Parental Style and Consumer Socialization of Children*

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Parents play a major role in children's consumer socialization but little is known about differences in parents' consumer socialization tendencies. In this article, we examine the thesis that these tendencies can be predicted from parents' general socialization styles. Results indicate that mothers with alternative parental styles differ in communicating with children about consumption, number of consumer socialization goals, restricting and monitoring consumption and media exposure, and views on advertising. Contrary to expectations, mothers with differential styles do not differ in granting consumption autonomy to children.

Consumer socialization is the process "by which young people acquire skills, knowledge, and attitudes relevant to their functioning in the marketplace" (Ward 1980a, p. 380). In this article, we seek to explain and predict differences in parents' consumer socialization tendencies via a more general parental socialization framework. Prior research has focused primarily on relative influence of consumer socialization agents on children rather than variation in parental tendencies. To provide more complete knowledge of parents' socialization roles (without assuming they are the only socialization agents), this study concentrates on parents and examines more facets of socialization than have been examined in prior studies.

With few exceptions (e.g., Moschis and Moore 1979b), there is little direct evidence on variation in parental tendencies because few studies have examined a broad range of variables. Researchers have often focused on antecedents and results of family TV viewing (Reid 1979) and parental attitudes about child-directed ads (e.g., Barry 1977; Grossbart and Crosby 1984; Heslop and Ryans 1980; National Science Foundation 1977; Resnik, Stern, and Alberty 1979). However, indirect evidence may be reflected in generally inconclusive findings. For example, Atkin (1978), Burr and Burr (1976), Clancy-Hepburn, Hickey, and Neville (1974) and Robertson (1979) indicate parents are negative about such ads and favor stronger government intervention, and Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977b) report 77 percent of parents oppose the ads. Yet, Kay (1974) and Enis, Spencer, and Webb (1980) suggest parents are generally unconcerned about children's viewing habits and Atkin (1975) indicates mothers do not favor banning children's ads. Roper (1977) also reports parental resistance to ads declined during the seventies, but 26 percent still wished to eliminate them.

Noting such inconsistency, Robertson (1979) suggests attitudes toward children's ads vary across parental "publics." Feldman, Wolf, and Warmouth (1977) argue these differences are related to deeper, more broadly based parental values. The conceptual framework in this study is consistent with these views; it treats consumer socialization as an integral part of general socialization and combines perspectives from consumer socialization theory and parental style theory in developmental psychology. Merging research streams is consistent with the multitheoretical approach to consumer socialization advocated by Robertson and Feldman (1975) and Moschis and Churchill (1978) and suggestions by the National Science Foundation (1977), Ward (1980a), Grossbart and Crosby (1984), and Moschis, Moore, and Smith (1984).

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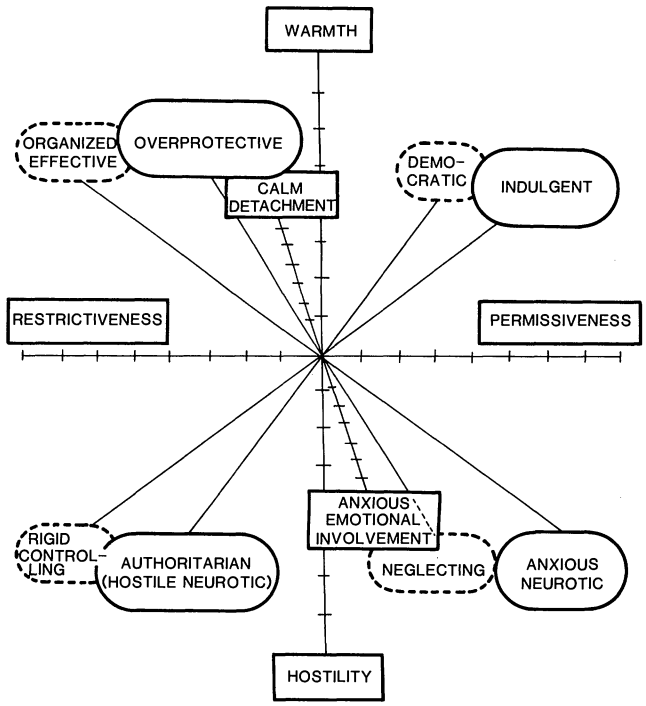
GENERAL PARENTAL SOCIALIZATION DIFFERENCES

As parent socialization is an "adult-initiated process by which developing children, through insight, training, and imitation acquire the habits and values congruent with adaptation to their culture" (Baumrind 1980, p. 640), it is unlikely to be uniform. Indeed, as Gardner (1982) notes, case studies, observations, and experimental results suggest parents can be grouped by consistency in handling misbehavior, warmth, overprotectiveness, and anxiety. Such tendencies are similar to structural components of socialization that differentiate parental styles (Baumrind 1971). Although labels vary, dimensions found across studies are restrictiveness versus permissiveness (Armentrout and Burger 1972; Baumrind 1968, 1971; Bronson 1972; Gardner 1982; Hower and Edwards 1978; Kagan and Moss 1962; Roe and Siegelman 1963; Schaefer 1959; Sears, Maccoby, and Levin 1957), warmth versus hostility (Armentrout and Burger 1972; Becker 1964; Hower and Edwards 1978; Roe and Siegelman 1963; Schaefer 1965), and calm detachment versus anxious emotional involvement (Armentrout and Burger 1972; Becker 1964; Hower and Edwards 1978; Roe and Siegelman 1963; Schaefer 1965).

Becker's (1964) three dimensional model, which includes eight ideal parental types that reflect combinations of structural components (orthogonal dimensions) of socialization, typifies this view of socialization (see the Figure). For example, in his model, warmth denotes accepting, child centeredness, use of explanation and reasoning, praise in discipline, and low reliance on physical punishment; restrictiveness signifies enforcement of demands regarding manners, neatness, care of family items, obedience, and so forth; and anxious emotional involvement indicates high emotionality in babying, protectiveness, and solicitousness for the child's welfare. Becker's model is a conceptual summarization of prior findings, and studies of parental style (Baumrind 1968, 1971) and parent segmentation (Crosby and Grossbart 1984a) employing his socialization framework suggest its value in applying socialization theory in the investigation of consumer socialization.

FIGURE

BECKER'S SOCIALIZATION DIMENSIONS



NOTE: Extremes on Becker's (1964, p. 175) three dimensions are in rectangles. Parent types behind the plane of the page are in dashed-line ovals while those in front of the plane are in solid-line ovals. For example, the Organized Effective parent is restrictive, warm, and calmly detached. The Anxious Neurotic parent is permissive, hostile, and emotional. Revised and reprinted with permission from the Russell Sage Foundation (© Russell Sage Foundation).

Parental Styles

Authoritarian parents seek high levels of control over children because they view children as dominated by egotistical and impulsive forces (Gardner 1982). These parents judge children's conduct by religious or other standards endorsed by authority figures (Baumrind 1968), expect unquestioned obedience, strictly enforce rules, and discourage and punish willful behavior. Authoritarians believe in parental omnipotence, keeping children in subordinate roles, restricting expression of autonomy, and not encouraging verbal exchanges between parents and children (Baumrind 1978; Crosby and Grossbart 1984a). Authoritarians believe children have few rights, but have adult responsibilities (Baumrind 1980). Rigid Controlling parents are similar to Authoritarians, except that calm detachment limits their emotional involvement in children's socialization.

Like Authoritarian and Rigid Controlling parents, Neglecting parents also maintain distant relations with children. However, they neither seek nor exercise much control over children, perhaps because they are self-involved and deny or wish to avoid obligations to provide guidance. Their limited restrictiveness is coupled with a relative lack of warmth or anxious concern about the child's development. They see children as having few rights or responsibilities that require parental attention, as being capable of meeting many of their own needs, and requiring little communication reinforcement. Hence, Neglecting parents do little to monitor or directly encourage their children's capabilities to function autonomously.

Of course, styles uncovered in field research cannot be expected to exactly correspond to Becker's ideal types. For example, few Anxious Neurotics (i.e., relatively hostile, nonrestrictive, and anxious emotionally involved parents) are apt to be found in nonclinical studies. Likewise, as Baumrind's (1971) research demonstrates, theoretical extremes may not be encountered. She identified an Authoritative style, similar to Becker's Organized Effectives and Overprotectives, and a Permissive style, similar to his Democratics and Indulgents; however, both of Baumrind's groups exhibited moderate anxiety levels, rather than the greater detachment or higher anxiety of Becker's ideal types.

Authoritatives are inclined to view rights and responsibilities of adults and children as complementary. They foster a balance between parents' and children's rights that changes as the child develops. They encourage self-expression and value self-will and autonomy, but also expect disciplined conformity (Baumrind 1968, 1978). Authoritatives do not impose restrictions merely to exercise power, but they use firm control and confront disobedience when they think overt intervention is needed. They are warm, conscientious, and supportive, but expect from children the maximum in mature behavior (Gardner 1982). Authoritatives explain rules, offer alternatives to blind obedience, and solicit the child's opinion. They attempt to enrich the child's environment with cultural and educational activities (Gardner 1978).

Permissives seek to remove as many restraints as possible, without endangering the child. Although somewhat protective and warm, they allow substantial freedom due to their views on parents' and children's roles and motivations. They regard children as having adult rights but few responsibilities (Baumrind 1978, 1980). Permissive parents also see children as controlled by egotistic and impulsive forces, but they tend to respect, even glorify, these tendencies as refreshing, natural outcomes of children's development (Gardner 1982). Permissives' interactions with children are affirmative, acceptant, and benign. They view themselves as resources, not active shapers of children, and obtain compliance with children's requests by reasoning rather than by overt control (Baumrind 1968, 1978).

Becker's eight ideal styles were summarizations taken from prior studies of parenting behavior. Baumrind collapsed the multiple groups she found into Authoritarian, Authoritative, and Permissive styles. Since parents in our sample had older children than those in Baumrind's research, it seemed possible to find greater variance in styles. Thus, to avoid making predictions about nonexistent groups, as an initial step, parental styles were empirically determined.

METHOD

Sample

Self-administered questionnaires were distributed to mothers via children attending three elementary schools (kindergarten through sixth grades). Mothers were chosen as respondents due to their familiarity with the marketplace and its impact on children (Aldous 1974) and importance to marketers (Abrams 1984). Ninety-three percent of mothers in this study reported they were the primary person involved in children's consumer socialization. Although schools were chosen on a convenience basis, they were located in a variety of socio-economic areas of the city. A cover letter described the study, indicated approval of it by the principal and Parent-Teacher Organization (PTO) president, and offered a $1 PTO contribution for each completed questionnaire returned by the children. A reminder letter was sent a week later and surveys were collected two weeks after distribution.

The 46 percent response rate ($n = 499$) was similar across schools and comparable to the rate in prior research (Grossbart and Crosby 1984). Because school personnel handled distribution and collection and respondent identification was not required, no direct assessment of nonresponse bias was possible. However, principals indicated response rates compared favorably to the 30 to 40 percent normally experienced. Four hundred fifty-one cases with complete data were retained for analysis. Incomplete items occurred in a random fashion, and there were no differences on dependent variables between those who did and those who did not complete all items. Proportions of mothers with alternative parental styles also provided little evidence of what might be construed as socially desirable responses. To examine a wider range of general and consumer socialization tendencies, this study adapted Baumrind's focus on preschool parents to a school-aged context. To keep this focus and avoid multiple responses from mothers with more than one child, relevant items concerned the youngest child in school.

Independent Measures

Eleven summative indices from prior studies served as indicators of general socialization tendencies (warmth, restrictiveness, and anxious emotional involvement; see Table 1), and tapped parents' approaches to maturity demands, conformity, enforcement, outside influences, dependency and responsibility, communication, and nurturance. Due to survey length considerations, indices generally included at least half of the items in the original measure. Alphas generally met exploratory research standards and the 0.50 beta criterion was exceeded, ensuring unidimensionality. A 19-item version of Crowne and Marlowe's (1964) social desirability scale ($\alpha = 0.71$; $\beta = 0.50$) was used, following cautions about parents' attempts to respond in a socially desirable manner in socialization research (Robertson 1979; Rossiter and Robertson 1975).

TABLE 1

STUDY MEASURES

Index	No. of items	Scale	Alpha	Beta	Source adapted from
			Independent measures		
Early maturity demands	4	mc	.59	.54	Baumrind (1971)
Values conformity	3	mc	.69	.69	Baumrind (1971)
Firm enforcement	2	mc	.78	.78	Baumrind (1971)
Authoritarian	7	mc	.60	.54	Baumrind (1971)
Excluding outside influences	3	sa/sd	.74	.68	Schaefer and Bell (1958)
Fostering dependency	2	sa/sd	.60	.60	Schaefer and Bell (1958)
Avoidance of communication	3	sa/sd	.66	.57	Schaefer and Bell (1958)
Encouraging verbalization	4	sa/sd	.69	.69	Schaefer and Bell (1958)
Strictness	3	sa/sd	.81	.78	Schaefer and Bell (1958)
Fostering responsibility	2	sa/sd	.66	.66	Crosby and Grossbart (1984b)
Nurturance	9	sa/sd	.90	.81	Rickel and Biasatti (1982)
			Dependent measures		
			Children's consumption autonomy		
Total child income	–	dollars	–	–	Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977b)
Coshopping	3	vo/n	.95	.91	Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977b)
Consumption independence	5	c/pc	.63	.51	Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977b)
Concept-orientation	7	vo/n	.71	.61	Moschis (1976)
Child's payment	10	vo/n	.90	.78	Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977b)
			Parent-child communication about consumption		
Extent of family communication	7	vo/n	.76	.65	Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977b)
Child's influence	7	sa/sd	.84	.63	Jenkins (1979)
			Restriction/monitoring of consumption and media exposure		
Yielding	5	vo/n	.70	.57	Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977b)
Refusing requests	5	vo/n	.93	.88	Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977b)
Refusal with explanation	5	vo/n	.84	.77	Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977b)
Socio-orientation	7	vo/n	.56	.51	Moschis (1976); Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977b)
Control of TV viewing	3	vo/n	.82	.76	Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977b)
Discussions about advertising	3	vo/n	.84	.80	Crosby and Grossbart (1984b)
Amount of child's TV viewing	4	hours	–	–	Crosby and Grossbart (1984b)
Coviewing	4	vo/n	.90	.85	Authors
			Other socialization orientation variables		
Number of consumer goals	2	number	–	–	Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977b)
Concern about TV advertising	6	sa/sd	.81	.72	Crosby and Grossbart (1984b)
Attitudes toward TV advertising	7	sa/sd	.73	.62	Rossiter (1977)
			Associated characteristics		
Information use	5	vo/n			Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977b)
Multiple store shopping	3	vo/n	.66	.63	Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977b)
Materialism	6	sa/sd	.68	.51	Moschis and Churchill (1978)
Economic motivation for consumption	5	sa/sd	.73	.69	Moschis and Churchill (1978)
Social motivation for consumption	4	sa/sd	.74	.67	Moschis and Churchill (1978)
Favor governmental control	4	sa/sd	.65	.51	Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977b)

NOTE: The scales are mc = multiple choice; sa/sd = 5 point, strongly agree/strongly disagree; dollars = dollars per week; vo/n = 5 point, very often/never; c/pc = child chooses/parent chooses, doesn't talk to child; hours = hours per week; number = number of goals. Details on measures are available from authors.

TABLE 2

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE FACTOR LOADINGS

Variable	Factor 1 Warmth versus hostility	Factor 2 Restrictiveness versus permissiveness	Factor 3 Anxious emotional involvement versus calm detachment
Nurturance	.79	.06	.02
Avoidance of communication	−.65	.01	.22
Encouraging verbalization	.61	−.20	−.10
Strictness	.10	.72	.08
Firm enforcement	.10	.65	.00
Authoritarian	−.31	.63	.19
Early maturity demands	.00	.50	−.40
Values conformity	−.21	.46	−.04
Fostering dependency	−.22	−.04	.76
Fostering responsibility*	.53	.03	.60
Excluding outside influences	−.32	.34	.51

NOTE: * = positive loadings, which indicate more opposition to fostering responsibility.

Analytic Procedure

A procedure described by Green and Tull (1978) was used to form parental groups. Factor analysis of independent variables, using LISREL, was employed to check for three factors resembling Becker's dimensions and reduce redundancy. Factor scores were then clustered using a Euclidean distance metric and Ward's clustering method, in an attempt to derive groups of mothers similar to Becker's and Baumrind's parental styles. Mean factor scores and standardized scores on original independent measures were used to compare clusters. Stability was checked by separately clustering odd/even subsamples.

IDENTIFICATION OF PARENTAL STYLES

Results provided evidence that three factors (resembling warmth, restrictiveness, and anxious emotional involvement) fit the data, although iterative procedures revealed a limited number of cross loadings (see Table 2). Chi square (df = 36), adjusted goodness of fit, and root mean square residual values were 88.14, 0.96, and 0.04, respectively. Five dominant clusters, representing 93 percent of the sample, were identified and matched styles suggested by Baumrind and Becker, i.e., Authoritarian, Permissive, Rigid Controlling, Authoritative, and Neglecting. Analyses on odd/even subsamples produced similar results, although proportions with alternative styles varied between runs. Cluster comparisons on independent variables and factor scores are presented in Table 3.

Cluster 1 (n = 77, 18 percent of classified cases) has the relatively hostile, restrictive, and anxious tendencies of Authoritarians. They have lower scores on warmth than Permissives and Authoritatives but not Rigid Controlling and Neglecting mothers, exhibit more restrictiveness than Permissive and Neglecting mothers but are less restrictive than Authoritatives, and are the most anxious. On relative (standard) scores on specific indicators, Authoritarians evidence little nurturance and encouragement of interaction, expect relatively little mature behavior, enforce rules in a strict and limiting manner, and value conformity. They are more apt than other types of parents to foster dependency and have the strongest tendency to shield children from outside influences.

Cluster 2 (n = 100, 24 percent of classified cases) exhibits traits of Permissives. They are the least restrictive and are warmer than Authoritarian, Rigid Controlling, and Neglecting mothers, but not Authoritatives. Like Authoritative and Neglecting mothers, Permissives' relative calmness contrasts with the higher anxiety of Authoritarian and more extreme calmness of Rigid Controlling mothers. They encourage the most verbal expression and are more nurturing and less apt to avoid communication than Authoritarian, Rigid Controlling, and Neglecting mothers. Permissives do not favor early maturity demands on children and score below the Authoritarian, Rigid Controlling, and Authoritatives in authoritarian beliefs, firm enforcement, and valuing conformity. They are moderate in fostering responsibility and dependency and are least likely to exclude outside influences from their child's environment.

Except for lack of anxiousness, Cluster 3 (n = 100, 24 percent of classified cases) exhibits many tendencies of Authoritarians and is identified as Rigid Controlling. They are the least anxious cluster and are less warm and more restrictive than Permissives, but are similar to Authoritarians in these respects. They are also less warm and restrictive than Authoritatives, but are warmer and more restrictive than Neglecting mothers. Rigid Controlling mothers encourage less verbal exchange, avoid communication more and are less nurturing than Permissives. They avoid communication more than Authoritatives but avoid it less than Authoritarian and Neglecting mothers. They are also less nurturing than Authoritatives but are more nurturing than Neglecting mothers. Their early maturity demands equal those of Authoritatives but exceed those of Permissive, Authoritarian, and Neglecting mothers. They are more strict, authoritarian, disposed to children's conformity, and firm than

TABLE 3

COMPARISONS ON INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND FACTOR SCORES ACROSS PARENTAL STYLE

	Standardized means				
	Cluster 1 (n = 77)	Cluster 2 (n = 100)	Cluster 3 (n = 100)	Cluster 4 (n = 72)	Cluster 5 (n = 75)
Variables	Authoritarian	Permissive	Rigid Controlling	Authoritative	Neglecting
Warmth	−.32[e]	.87[ace]	−.36[e]	.91[ace]	−1.02
Nurturance	−.21	.67[ace]	−.28[e]	.82[ace]	−.89
Avoidance of communication	.50[bcd]	−.52	.07[bd]	−.67	.62[bcd]
Encouraging verbalization	−.39	.76[acde]	−.16	.14[ae]	−.43
Restrictiveness	.53[be]	−1.00	.58[be]	1.02[abce]	−.50[b]
Strictness	.34[be]	−.66	.31[be]	.89[abce]	−.43
Firm enforcement	.39[be]	−.60	.52[be]	.65[be]	−.64
Authoritarian	.56[be]	−.98	.29[b]	.44[be]	−.02[b]
Early maturity demands	−.09	−.29	.54[abe]	.43[abe]	−.08
Values conformity	.31[b]	−.71	.34[b]	.22[b]	.10[b]
Anxious emotional involvement	1.05[bcde]	−.12[c]	−.91	.03[c]	−.22[c]
Fostering dependency	.85[bcde]	−.19[c]	−.55	−.32	.03[c]
Fostering responsibility*	.52[ce]	.35[ce]	−.86	.58[ce]	−.60
Excluding outside influences	.84[bcde]	−.64	−.18[b]	.06[b]	.07[b]

[abcde] Superscripts indicate significant differences (Tukey pairwise comparisons, $p < 0.05$): [a] refers to Cluster 1, [b] to Cluster 2, [c] to Cluster 3, [d] to Cluster 4, and [e] to Cluster 5. For example, the first entry under Cluster 1 indicates that the mean on warmth for Cluster 1 is significantly greater than the mean for Cluster 5.
NOTE: * = higher scores, which indicate more opposition to fostering responsibility. Overall analysis is based on Z scores for comparability across variables; Wilks's lambda multivariate test statistic for independent variables = 0.08129, approximate $F = 120.88$, $df = 15, 1325$, $p < 0.001$; all comparisons across dimensions and indices are significant, $df = 5, 445$, $p < 0.001$.

Permissives and are more strict, firm, and authoritarian than Neglecting mothers (but less strict than Authoritative mothers). Like Neglecting mothers, Rigid Controlling mothers are most likely to foster responsibility. They are similar to Authoritatives in fostering dependency but are lower than Authoritarian, Permissive, and Neglecting mothers. Rigid Controlling mothers shield children from external influences more than Permissives but less than Authoritarians.

The relative warmth, restrictiveness, and calmness of Cluster 4 ($n = 72$, 17 percent of classified cases) suggests that the mothers in this cluster are Authoritatives. Like Permissives, they are warmer than other mothers. They are the most restrictive cluster and strongest proponents of strict discipline. Their anxiety level is greater than Rigid Controlling mothers, less than Authoritarians, and equal to levels for Permissive and Neglecting mothers. On all restrictiveness indicators except values conformity, their scores exceed Permissive and Neglecting mothers. They also favor placing early maturity demands on children more than all other groups except the Rigid Controlling. Like Permissives, they are more nurturing and less apt to avoid communication than other clusters. Authoritatives encourage children to verbalize feelings more than Authoritarian and Neglecting mothers. They foster responsibility less than Rigid Controlling and Neglecting mothers and are lower in fostering dependency than Authoritarians. In addition, they are higher than Permissives and lower than Authoritarians in shielding children from outside influences.

Cluster 5 is identified as Neglecting ($n = 75$, 17 percent of classified cases), due to relative lack of warmth, restrictiveness, and anxious emotional involvement. They exhibit the least warmth of any group, the lowest scores on nurturance and encouraging verbalization, and the greatest tendency to avoid communication. Only Permissives display less restrictiveness than the Neglecting. Their relative calmness contrasts with the more extreme anxiety of Authoritarian and the more extreme calmness of Rigid Controlling mothers.

Two summary procedures—factor and cluster analysis—were used to form the five groups. Although using a small number of variables (or factor scores) for classification is desirable (Punj and Stewart 1983), this approach may raise questions about cluster interpretation and generalizability. However, several points should be noted. First, as indicated earlier, cluster results are stable across odd/even subsamples. Second, cluster descriptions and data in Table 3 provide clear indications of how mothers in each group differ on specific indices (e.g., nurturance, avoidance of communication, and so forth). Finally, the particular tendencies and parental styles exhib-

ited by mothers in these clusters (e.g., Authoritative, Permissive, and so forth) are not unique to this study; they are similar to those identified in past research (e.g., Baumrind 1971; Crosby and Grossbart 1984b). Of course, the usefulness of this set of clusters is best determined by testing whether they have implications beyond the narrow set of classification variables that have been used to generate them (Punj and Stewart 1983), i.e., in this case, to see if they are related to consumer socialization tendencies.[1]

CONSUMER SOCIALIZATION TENDENCIES

Table 4 provides an overview of variables from consumer socialization research. The diversity of these variables and specific focus of most studies reflects the disagreement that Ward (1980b) noted about which skills, knowledge, and so forth, comprise consumer socialization. Yet, viewed collectively, past work also seems to reflect an implicit framework regarding parents' consumer socialization tendencies. As the organization in Table 4 is intended to show, this framework corresponds to the structural components of general socialization noted by Becker and Baumrind. Specifically, anxious emotional involvement and warmth and restrictiveness dimensions seem related to three implicit concepts in consumer socialization research, i.e., children's consumption autonomy, parent-child communication about consumption, and restriction and monitoring of consumption and media exposure.

Parallels between consumer socialization tendencies and dimensions of general socialization were previously suggested by Crosby and Grossbart (1984b) and Grossbart and Crosby (1984). This study (1) extends Crosby and Grossbart's conceptualization by examining a wider variety of consumer socialization behaviors and orientations than they considered; (2) follows suggestions by Moschis et al. (1984) to examine a broader range of variables to better assess parents' roles in consumer socialization; (3) is consistent with the general categories of parental influence proposed by Wackman, Wartella, and Ward (1977) and Ward et al. (1977a, 1977b), including parents' consumer education goals and attitudes, parent-child interaction about consumption, children's opportunities, and parents' consumer behaviors and values; and (4) is compatible with Moschis and Moore's (1979b) family communication typology, but deals with more than communication.

This framework regarding parents' consumer socialization tendencies provides a parsimonious, theoretically cohesive alternative to forming hypotheses about specific socialization actions, but does not rule out multiple dimensions of the three consumer socialization tendencies mentioned previously. Other variables in Table 4 (e.g., multiple grocery store shopping, consumer socialization goals for children) reflect parents' consumer behaviors and values rather than consumer socialization behavior.

Hypotheses

Children's Consumption Autonomy. Consistent with their profiles, parental styles differ in fostering general autonomy. Anxious and restrictive Authoritarians are most opposed, and Rigid Controlling parents are next most averse, to independence. Authoritatives grant greater autonomy, tempered by consideration of the child's relative level of development. Conversely, Neglecting and Permissive parents' detachment and/or leniency engenders the most autonomy. Similar differences in granting consumption autonomy should also be exhibited.

H1a: Authoritarians grant less consumption autonomy to their children than Rigid Controlling, Authoritative, Permissive, or Neglecting parents.

H1b: Rigid Controlling parents grant less consumption autonomy to their children than Authoritative, Permissive, or Neglecting parents.

H1c: Authoritatives grant less consumption autonomy to their children than Permissive or Neglecting parents.

Parent-Child Communication About Consumption. Theory suggests Authoritarian and Rigid Controlling parents generally limit communication and prefer children in subordinate roles. This reflects these parents' desires to avoid intimacy that could erode parental control and their feelings that frequent parent-child discussions are inappropriate. Communicating less about consumption is a logical extension of this orientation. Neglecting parents have limited involvement with children and thus are also less prone to have discussions with them. Conversely, Authoritatives and Permissives are interested in children's opinions and make active attempts to communicate. Given their warmth and desire to enrich children's experiences and socialization goals, Authoritatives are most apt to discuss consumer issues. Permissives see themselves as resources, not ac-

[1] In some respects, Authoritatives may seem to have socially desirable traits. Yet, since they were the smallest group there were limited bases for concern about sample representativeness or response bias; the sample included mothers with distinct styles. Weak relations between social desirability and factor scores ($r = -0.01$ for warmth, 0.05 for anxious emotional involvement and 0.19 for restrictiveness), also indicated social desirability did not have a major influence on group classification.

TABLE 4

PARENTAL CONSUMER SOCIALIZATION VARIABLES USED IN PRIOR RESEARCH

Variable	Researchers
	Children's consumption autonomy
Total child income	
Total income and sources	Moore and Stephens (1975)**A**; Moore and Moschis (1978)**A**
Number of sources	Wackman, Wartella, and Ward (1977)**M**; Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977a)**M**
Total child income	Wackman, Wartella, and Ward (1977)**M**; Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977a)**M**
Coshopping	
Coshopping for groceries	Clancy-Hepburn, Hickey, and Neville (1974)**M**
Taking child shopping	Reid (1979)**PC**; Wackman, Wartella, and Ward (1977)**M**; Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977a)**M**
Consumption independence	
Asking parent for advice	Moschis and Moore (1979a)**A**
Child's power in making purchases for self	Wackman, Wartella, and Ward (1977)**M**; Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977a)**M**
Concept-orientation in communication about consumption	Moschis and Moore (1979b)**A**; Moore and Moschis (1981)**A**; Moschis, Moore, and Smith (1984)**A**
	Parent-child communication about consumption
Interaction level	
Extent of communication	Ward and Wackman (1971)**A**; Moore and Stephens (1975)**A**; Moschis and Churchill (1978)**A**; Moschis and Moore (1979a)**A**; Churchill and Moschis (1979)**A**; Moschis, Moore, and Smith (1984)**A**
Adolescent to parent	Moore and Stephens (1975)**A**; Moore and Moschis (1978)**A**
Parent to adolescent	Moore and Moschis (1978)**A**
Frequency of communication	Wackman, Wartella, and Ward (1977)**M**; Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977a, 1977b)**M**
Children's influence in family purchases	
Child's influence in restaurant choice	Szybillo and Sosanie (1977)**PC**; Nelson (1979)**PC**
Child's relative influence	Jenkins (1979)**MF**
Children's purchase influence	Ward and Wackman (1972)**M**
Methods of teaching consumer goals	Wackman, Wartella, and Ward (1977)**M**; Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977a)**M**
Consumer teaching orientation	Reid (1979)**PC**
Socialization instruction as defense against ads	Rossiter and Robertson (1974)**B**
	Restriction and monitoring of consumption and media exposure
Parent's responses to requests	
Parent-child interaction	Atkin (1978)**PC**
Verbal and behavioral responses	Caron and Ward (1975)**M**
Request story completion	Sheikh and Moleski (1977)**C**
Yielding to food requests	Clancy-Hepburn, Hickey, and Neville (1974)**M**; Crosby and Grossbart (1984b)M
Yielding	Wells (1965)**M**; Ward and Wackman (1972)**M**
Frequency of negotiating	Wackman, Wartella, and Ward (1977)**M**; Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977a, 1977b)**M**
Frequency of refusal with explanation	Wackman, Wartella, and Ward (1977)**M**; Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977a, 1977b)**M**
Frequency of refusing	Wackman, Wartella, and Ward (1977)**M**; Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977a, 1977b)**M**
Flexibility in responding	Wackman, Wartella, and Ward (1977)**M**; Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977a, 1977b)**M**
Socio-orientation in communication about consumption	Moschis and Moore (1979)**A**; Moore and Moschis (1981)**A**; Moschis, Moore, and Smith (1984)**A**
Control of TV viewing	
Child's exposure to ads	Wackman, Wartella, and Ward (1977)**M**
Restrictions on viewing	Ward and Wackman (1972)**M**; Grossbart and Crosby (1984)**M**
Rules for watching TV	Reid (1979)**PC**
Parental control	Robertson (1979)**PC**; Wiman (1983)**M**
Attitude on monitoring viewing	Feldman, Wolf, and Warmouth (1977)**MF**
Amount of children's viewing	Crosby and Grossbart (1984b)**M**
Television exposure	Rossiter and Robertson (1974)**B**; Moschis and Moore (1979b)**A**; Moore and Moschis (1981)**A**
Amount of viewing by category	Moschis and Churchill (1978)**A**; Churchill and Moschis (1979)**A**; Moschis and Moore (1979b)**A**
Time spent per day with medium	Moore and Moschis (1978)**A**

(*Continued on next page*)

TABLE 4—(Continued)

Variable	Researchers
Parent-child discussions about advertising	
Discussions about TV ads	Grossbart and Crosby (1984)**M**; Crosby and Grossbart (1984b)**M**
Interactions about ads	Wiman (1983)**M**
Coviewing	
Parent-child coviewing levels	Clancy-Hepburn, Hickey, and Neville (1974)**PC**; Robertson and Rossiter (1975)**PC**; National Science Foundation (1977); Robertson (1979)**PC**
Parental viewing related to child's TV interest	Singer, Zuckerman, and Singer (1980)**PC**
	Parent's consumer behavior and values
Consumer socialization goals	Reid (1979)**PC**; Wackman, Wartella, and Ward (1977)**M**; Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977a)**M**
Attitudes toward TV advertising	
Parental attitudes	Ward and Wackman (1972)**M**; Clancy-Hepburn, Hickey, and Neville (1974)**M**; Burr and Burr (1976)**M**
Criticisms	Grossbart and Crosby (1984)**M**; Crosby and Grossbart (1984b)**M**
Concern	Feldman, Wolf, and Warmouth (1977)**MF**; Crosby, Grossbart, Robb, and Carlson (1982)**M**; Grossbart and Crosby (1984)**M**; Crosby and Grossbart (1984b)**M**
Comments about ads	Wackman, Wartella, and Ward (1977)**M**; Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977a, 1977b)**M**
Degree of opposition	Wackman, Wartella, and Ward (1977)**M**; Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977a, 1977b)**M**
Information Use	
Use of advertising, contextual and price/appearance attributes	Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977a)**M**
Effectiveness and efficiency of information use	Wackman and Wartella (1977a)**M**
Total information use	Wackman and Wartella (1977a)**M**
Number of sources consulted for major purchases	Wackman and Wartella (1977a)**M**
Multiple grocery store shopping	Wackman and Wartella (1977a)**M**
Materialism	Moschis (1976)**A**; Moschis and Churchill (1978)**A**; Churchill and Moschis (1979)**A**; Moschis and Moore (1979b)**A**; Moore and Moschis (1981)**A**
Economic and social motivations for consumption	Moschis (1976)**A**; Moschis and Churchill (1978)**A**; Churchill and Moschis (1979)**A**
Favor government control	Ward, Wackman, and Wartella (1977a)**M**

NOTE: Capital letters following date of research indicate nature of sample (A = adolescents; B = boys; C = children; M = mothers; P = parents; MF = mothers and fathers; PC = parents and children; SC = school counselors).

tive shapers of children's development. Thus, although they are less likely to initiate communication than are more goal-oriented Authoritatives, they are apt to interact more than Authoritarian, Rigid Controlling, or Neglecting parents.

H2a: Authoritatives communicate more with their children about consumption than Permissive, Authoritarian, Rigid Controlling, or Neglecting parents.

H2b: Permissives communicate more with their children about consumption than Authoritarian, Rigid Controlling, or Neglecting parents.

Authoritatives' more active consumer socialization efforts should reflect more defined expectations, i.e., goals for children's consumer development. In contrast, Authoritarians' restrictive nature and resistance to outside influences (Crosby and Grossbart 1984b) and the cold detachment and disinterest of Rigid Controlling and Neglecting parents are apt to foster few goals. Permissives might be expected to fall between these extremes.

H2c: Authoritatives have more consumer socialization goals for their children than Permissive, Authoritarian, Rigid Controlling, or Neglecting parents.

H2d: Permissives have more consumer socialization goals for their children than Authoritarian, Rigid Controlling, or Neglecting parents.

Restriction and Monitoring of Consumption and Media Exposure. Limitations on consumption and media exposure are apt to reflect views on external socialization influences. Authoritatives are likely to

impose the most limitations, because they are preoccupied with children's maturation and development and tend to be most concerned about other consumer socialization agents. Restriction may help Authoritatives shape children's consumer experiences. This is partially supported by Crosby and Grossbart's (1984b) findings on concern about children's ads. Restriction and monitoring may help Authoritarian and Rigid Controlling parents limit children's requests. Although both are strict, opposed to external influence, and relatively insensitive to children's development, Authoritarians are more anxious than Rigid Controlling parents. Hence, they should be somewhat more restrictive, more apt to monitor media exposure, and more averse to ads than Rigid Controlling parents. In contrast, Permissives and Neglecting parents should be least involved in restriction, monitoring, and concern about advertising.

H3a: Authoritatives restrict and monitor children's consumption and media exposure more than Authoritarian, Rigid Controlling, Neglecting, or Permissive parents.

H3b: Authoritarians restrict and monitor children's consumption and media exposure more than Rigid Controlling, Neglecting, or Permissive parents.

H3c: Rigid Controlling parents restrict and monitor children's consumption and media exposure more than Neglecting or Permissive parents.

H3d: Authoritatives have a less positive attitude about advertising than Authoritarian, Rigid Controlling, Neglecting, or Permissive parents.

H3e: Authoritarians have a less positive attitude about advertising than Rigid Controlling, Neglecting, or Permissive parents.

H3f: Rigid Controlling parents have a less positive attitude about advertising than Neglecting or Permissive parents.

CONSUMER SOCIALIZATION AND OTHER MEASURES

Dependent Measures

These measures, grouped by expected consumer socialization tendencies in Table 1, are representative of variables examined in prior studies (Table 4).[2] For example, fostering of consumption autonomy was expected to be reflected by tendencies to encourage children to have more access to money and shopping experiences and make independent buying decisions and evaluations of choices. Parent-child communication about consumption was expected to be tapped by the extent of consumer discussions and children's influence in family consumer decisions. Restriction and monitoring of consumption and media exposure were expected to be captured by parental tendencies to not meet requests, limit choices, control TV viewing, discuss ads, and coview. Other facets of consumer socialization orientations were indicated by parents' goals and views regarding TV ads.

[2] Categorization of variables within each consumer socialization tendency in Tables 1 and 4 is a tentative classification and is not intended to preclude the possibility that some indices may actually be more appropriate indicators of other tendencies.

Associated Characteristics and Covariates

Indices of mothers' behaviors (information use and multiple store shopping) and values (materialism, economic and social motivations for consumption, and favoring government control) served as correlates of parental style. These variables were used in prior studies as characteristics associated with parental consumer socialization behavior. In addition, following Rossiter and Robertson's (1975) and Robertson's (1979) suggestions to use covariates in socialization research, other measures were taken on children's TV and radio ownership, age, grade, sex, number of TVs, newspapers, magazines, and radios in the home, number of children, family income, parents' ages, occupations, and education.

Analytic Procedure

Dependent variables were factored (common factoring with varimax rotation) to reduce redundancy. Our reasoning suggested three consumer socialization tendencies (broadly defined as consumption autonomy, communication about consumption and restriction/monitoring; see Table 4), but did not rule out multiple underlying dimensions. As Ward et al. (1977b) noted, research provides little basis for predicting specific dimensions. Thus, exploratory factor analysis seemed appropriate. Dependent variable factor scores for parental style groups were adjusted for covariates and contrasted via planned comparisons. Because prior theory did not suggest how parental styles might differ on associated characteristics, they were tested as unplanned comparisons.

RESULTS

Although six factors accounting for nearly two-thirds of the variance provided the most meaningful solution, results were generally consistent with anticipated consumer socialization tendencies (see Table 5). Unexpectedly, coshopping and concept-orienta-

TABLE 5

DEPENDENT VARIABLE FACTOR LOADINGS

Variable	Factor 1 Parent-child communication about consumption	Factor 2 Child's consumption autonomy	Factor 3 Mediation of the media	Factor 4 Restriction of consumption	Factor 5 Coviewing	Factor 6 Total child income
Coshopping	.74	−.05	.09	−.13	.22	−.10
Concept-orientation	.69	.24	.08	.21	−.01	.02
Child's influence	.65	.22	.12	.03	−.37	.27
Extent of family communication	.63	.06	.06	−.02	.08	.01
Yielding	.03	.78	−.20	−.04	.01	.05
Child's payment	.36	.65	.07	−.15	.12	.06
Consumption independence	.20	.52	−.40	−.06	.05	.21
Control of TV viewing*	.01	.15	.80	−.20	−.05	.15
Amount of child's TV viewing	−.02	.24	.60	.14	.42	.08
Discussions about advertising*	−.32	−.17	.53	.12	−.36	−.01
Socio-orientation	−.02	.04	−.13	.80	.10	−.01
Refusing requests	−.20	.05	.05	.61	−.14	.08
Refusing with explanation	.37	−.38	.05	.53	.13	−.15
Coviewing	.18	.03	.00	.01	.79	.06
Total child income	.05	.00	.08	.01	.07	.93
Percent explained variance	19	13	10	08	07	06

NOTE: * = positive loadings, which indicate less control of TV viewing and fewer discussions about advertising.

tion do not primarily load on autonomy factors. Instead, with child's influence and extent of family communication, they are related to Factor 1, which is dominated by parent-child communication variables. In retrospect, this is not entirely surprising since coshopping and concept-orientation certainly involve interchange between parent and child. Factor 2 reflects granting consumption autonomy by yielding to requests, allowing purchase if children pay all or part of the cost or do chores, and permitting independence in product selection. Of three indices with high loadings on Factor 2, only yielding was expected to be primarily related to another tendency (restricting consumption). This may mean that yielding provides a means for children to learn via consumption experience and does not merely reflect an absence of restriction. The loading of total child income on Factor 6 is not inconsistent with prior reasoning, but suggests consumption autonomy may be multidimensional.

Media mediation and restriction of consumption factors are independent, but loadings are generally consistent with prior reasoning. Media mediation in Factor 3 is indicated by control of TV viewing, amount of child's TV viewing, and discussions about advertising (higher scores indicate less mediation). Coviewing, a second type of potential mediation, dominates Factor 5. Finally, Factor 4 variables (e.g., socio-orientation, refusing requests, and refusing with explanation) are indicative of restriction of children's consumption behavior.

Hypotheses Tests

Granting Consumption Autonomy. Although Authoritarian, Rigid Controlling and Authoritative mothers grant less consumption autonomy than Permissive and Neglecting mothers, Hypotheses 1a–1c are not supported, since differences are not significant. (Results of planned comparisons are presented in Table 6.) Covariate results suggest more consumption autonomy is granted to older children and boys and reported child income is directly related to social desirability. Lack of expected income differences sug-

TABLE 6

COMPARISONS ON DEPENDENT VARIABLES ACROSS PARENTAL STYLE

Variables (significant covariates)	Means				
	Cluster 1 (n = 77)	Cluster 2 (n = 100)	Cluster 3 (n = 100)	Cluster 4 (n = 72)	Cluster 5 (n = 75)
	Authoritarian	Permissive	Rigid Controlling	Authoritative	Neglecting
Children's consumption autonomy (f, g)	−.10	.08	−.07	−.12	.18
Total child income (f)	.18	−.05	.03	−.08	−.15
Parent-child communication (f, h)	−.39	.27[ae]	.06[a]	.31[ae]	−.24
Total goals	3.77	4.75[ae]	4.48[a]	5.26[ace]	3.87
Restriction of consumption	.24[bc]	−.25	−.11	.16[b]	.05
Mediation of the media*	.12[cd]	.00[d]	−.21	−.48	.41[bcd]
Coviewing	−.17	.03	−.06	.30[ace]	−.12
Concern about children's advertising	23.38	23.33	23.81	24.51[abe]	22.71
Attitudes toward advertising*	26.86	27.36	27.89[e]	28.14[ae]	26.35

[abcde] Superscripts indicate significant differences: [a] refers to Cluster 1, [b] to Cluster 2, [c] to Cluster 3, [d] to Cluster 4, and [e] to Cluster 5. For example, the third entry under Cluster 2 indicates mean on parent-child communication for Cluster 2 is significantly greater than means for Clusters 1 and 5.
NOTE: Significant ($p \leq 0.10$) covariates are: (f) child's age, (g) child's sex, and (h) social desirability. * = higher scores on mediation of the media, which indicate less mediation, and higher scores on attitudes toward advertising, which indicate less positive attitudes. Significant comparisons are based on the modified Bonferroni procedure in which the critical F value for family wise alpha of 0.10 is $F(1,419) = 4.27$ (Keppel 1982).

gests the need for further examination of this and other aspects of consumption autonomy.

Parent-Child Communication About Consumption. As expected, Authoritatives and Permissives interact more with children, by coshopping, asking children's opinions, and so forth, than do Authoritarian and Neglecting mothers. Their communication scores are also higher than those of Rigid Controlling mothers, but differences are not significant. These results are found even after adjusting for direct relationships with social desirability and child's age. Thus, Hypothesis 2a and Hypothesis 2b are partially supported.

Ward et al. (1977b) did not define what they meant by most mothers having few consumer socialization goals. In this study, mean number of goals ranged from 3.77 to 5.26 (Table 6). Since number of goals was unrelated to social desirability, these levels did not reflect desires to give appropriate responses. As expected, Authoritatives have more goals than all groups except Permissives, who have more goals than Authoritarian and Neglecting, but not Rigid Controlling, mothers. Thus, Hypothesis 2c and Hypothesis 2d are partially supported. Our communication measures do not discriminate between the likely proactive communication efforts of Authoritatives and more reactive communication patterns of Permissives. Still, both groups might be expected to be more involved in communication, since they have more consumer socialization goals. In general, other groups of mothers are less apt to set goals or interact with children to achieve them. Unexpectedly, Rigid Controlling mothers have more goals and interact more than Authoritarians.

Restriction of Consumption. Hypothesis 3a and Hypothesis 3b are partially supported. Although Authoritatives' scores are generally higher than those of other groups, their restriction of consumption is only significantly greater than Permissives. Authoritarians are more restrictive than Rigid Controlling and Permissive mothers. This contrasts with the absence of differences on consumption autonomy and indicates Permissives may impose fewer restrictions even though they do not allow complete consumption freedom. Low restriction levels for Rigid Controlling mothers are contrary to Hypothesis 3c.

Mediation of Media Exposure. In partial support of Hypothesis 3a, Authoritatives do more to mediate effects of media exposure than do Permissive, Neglecting, and Authoritarian groups, but not Rigid Controlling mothers. Rigid Controlling mothers engage in more media mediation than Neglecting (Hypothesis 3c) and Authoritarian mothers (contrary to Hypothesis 3b) but do not differ in this respect from other groups. Unexpectedly, Permissives are higher on mediation than Neglecting mothers. Authoritatives also coview more than all groups except Permissives. Surprisingly, Authoritarian, Rigid Controlling, Neglecting, and Permissive mothers do not differ in coviewing.

TABLE 7

COMPARISONS ON ASSOCIATED CHARACTERISTICS: MOTHERS' CONSUMER BEHAVIORS AND VALUES

	Means					
Variables (significant covariates)	Cluster 1 (n = 77) Authoritarian	Cluster 2 (n = 100) Permissive	Cluster 3 (n = 100) Rigid Controlling	Cluster 4 (n = 72) Authoritative	Cluster 5 (n = 75) Neglecting	F
Newspaper ads as sources of information	3.48	3.47	3.49	3.64	3.39	.74
Relatives as sources of information	2.84	3.07	2.84	3.08	3.00	1.17
Friends as sources of information	3.04	3.20	3.09	3.42^{a**}	3.13	2.04**
Salespeople as sources of information	3.25	3.09	3.25	3.24	3.16	.55
Consumer guide books as sources of information	2.65	3.04	3.26^{a*}	3.47^{a*e**}	2.93	4.68*
Multiple store shopping (f)	12.01	12.40	12.21	12.40	11.86	1.08
Materialism (f)	13.28	13.07	12.66	12.07	13.40^{d**}	2.08**
Economic motivation for consumption	20.64	21.16^{e*}	21.01^{e*}	$21.83^{a*c**e*}$	19.99	7.74*
Social motivation for consumption	9.00	8.20	9.03	8.46	9.27^{b**}	2.65*
Favor governmental control	11.23^{c*}	10.75	10.12	10.60	11.13^{c*}	3.05*

[abcde] Superscripts show significant differences (* = $p < 0.05$, ** = $p < 0.10$): [a] refers to Cluster 1, [b] to Cluster 2, [c] to Cluster 3, [d] to Cluster 4, and [e] to Cluster 5. For example, the third entry under Cluster 4 indicates mean on friends as sources of information for Cluster 4 is greater than mean for Cluster 1.
NOTE: (f) indicates social desirability is a significant ($p \leq 0.10$) covariate.

Authoritatives have more concern about children's ads and less positive attitudes toward ads in general than Authoritarian and Neglecting mothers do. They are also more concerned than Permissives. This is consistent with Authoritatives' active mediation efforts and partially supports Hypothesis 3d. However, absence of differences among Authoritarians and Rigid Controlling, Neglecting, and Permissive groups is contrary to Hypothesis 3e. Hypothesis 3f is partially supported in that Rigid Controlling mothers have less positive attitudes toward ads than Neglecting mothers do.

Associated Characteristics

As Ward et al. (1977b) note, even if parents do not try to socialize children, children can be influenced if they model parental consumer behaviors and values. In examining these variables, no social desirability bias was found. MANOVA results (Wilks's lambda = 0.856; $p = 0.001$) indicated univariate analysis was warranted (see Table 7).

Authoritarians rely less on consumer guide books and favor market control more than Rigid Controlling mothers do; they also rely less on consumer guide books and friends for information and have less economic motivation for consumption than Authoritatives do. This may reflect their anxiety (feeling unable to deal with market forces, they may want government help). Neglecting mothers are less economically motivated toward consumption than Rigid Controlling or Permissive mothers and are more socially motivated than Permissives. Neglecting mothers also favor government control more than Rigid Controlling mothers do.

Authoritatives use consumer information more but are less materialistic than Neglecting mothers and have more economic motivation for consumption than all groups except Permissives. Authoritatives rely more on economic sources of information (e.g., guarantees), sales, friends, firms' reputations, and consumer guide books when making purchases. This suggests an information usage or external search continuum, with Authoritatives and Authoritarian/Neglecting mothers at high and low extremes; however, lack of differences between Permissives and Rigid Controlling mothers makes their relative positions difficult to determine.

Groups did not differ on intervally scored demographics (Wilks's lambda = 0.885; $p = 0.175$). On other demographics, results were significant only for mothers' educations (chi square = 17.13; $p = 0.001$). Authoritarians are less educated than other groups. This may explain partially their limited use of market

TABLE 8

QUALITATIVE SUMMARY OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PARENTAL STYLES

Variable	Authoritarian	Permissive	Rigid Controlling	Authoritative	Neglecting
			General parenting dispositions		
Warmth	Lower	Higher	Lower	Higher	Lowest
Restrictiveness	Higher	Lowest	Higher	Highest	Lower
Anxious emotional involvement	Highest	Lower	Lowest	Lower	Lower
			Consumer socialization tendencies and orientations		
Parent-child communication	Lower than all but Neglecting	Higher than Authoritarian and Neglecting	Higher than Authoritarian	Higher than Authoritarian and Neglecting	Lower than Permissive and Authoritative
Total goals	Lower than all but Neglecting	Higher than Authoritarian and Neglecting	Higher than Authoritarian	Higher than all but Permissive	Lower than all but Authoritarian
Restriction of Consumption	Higher than Permissive and Neglecting	Lower than Authoritarian and Authoritative		Higher than Permissive	Lower than Authoritarian
Mediation of the media	Lower than Rigid Controlling and Authoritative	Lower than Authoritative and higher than Neglecting	Higher than Authoritarian and Neglecting	Higher than all but Rigid Controlling	Lower than all but Authoritarian
Coviewing	Lower than Authoritative		Lower than Authoritative	Higher than all but Permissive	Lower than Authoritative
Concern about children's advertising	Lower than Authoritative	Lower than Authoritative		Higher than all but Rigid Controlling	Lower than Authoritative
Attitudes toward advertising	More positive than Authoritative		Less positive than Neglecting	Less positive than Authoritarian and Neglecting	More positive than Rigid Controlling and Authoritative
			Mother's consumer behavior and values		
Friends as information sources	Lower than Authoritative			Higher than Authoritarian	
Consumer guide books as information sources	Lower than Rigid Controlling and Authoritative		Higher than Authoritarian	Higher than Authoritarian and Neglectng	Lower than Authoritative
Materialism				Lower than Neglecting	Higher than Authoritative
Economic motivation for consumption	Lower than Authoritative	Higher than Neglecting	Higher than Neglecting	Higher than all but Permissive	Lower than all but Authoritarian
Social motivation for consumption		Lower than Neglecting			Higher than Permissive
Favor government control	Higher than Rigid Controlling		Lower than Authoritarian and Neglecting		Higher than Rigid Controlling
			Mother's characteristics		
Mother's education	Lower	Higher	Higher	Higher	Higher

information and greater belief in the need for government help.

DISCUSSION

A qualitative summary of results is presented in Table 8. In contrast to earlier views, these findings (see also Table 6) suggest that a number of mothers have specific consumer socialization goals and some (e.g., Authoritatives) are purposeful in consumer socialization efforts—as evidenced by interaction with children, media mediation, and so forth. This study also demonstrates the value of parental style as a basis for explaining differences in parents' consumer socialization tendencies.

For example, compared to Authoritarian and Neglecting mothers, Authoritatives have more consumer goals, are more active in consumer communication and media mediation efforts, and are less positive about advertising. These differences are consistent with parental style theory, which suggests that Authoritatives have the most defined expectations for children's development and are most active in shaping learning experiences and discussing children's opinions. Authoritatives are most concerned about how children are exposed to the world because Authoritatives are most attuned to maturation level and want to guide children's development. By comparison, Neglecting mothers are generally detached from such matters, and Authoritarians avoid intimacy, discourage communication, and do little to teach children to adapt to outside influences. Authoritatives' general preoccupation with influencing children's development makes it understandable that they have more consumer goals and coview more than Rigid Controlling mothers. Warmer dispositions may lead them to see coviewing as a potentially important family-oriented activity. Theory suggests Permissives regard themselves as resources, want children exposed to the world with minimal interference, and are less apt to provide direction or control than Authoritatives. Thus, understandably, Authoritatives restrict consumption, mediate media exposure, and express concern about ads more than Permissives do, despite having similar levels of autonomy, interaction, and consumer goals.

Compared to Authoritarians, Permissives have more consumer socialization goals, communicate more about consumption, and are less restrictive. This follows the general theoretical view that suggests Permissives' intentions to serve children's desires make it likely that they will try to promote consumer (or any other type of) learning by communication rather than via control, intervention, or noncompliance with children's requests. Permissives also interact more with children and have more consumer goals than Neglecting mothers do. Limited restrictions on consumption by both groups are consistent with their general lack of restrictiveness; it is less clear why Permissives are more active in media mediation than Neglecting mothers, unless it is a reflection of differences in their consumer socialization goals. Contrary to expectations, in this sample at least, differences in general parenting dispositions of Permissive and Rigid Controlling mothers do not extend into the realm of consumer socialization tendencies and orientations.

The same is true with respect to Neglecting and Authoritarian mothers, although parental style theory suggested there would be no differences between these groups in consumer related interaction or number of consumer goals; absence of other differences may be due to indirect connections between education and consumer socialization dispositions (Neglecting mothers are more educated than Authoritarians). As anticipated, Neglecting and Rigid Controlling mothers do not differ in consumer related interaction or number of consumer goals. However, Neglecting mothers do evidence less media mediation than Rigid Controlling mothers; this is congruent with their generally less restrictive dispositions and lack of interest in children's socialization. Their less positive views on advertising are unexpected but may be linked to their more favorable views of government control in the marketplace.

As anticipated, due to greater anxiety, Authoritarians restrict consumption more than Rigid Controlling mothers do. This follows our earlier reasoning that suggested general restrictive dispositions and greater anxious emotional involvement result in more restrictive overt behavior by Authoritarians. However, Authoritarians are less likely, rather than equally likely (as expected), than Rigid Controlling mothers to have as many consumer goals, to interact on consumer matters, and to mediate the media. It may be that greater anxious emotional involvement limits these consumer socialization tendencies and/or these tendencies indirectly reflect Authoritarians' lower education level and lesser tendency to use available consumer information sources.

It might be argued, contrary to certain hypotheses, that there are theoretical bases for expecting no differences in some consumer socialization tendencies. For example, Permissives might be expected to be involved in as much (not less) communication about consumption as Authoritatives, since these groups do not differ on overall warmth. Moreover, these results support the notion that parental styles at least partially underlie consumer socialization differences. Note, for example, that differences in consumer related interaction (i.e., communication) generally mimic what might be expected from differences in warmth in the parenting dispositions portion of Table 8 (e.g., Authoritatives and Permissives > Authoritarians). Similarities among general socialization and consumer socialization tendencies are also evident in restrictions on consumption (e.g., Authoritatives and Authoritarians > Permissives).

EXTENSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This research can be extended in several useful ways. First, replication in other geographic areas may provide insights on sizes of parental segments and correlates of parental style. Second, fathers' styles and children's views on parental behavior should be examined. Third, longitudinal research is needed. Our results suggest that only three of nine dependent vari-

ables—children's consumption autonomy, total child income, and parent-child communication—are related to age (see Table 6). This is consistent with recent findings (Roberts, Block, and Block 1984) indicating continuity in parents' general socialization attitudes, values, and goals, but increasing emphasis on independence, as children grow from three to 12 years old. (However, continuity and change in consumer socialization tendencies cannot be determined in a cross-sectional study.) Fourth, investigation of other parental consumer socialization behaviors can provide a more detailed picture of how parents grant autonomy, communicate with children, and restrict and monitor children's behaviors. It is also possible that other consumer related variables may intervene between parental style and, for example, children's consumption autonomy. Finally, long term effects on parents and children should be examined. Baumrind (1971) found children's behaviors were related to parental style and Crosby and Grossbart (1984b) suggested consumer behavior effects of different styles. Yet, although parents see themselves as responding to children's requests, developmental changes, personal needs to mold behavior, and so forth, research may show reciprocal influences between parents and children. This mutual influence is apt to interest consumer educators, public policy makers, and marketers.

This study suggests mothers' views of the marketplace are related to orientations that can be profiled in terms of attitudes and behaviors, associated characteristics, and psychographics. Finding few background differences may indicate parental style cuts across demographic boundaries. Conversely, it may be due to sampling from schools in one city versus schools from across Nebraska (Crosby and Grossbart 1984b) or preschools in Berkley (Baumrind 1971). Still, these studies indicate mothers can be grouped by attitudinal and behavioral tendencies.

This study has communications implications. For example, to provide a means of adapting to Authoritatives' media mediation efforts, appeals to mothers about consumer education or nutrition might be included in children's messages. In other cases, messages could provide a springboard for family discussions, by adapting to Authoritatives' and Permissives' tendencies to communicate with children. Such messages might stress how parents could impart consumer information (safety features, claim evaluations, and so forth). These communication efforts are unlikely to negatively affect other parental groups, since they are less apt to be involved in media mediation or be exposed to these messages. Our results also suggest all parental style groups are relatively negative about ads. Authoritatives are most negative and the most active in consumer socialization. Research may reveal they favor private advocacy groups such as Action for Children's Television.

This study provides evidence of differences in consumer socialization planning and behavior that can be traced to general socialization theory. Regardless of plans or efforts to convey consumer concepts, parents are apt to vary in responses to consumer programs directed at children. Parental style provides one explanation for this variation. The challenge is to use research to shed more light on the conflicting needs and expectations of alternative parental styles.

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