation values (i.e., security, conformity, and tradition) than their peers who were raised by authoritarian and neglectful parents, whereas neglectful and authoritarian styles were constantly related to lower scores on all of the internalization of the values outcomes. Additionally, authoritarian parenting was associated with the poorest scores on priority to benevolence and conformity social values (see Table 4).

Table 4. Means (and standard deviations) for parenting style, and the main univariate F -values for self-esteem and the internalization of social values (self-transcendence and conservation).

Socialization Outcomes	Parenting Style				$F(3, 2391)$
	Authoritative	Indulgent	Authoritarian	Neglectful	
Internalization of social values					
Self-transcendence					
Universalism	7.97 ¹ (1.21)	8.11 ¹ (1.23)	7.49 ² (1.45)	7.64 ² (1.34)	28.27 ^{***}
Benevolence	8.39 ¹ (1.15)	8.48 ¹ (1.12)	7.87 ³ (1.43)	8.06 ² (1.33)	27.14 ^{***}
Conservation					
Security	8.03 ¹ (1.23)	8.02 ¹ (1.29)	7.45 ² (1.52)	7.52 ² (1.37)	31.05 ^{***}
Conformity	8.23 ¹ (1.31)	8.33 ¹ (1.26)	7.51 ³ (1.63)	7.76 ² (1.49)	43.71 ^{***}
Tradition	6.95 ¹ (1.58)	7.12 ¹ (1.57)	6.45 ² (1.70)	6.52 ² (1.70)	24.51 ^{***}

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; ¹ $\alpha = 0.05$; 1 > 2 > 3 > 4; a > b.

Furthermore, an interaction effect between parenting style and country was found on universalism ($F(3, 2391) = 2.30$, $p = 0.015$) and tradition ($F(3, 2391) = 3.10$, $p = 0.001$; see Figure 2). In a similar way, the parenting country profile revealed that adolescents from indulgent families gave equal or even higher priority to universalism and

tradition (in the United States) than those adolescents raised by authoritative parents, whereas poor rates corresponded with adolescents who characterized their parents as authoritarian and neglectful (German adolescents with authoritarian and neglectful parents obtained the lowest scores). Additionally, an interaction effect between parenting style and sex was found on benevolence ($F(3, 2391) = 3.30, p = 0.020$; see Figure 2). Overall, despite females giving greater priority to benevolence than males, parenting sex profile revealed that, for males and females, indulgent and authoritative parenting were related with a higher priority to benevolence than authoritarian and neglectful parenting, although this tendency is greater in males.

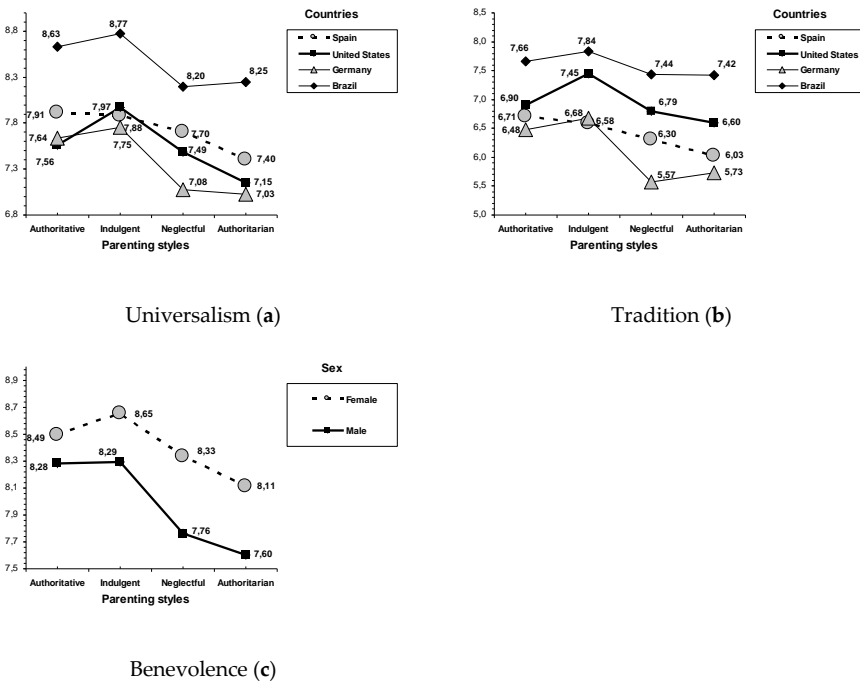


Figure 2. Interactions for parenting style by age: (a) universalism and (b) tradition. Interactions for parenting style by sex: (c) benevolence.

3.7. Demographic Variables and Internalization of Social Values

The results from the univariate analysis applied showed that the univariate main effects for sex, age, and country reached a significant statistical level (see Table 3). The sex-related differences showed that females reported a higher priority to self-transcendence (i.e., universalism and benevolence) and conservation (security, conformity, and tradition) than males. Age-related differences showed a different profile for early adolescence (i.e., 11–15 years) and late adolescence (i.e., 16–19 years) as a function of country, and interaction effects between age and country were found on the self-transcendence values of universalism ($F(3, 2391) = 2.91, p = 0.033$) and benevolence ($F(3, 2391) = 5.81, p = 0.001$), and on conservation social of conformity ($F(3, 2391) = 9.92, p < 0.001$), tradition ($F(3, 2391) = 16.28, p < 0.001$), and security ($F(3, 2391) = 7.87, p < 0.001$; see Figure 3). In the United States, late adolescents (i.e., 16 to 19 years old) reported greater scores than early adolescents (i.e., 11 to 15 years old) in benevolence, conformity, and tradition; in Spain the highest scores corresponded with early adolescence (in security, conformity, and tradition); and few variations in social values between both age groups were found among Brazilian and German adolescents. Country-related differences examining the interactions between age and country revealed a general pattern—Brazilian adolescents reported the greatest scores, the lowest corresponded with adolescents from Spain and Germany, and North American adolescents were in the middle position. Interestingly, this country general tendency was different in late adolescence, in which those from Brazil and the United States obtained higher scores in benevolence, conformity, and tradition, whereas those from Spain and Germany reported lower scores.

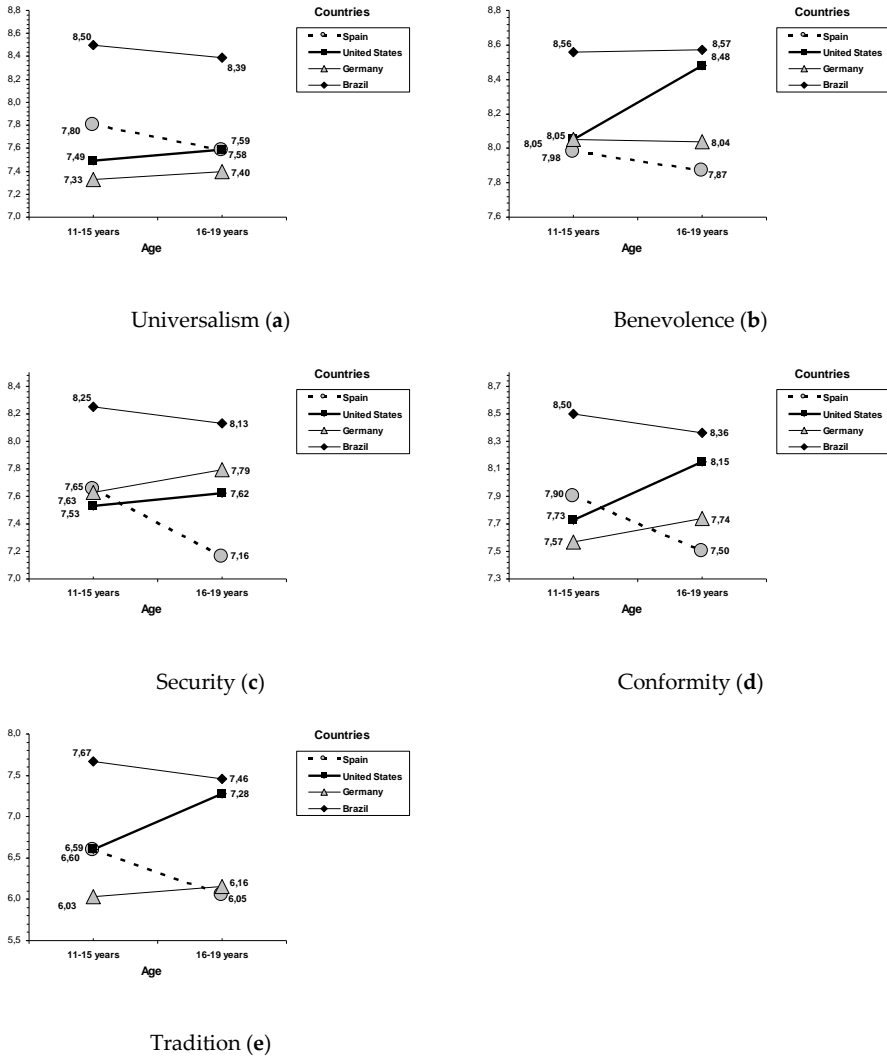


Figure 3. Interactions for age and country: (a) universalism, (b) benevolence, (c) security, (d) conformity, and (e) tradition.

4. Discussion

The present study examines the association between parenting styles with the social competence pattern and adjustment of Spanish, North American, German, and Brazilian adolescents from middle-class families through a two-dimensional four-typology model of

parenting styles in a large sample. In order to capture social competence and adjustment among adolescents, we examined multidimensional self-esteem (i.e., academic, social, emotional, family, and physical), internalization self-transcendence social values (i.e., universalism and benevolence), and conservation social values (i.e., security, conformity, and tradition). Overall, our findings revealed that the indulgent parenting style was associated with optimal scores (highest self-esteem and internalization of social values) in Spain, the United States, Germany, and Brazil. In the four countries examined, adolescents from indulgent families obtained equal or even greater scores on well-being than those from authoritative households, whereas those from neglectful and authoritarian homes were consistently associated with poor levels of self-esteem and the internalization of social values.

Findings from the analysis examining the self-esteem outcomes revealed that parenting styles (i.e., indulgent, authoritative, authoritarian, and neglectful) and the five self-esteem indicators share a common pattern across the four countries examined. Interestingly, indulgent parenting was related with self-esteem equal to authoritative parenting in the social and physical domain. The indulgent style even overcame authoritative parenting in academic, emotional, and family self-esteem domains. In contrast, adolescents from authoritarian and neglectful families showed the poorest self-esteem. The results from the analysis examining the internalization of social values indicated that there were theoretically predictable differences in priority to self-transcendence (i.e., universalism and benevolence) and conservation (i.e., security, conformity, and tradition) among adolescents from the four family typologies. Adolescents from indulgent and authoritative families reported greater priority to both self-transcendence and conservation social values than their peers from authoritarian and neglectful homes. Additionally, the parenting country profile for universalism and tradition social values indicated that indulgent parenting was related to an equal or even greater internalization of social values than authoritative parenting (i.e., in the United States), whereas being raised by authoritarian and neglectful families was a risk factor for the internalization of social values (especially for German adolescents). In a similar way, the parenting profile for male and female adolescents in benevolence social values indicated that,

despite females giving greater priority to benevolence than males, indulgent and authoritative parenting have a positive impact on the internalization of benevolence social values, whereas authoritarian and neglectful parenting were related to a poor priority for benevolence social values.

Furthermore, one important implication of this study for the literature on quality parenting and children's wellbeing is that the combination of parental warmth and involvement, but not strictness and imposition, seems to be the best parenting strategy for the new third emergent stage in the current digital era, where the indulgent parenting style seems to be optimal. In sum, the warmth and involvement component of the parenting style underlies offspring's well-being, whereas the strictness and imposition component undermines offspring's well-being.

On the one hand, the results of this study have common implications that are also applied to the second stage of the socialization of industrialized societies where the optimal socialization style is authoritative [2]. The results of this research reinforce the idea that spontaneous disclosures of information to parents by their children (shared by authoritative and indulgent styles), but not the parents' attempts to secure information (shared by authoritative and authoritarian styles), are strategic factors in the offspring's well-being [3,20,23]. Accordingly, the offspring's internalization of self-transcendence and conservation values involved socially-focused motivations, which the findings of this study clearly associated with indulgent and authoritative parenting styles [39,40,66], emphasizing the positive effects on others of fostering a child's feelings of empathy and consideration for others [21,22,64]. Moreover, authoritarian and neglectful styles, both lacking the parenting component of warmth and involvement, share a lack of underlying social-focus [96–98] in their parenting, with implications of a lack of empathy and no consideration for others' feelings [66,95].

On the other hand, in the third stage of socialization, the component of strictness and imposition (which is shared by authoritative and authoritarian) undermines the offspring of an authoritative parenting style. The indulgent parenting style was associated with the same (academic and physical self-esteem) or even higher personal adjustment (social, emotional, and family self-esteem)

than the authoritative parenting style. These results for offspring's personal and social well-being are different from the first and second stages. In the first stage, strictness is the only main parenting dimension that guarantees the offspring's well-being [1,6,28,29,33]. In the same way, in the second stage, strictness is the main key, along with warmth and involvement, to fostering the offspring's well-being [6,10,12,16,17].

Although one of the most important contributions of the present study is the common pattern between parenting styles, and competence and adjustment among adolescents from Spain, the United States, Brazil, and Germany, the results from the present study are in agreement with previous studies supporting the idea that adolescence could not be a homogenous life-time period for all cultures and countries [2,99]. In this sense, our results examining age-related differences in multidimensional self-esteem outcomes and the internalization of social values showed a different age-profile by country among early and late adolescents. In the United States, late adolescents reported better developmental outcomes than early adolescents on self-esteem (academic, emotional, and physical domains) and the internalization of social values (benevolence, conformity, and tradition). In contrast, early adolescence was associated with higher developmental outcomes than late adolescence in Spain (on academic and physical self-esteem, and the internalization of security, conformity, and tradition social values), Brazil (on academic and physical self-esteem), and Germany (on emotional self-esteem). Despite these age variations in adjustment and competence as a function of country, the findings of the present study conducted with middle-class adolescents from Spain, the United States, Brazil, and Germany suggest that indulgent parenting (i.e., warmth but not strictness) offers equal or even better results than authoritative parenting (warmth and strictness), in order to achieve two of the most important goals of parental socialization—developing adequate self-esteem as well as the internalization of social values.

Finally, this study has strengths and limitations. The use of the two-dimensional four-style model to assess parenting offers conceptual framework to the ongoing debates of parenting by examining parenting styles in a large context across different demographic variables, contexts, and countries. As for the limitations, the current

study was cross-sectional, which does not allow us to draw firm conclusions about directionality. The classification of the families within one of the four parenting styles was based on the adolescent's responses, although a common pattern of invariance was guaranteed [9,11,15].

5. Conclusions

Despite these limitations, the findings from this study reinforce the idea that considering the person's fit to the context within a broader global context, using a three-stages conceptual framework that informs of the different co-existing relationships between parents' socialization styles and their children's well-being is needed. The different results found in parenting literature can be understood from this new three-stages perspective. Future research should also take the new third stage, proposed in this study, into account when outlining emerging positions in parenting literature.

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