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Abstract	The main objective of this chapter is to examine the changing views of socialization as they shape the task of parenting and define the standards of child well-being. Socialization is defined as the process by which children acquire the social, emotional, and cognitive skills needed to function in the social community. In turn, well-being is defined as a form of cognitive, affective, and social growth during human development that leads to a positive adjustment to given societal circumstances (e.g., rules, norms, and societal expectations). In this sense, well-being involves self-regulatory processes that help maintain and regain our normal level of subjective well-being in the face of developmental challenges. The chapter begins with the description of classical models of socialization that see children as being shaped by unidirectional influences from significant caregivers. Then it reviews a	

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Parenting Styles and Child Well-being

86

María José Rodrigo, Sonia Byrne, and Beatriz Rodríguez Au1

Abstract

The main objective of this chapter is to examine the changing views of socialization as they shape the task of parenting and define the standards of child well-being. Socialization is defined as the process by which children acquire the social, emotional, and cognitive skills needed to function in the social community. In turn, well-being is defined as a form of cognitive, affective, and social growth during human development that leads to a positive adjustment to given societal circumstances (e.g., rules, norms, and societal expectations). In this sense, well-being involves self-regulatory processes that help maintain and regain our normal level of subjective well-being in the face of developmental challenges. The chapter begins with the description of classical models of socialization that see children as being shaped by unidirectional influences from significant caregivers. Then it reviews a number of critical considerations that place the traditional models under more transcultural grounds and provides some extensions to the notion of parental control. Next, the chapter discusses the bidirectional models in parent-child relationships that underscore the influence of children's views and actions on their parents and describes a new integrative account on parenting styles and child outcomes. The chapter ends by illustrating how recent family policies converge with the new socialization approaches proposed by scholars in the field. It seems that laymen, researchers, and policy-makers are, at last, endorsing a view of positive parenting that places the focus on the development of parent-child relationships to optimize the child's development and well-being.

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86.1 Introduction

The content of this chapter invites the reader to travel to the very core of our societies: the socialization of children. Socialization is the process by which children acquire the social, emotional, and cognitive skills needed to function in the social community. It is also the means that every society uses to develop individuals who are well adapted to its norms and values, thereby assuring its continuity. These two aspects – the child's acquisition of skills and the adherence to society's standards – are the main goals to be achieved during the socialization process. Parents and caregivers in general have traditionally been entitled to undertake the tutelage of children during this learning process. Therefore, each society carefully delineates the parenting task to properly achieve the goals of socialization. As Lloyd deMause (2002) posits it, the historical evolution of child-rearing practices reflects the Emotional Life of Nations, with their horrors and virtues depicted in the task of bringing up children. Incredibly enough, throughout history, the child has not always been placed at the very center of the socialization scene. On the contrary, until very recently, societies disregarded the child's basic developmental needs, instead placing their priorities on the defense of the caregiver's domination and control over the child's behaviors and wishes.

Constraining the analysis to the present situation, most parents will express the view that parenting has changed substantially in the past 20 years (Halpenny et al. 2009; Moreno et al. 2011). In modern societies, the ubiquitous presence of the patriarchal model of parenting, in which the father dominates the scene, has been replaced by the coexistence of a diversity of family forms in which parental authority is shared between father and mother or solely concentrated in the maternal role. Moreover, there is a clear tendency to redefine parental authority in terms of parents' responsibility for the well-being of their children. As a result, parents perceive an increase in the degrees of parental responsibility and pressure exerted on them, while noting a reduction in levels of parental control. To some extent, today's parents believe that they have less room to influence their children than their own parents had in the past. Likewise, parents harbor concerns about the physical and psychological well-being of their children, their educational outcomes, and their future. In the child-rearing goals identified by parents, characteristics related to prosocial behaviors, self-direction, and autonomy are emphasized as being the most important things to teach children rather than just blind obedience and compliance with norms. Enjoyment of the parental role is associated with the sense of fulfillment and achievement parents experience as a result of the healthy and successful development of their children.

The main objective of this chapter is to show how scholars' views of socialization have changed progressively to the point where they now match the current layman's description of the parenting task. More specifically, the chapter's content revolves around the changing views of socialization and the consequences of these changes on child well-being. Given the variety of conceptualizations of well-being (Morrow 2010), the authors have taken a broad view of the term, defining it as a form of cognitive, affective, and social growth during human

development that leads to a positive adjustment to the environment (Staudinger and Kunzmann 2005). Positive adjustment refers to the adjustment to given societal circumstances (e.g., rules, norms, and societal expectations) and involves self-regulatory processes that help maintain and regain our normal level of subjective well-being in the face of developmental challenges.

The chapter begins with the description of classical models of socialization that see children as being shaped by unidirectional influences from significant caregivers. These views describe the socialization process as the intergenerational transmission of beliefs and behaviors that children must imitate to ensure the preservation of cultural values. After examining a number of critical considerations and extensions of the classical models of socialization, the chapter moves progressively to examine bidirectional models of interpersonal influence in parent-child relationships, underscoring the influence of children's views and actions on their parents. Along the way, new socialization goals are proposed as indicators of child well-being that place the emphasis on child agency and the empowerment of capacities. The chapter ends by illustrating how recent family policies being developed in the European context converge with the new socialization approaches proposed by scholars in the field. In particular, family policies on positive parenting proposed by the Council of Europe recognize the crucial role played by parent-child interactions in shaping a family environment that maximizes the child's active participation and respects children's rights.

86.2 Traditional Approaches to Socialization

Researchers have been interested in how parents influence the development of children's cognitive and social skills since the early decades of the previous century. One of the most robust approaches to this area is the study of parenting styles. Parenting is a complex task that includes many specific behaviors that work both individually and in concert to influence child outcomes, and as a result it may be misleading to look at any specific behavior in isolation. Thus, it is assumed that specific parenting practices are less important in predicting child well-being than is the broad pattern of parenting. In fact, the identification and investigation of styles of parenting have been a significant part of socialization research since its origin (Table 86.1).

Alfred Baldwin (1955) provided one of the most important early attempts to describe systematic patterns of child-rearing. He identified two sets of parental child-rearing dimensions that were related to differences in child outcomes: emotional warmth versus hostility and detachment versus involvement in the parenting task. Subsequent work by Schaefer (1959), who proposed love versus hostility and autonomy versus control dimensions, and by Sears, Maccoby, and Levin (1957) and Becker (1964), who coincided closely in proposing warmth and permissiveness/strictness dimensions, showed a remarkable similarity in the underlying dimensions proposed. A consensus also began to emerge around the association between parenting styles and child outcomes. According to these approaches, the profile of

t1.1 **Table 86.1** Classical theories and dimensions of parenting styles

t1.2 Theories	Dimensions
t1.3 Baldwin (1955)	Warmth/hostility
t1.4	Emotional involvement/detachment
t1.5 Schaefer (1959)	Love/hostility
t1.6	Autonomy/control
t1.7 Sears et al. (1957)	Warmth/hostility
t1.8 Becker (1964)	Permissiveness/restrictiveness
t1.9 Hoffman (1970)	Induction
t1.10	Power assertion
t1.11	Love withdrawal
t1.12 Baumrind (1967, 1971)	Authoritative
t1.13 Maccoby and Martin (1983)	Authoritarian
t1.14	Permissive/indulgence
t1.15	Uninvolved/neglecting

112 a model child was described as socialized, cooperative, friendly, loyal, emotionally
113 stable, cheerful, honest, straightforward, and dependable. The ultimate goal of
114 socialization was to develop well-behaved individuals and citizens who were
115 respectful of societal norms. To achieve these goals, parents were to be warm,
116 establish clear, rational guidelines to follow the norms while allowing the child
117 autonomy within those boundaries, and clearly communicate both their expecta-
118 tions and the reasons underlying them (Baldwin 1955; Sears et al. 1957).
119 Martin Hoffman's (1960, 1963, 1984, 2000) theory of the effects of parental
120 discipline on children's prosocial behavior has been influential for a quarter of
121 a century. Hoffman distinguished between three patterns of parental discipline:
122 induction, power assertion, and love withdrawal. Parents who use *induction* explain
123 to their children why a behavior is wrong and should be changed by emphasizing
124 how it affects other people. Thus, induction involves techniques that generate
125 a feeling of guilt for the harm caused that drives the empathy and willingness to
126 repair the damage to the other, which in turn motivates prosocial behavior in
127 subsequent social situations. According to Hoffman, it is not only empathy but
128 also empathy-based guilt (wherein the child not only empathizes with the victim's
129 distress but is aware of his responsibility for it) that mediates the relationship
130 between parental discipline and children's prosocial behavior.
131 The alternative disciplinary styles, *power assertion* and *love withdrawal*, are not
132 positively associated with children's prosocial behavior because they do not elicit
133 children's empathy. Parents who employ power assertion use their superior power
134 to control children's behavior by means of forceful comments, physical restraint,
135 corporal punishment, and withdrawal of privileges. Thus, power assertion involves
136 techniques that generate fear, anger, resentment, or defiance of the figures of
137 authority. The expression of large amounts of power toward the child without any
138 explanation (e.g., shouting at the child or sending a child to his or her room) will
139 control behavior while the child is in the presence of the adult, but will not cause the

child to internalize the desired norms (Hoffman 1960). In studies analyzing demands using power without explanation versus explained uses of power, unexplained power assertion was found to correlate positively with child aggressiveness and transgressions when a child was among peers and away from adult power (Hoffman 1960, 1963, 1984). Later studies have shown that the use of corporal punishment, which is part of the power assertion technique, seems to be effective in securing short-term compliance but does not serve to enhance the development of children's internal controls, which are more important to long-term socialization than immediate compliance (Gershoff 2002). Finally, parents who use love withdrawal tend to withhold attention and decrease their signs of affection or approval after a child misbehaves. These techniques may create anxiety and stress over a loss of love, thereby undermining the children's confidence that they are loved by their parents. In conclusion, induction techniques are the ones that work best over the long run to help children understand and internalize the nature of parental norms.

By far, the most influential model of parenting style was developed by Diana Baumrind (1971) and complemented by Maccoby and Martin (1983). This model captures two important dimensions of parenting: parental responsiveness and parental demandingness. Parental responsiveness (also referred to as parental warmth or supportiveness) refers to "the extent to which parents intentionally foster individuality, self-regulation, and self-assertion by being attuned, supportive, and acquiescent to children's special needs and demands" (Baumrind 1991, p. 62). Parental demandingness (also referred to as behavioral control) refers to "the claims parents make on children to become integrated into the family whole, by their maturity demands, supervision, disciplinary efforts and willingness to confront the child who disobeys" (Baumrind 1991, pp. 61-62). The two dimensions, when crossed, yield four parenting styles. *Authoritative* parents are both responsive and demanding. They set clear, reasonable standards for responsible behavior that are consistent with children's developing abilities, are firm in their enforcement, and provide explanations for their positions. They are also kind, warm, and responsive to children's needs and will negotiate their expectations. *Authoritarian* parents are demanding but not responsive. These parents place high values on obedience to rules, discourage give-and-take between parents and children, and do not take their child's needs into consideration. *Permissive* or indulgent parents are responsive but not demanding. These parents are warm and accepting and tolerant of the child's impulses. They also make few demands on the child for mature behavior, do not use much punishment, and avoid exerting their authority. More recently, permissive parents have been distinguished from *uninvolved-neglecting* parents, who also do not make many demands on their children, primarily because they are disengaged and thus are neither demanding nor responsive (Baumrind 1989).

Research based on this model has shown that parenting styles have a significant impact on children's and adolescents' development in many domains (Baumrind 1991, 1996; Dusek and Danko 1994; Fletcher et al. 1995; Gray and Steinberg 1999; Lamborn et al. 1991; Maccoby and Martin 1983; Steinberg 2001). Authoritative parenting has consistently been associated with a wide range of positive child and

adolescent outcomes, including better academic performance, increased competence, autonomy, self-esteem, more advanced moral development, less deviance, less engagement in drug and alcohol use, less juvenile delinquency or other antisocial behavior, less anxiety and depression, and a more adaptive orientation to peers. The benefits of authoritative parenting are evident as early as the preschool years and continue throughout adolescence and into early adulthood. Just as authoritative parents appear to be able to balance their conformity demands with their respect for their children's individuality, so adolescents from authoritative homes appear to be able to balance the claims of external conformity and achievement demands with their need for individuation and autonomy. Finally, encouraging independence in children and adolescents is linked with more self-reliance, better problem solving, and improved emotional health.

By contrast, children and adolescents whose parents are uninvolved perform the worst in all domains. In turn, children and adolescents from authoritarian families tend to perform moderately well in school and not be involved in problematic behavior, but they have poorer social skills, lower self-esteem, and higher levels of depression. Children and adolescents from indulgent homes are more likely to be involved in problematic behavior and perform less well in school, but they have higher self-esteem, better social skills, and lower levels of depression. To conclude, parents who provide their children with a high level of warmth and emotional availability paired with moderate restrictiveness in the form of reasonable limits, while at the same time allowing them a reasonable autonomy to explore the environment, have children who are more competent than those exposed to other parenting styles. Both authoritarian and permissive parenting may undermine children's internalization of parental values and norms because they shield children from opportunities to struggle with and assume responsibility for their own behavior. The authoritarian parent does so by preventing the child from taking the initiative. The permissive parent does so by not demanding that the child confront the consequences of his or her own actions.

86.3 Critical Appraisals of the Parenting Styles

After accumulating much evidence on parenting styles, two main critical points have been raised (e.g., Darling and Steinberg 1993; Grusec and Goodnow 1994). First, parenting styles must be distinguished from parenting practices. Parenting styles can be understood as attitudes toward the child that are communicated to the child and create an emotional climate in which parents' behavior is expressed. Parenting styles also set up the appropriate domain of the parents' social judgments (Smetana 1995). Thus, authoritarian parents have been found to moralize social-conventional acts in their judgments and justifications; for instance, they treat conventional transgressions such as cursing and putting elbows on the table as prescriptive acts that are obligatory and universally wrong. Authoritarian parents have also been found to be more likely than other parents to treat personal issues (such as choice of clothes and hairstyle and how to spend allowance money) and

friendship issues (such as choice of friends) as conventional and legitimately subject to their authority, rather than as personal and up to the child. Permissive parents, in contrast, are more likely than other parents to construct broad boundaries of personal discretion for their children and treat a range of issues, including personal and friendship issues, as personal for the child. By contrast, parenting practices encompass what parents actually do (e.g., spank, hug) in concrete child-rearing situations. In this sense, within a given style, parents may employ a variety of practices when dealing with their children to meet the varying demands of situations. For instance, the same parent may use different practices in situations where children act aggressively toward others, display signs of withdrawn social behavior, or violate conventional rules in social situations. Variability of practices across situations (flexibility) is considered a positive feature of parenting since it involves taking into account the situational constraints of the child's behavior.

The second criticism is that the parenting style approach does not take into account the potential impact of class and culture on the effects of parenting actions. Authoritative parenting predicts good psychosocial outcomes and less problematic behavior for adolescents in all ethnic groups studied (African-, Asian-, European-, and Hispanic-American children), but it is associated with academic performance only among European Americans and, to a lesser extent, Hispanic Americans (Steinberg et al. 1995, 1992). A remarkable finding is that the authoritarian parenting style, which has been associated with negative adolescent adjustment among samples consisting primarily of white males, may be related to better behavioral outcomes among black youth (e.g., Magnus et al. 1999). Thus, unilateral parent decision-making, which may be conceptualized as a form of authoritarian parenting that has been related to lower psychosocial development (i.e., self-esteem, self-reliance, and work orientation) among white youth (Lamborn et al. 1996), has been demonstrated to be related to decreased involvement in deviant activity among black youth. Black youth have also been found to report more positive emotions in response to parental control behaviors (i.e., higher feelings of concern and caring by their parents, lower feelings of anger and manipulation) than white/non-Hispanic youth (Mason et al. 2004). Therefore, parental control is thought among black families to be important for the development of obedience and respect, which are highly valued qualities, whereas among white youth, high parental control may be seen as intrusive and inappropriate and may restrict psychosocial development. In the same vein, disagreement between couples about child-rearing matters and low levels of mother-child openness were associated with internalizing problems only for European-American children, not for African-American children (Vendlinski et al. 2006). It is possible that compared to European-American children, African-American children are more likely to interpret their parents' disagreements as a sign that their parents are concerned about their adjustment, and therefore the existence of these conflicts are less detrimental to their mental health.

How can the variety of cultural meanings in the parenting styles and their differential impact on child outcomes be explained? Super and Harkness developed a theoretical approach, based on the notion of the "developmental niche," to address the origins of parents' belief systems in many different cultures, their expressions in

parenting styles, and their consequences for children's well-being (Super and Harkness 1986, 2002; Harkness and Super 1992, 2005). In the developmental niche framework, the culturally constructed environment of the child is conceptualized as consisting of three components or subsystems: (1) the physical and social settings in which the child lives, (2) culturally regulated customs of child care and child-rearing, and (3) the psychology of the caretakers or parental "ethnotheories." In particular, parents' cultural belief systems or parental ethnotheories are the nexus through which elements of the larger culture are filtered, being an important source of both parenting styles and the organization of daily life for children and families. As such, they are powerful mental tools that shape the actual lives of children and point to the desirable outcomes that society should promote.

Super and Harkness endorsed a comparative cross-cultural perspective in their studies, engaging researchers from Western and non-Western countries in order to make apparent the patterns of beliefs, parenting styles, and living arrangements that are both shared and culture-specific (Harkness et al. 2007, 2009). In their accounts of settings of daily life in the families and descriptions of customs and parenting styles in several cultures, the consistency found between those mental tools or ethnotheories and the selection of particular living arrangements and learning environments in the family was remarkable, even within a supposedly monolithic Western or non-Western environment. For instance, the US, Korean, Italian, Spanish, and Dutch mothers viewed the development of their young infants through distinctively different cultural lenses. The US and Korean mothers are mainly concerned about their infants' cognitive development, the Italian and Spanish mothers are concerned about their social development, and the Dutch mothers are concerned about their children reaching a status of calm, health, and well-being through a regular and restful routine. Their ethnotheories of early care and development assigned differential importance to the acquisition of various kinds of competence, including cognitive competence, socioemotional intelligence, and self-regulation of the state of arousal. This, in turn, implied different activities in the family, different roles for mothers, and a different selection of child outcomes. In sum, this theory provides a reasonable answer to the question put forward earlier about how parenting styles involve a cultural meaning.

86.4 Parental Control Revisited

One of the important dimensions of parenting styles is parental control. Further developments to Baumrind's and Hoffman's typologies came from the work of Brian Barber (1996) on that topic. In addition to differing on responsiveness and demandingness, the parenting styles described by Barber also differ in the extent to which they are characterized by a third dimension: parental control. Thus, parental control can be divided into two types: *psychological* and *behavioral*. Psychological control refers to parenting behaviors that attempt to control children and youths by taking advantage of their emotional and psychological needs. It includes attempting to exert control by making them feel guilty or ashamed, also known as guilt induction.

It also includes behaviors that communicate a withdrawal or threat of withdrawal of parental love, including rejection and coldness. In contrast to psychological control, behavioral control encompasses behaviors such as supervision, setting limits, and enforcing household rules and curfews. Compared to Baumrind's approach, one key difference between authoritarian and authoritative parenting can be found in the dimension of psychological control. Both authoritarian and authoritative parents place high demands on their children and expect their children to behave appropriately and obey parental rules. However, although authoritative and authoritarian parents are equally high in behavioral control, authoritative parents tend to be low in psychological control, while authoritarian parents tend to be high. Authoritarian parents expect their children to accept their judgments, values, and goals without questioning. In contrast, authoritative parents are more open to give-and-take with their children and make greater use of explanations.

Psychological control is thought to produce negative outcomes because it coerces children and youths into compliance, inhibiting their psychological autonomy as discrete human beings and potentially harming the core self that is crucial for developing a healthy self-image. Thus, psychological control is theoretically linked to more internalizing distress, including anxiety and depression (Barber 1996), as well as lower self-esteem (Barber and Harmon 2002). By contrast, behavioral control produces well-adjusted children and youths by providing "a regulating structure" (Barber et al. 2005, p. 20) within which children and youths develop self-regulatory strategies. Behavior-controlling parents monitor their children's activities, set reasonable rules for their children to follow, and enforce those rules in a way that is not threatening to the child's autonomy. Thus, behavioral control is assumed to increase self-regulation and reduce externalizing problems such as drug use, truancy, and antisocial behavior (Barber 2002; Crouter and Head 2002). However, high levels of behavioral control also have been linked to negative effects (Galambos et al. 2003). An important factor here is probably the adolescent's interpretation of behavioral control. Attempts to exert control in personal or friendship domains may be interpreted as intrusive or even psychologically controlling, yielding negative outcomes. In other domains, such as conventional and moral domains, adolescents are more likely to view parents as having legitimate control, and as a result they are less likely to disobey the parental norms (Smetana 2000). Therefore, researchers need to be cautious about concluding that a clear distinction can be drawn between behavioral and psychological control, with each having different effects on children's and adolescents' social and emotional well-being.

Two forms of psychological control, *overprotective parenting* (e.g., encouraging dependence, constraining behavior) and *critical/rejecting parenting* (withholding love, making the child feel unlovable), have received more attention. Although both have been negatively linked to child adjustment (Barber et al. 1994; Rubin and Coplan 2004), there has been scant research on their determinants. It has been suggested that psychologically controlling parents are not acting as objective or neutral socializers so much as protecting their own position in relation to the child (Barber and Harmon 2002). Their own needs, feelings, and well-being seem to be of

primary concern, rather than those of the child. Attention has begun to focus on the nature of this concern. Soenens, Vansteenkiste, Luyten, Duriez, and Goossens (2005) have investigated the role of parental perfectionism. Perfectionists have overly critical self-evaluations and excessively high standards. Perfectionist parents are likely to project these high standards onto their children and feel critical of their children when they are not met. Consistent with this idea, in a study of late adolescent girls, parents' perfectionism was associated with psychological control (Soenens et al. 2005). In addition to projecting high standards onto their children, perfectionist parents, with their excessively high standards for self-evaluation, are likely to be vulnerable to emotions related to self-evaluation, such as shame (Tangney 2002). Shame is about the worth of the self in the eyes of others. In the context of parent-child relationships, parents' susceptibility to feelings of shame may reflect their anxiety arising from the threat of rejection by others, leading to worry and overprotective parenting, or alternatively it may shift the self-blame outward, leading to anger/hostility and critical/rejecting parenting. In both cases, parental susceptibility to shame may negatively affect the child's intrapersonal and interpersonal functioning.

Another topic that has recently received attention is the contribution of *disclosure*, or adolescents' spontaneous recounting of their whereabouts to parents. An assumption made in previous studies on parental control was that parents obtained knowledge of their adolescents' activities and associations with peers through active behavioral control and surveillance. Recent research has shown, however, that parents acquire this knowledge primarily through adolescents' willingness to disclose the information to their parents (Kerr and Stattin 2000; Stattin and Kerr 2000). In fact, adolescents who disclose more to their parents view their parents as more trusting of them (Kerr et al. 1999). Why do some adolescents tend to disclose and others do not? The answer lies in the parent-child relationship. Parents of adolescents who disclose a lot of information about their daily lives seldom react negatively (with sarcasm, judgment, or ridicule) to their children's spontaneous disclosure, and these adolescents do not feel overly controlled by their parents (Kerr and Stattin 2000). Further, whereas secrecy has been associated with a poor parent-child relationship and adjustment (Finkenauer et al. 2005), disclosure is associated with greater parental responsiveness and behavioral control (Soenens et al. 2006), more authoritative parenting, and less adolescent involvement in disapproved leisure activities (Darling et al. 2006). Full disclosure was associated with better relationships with parents and a less depressed mood; lying was associated with more parental behavioral control over personal issues and poorer relationships with fathers (Smetana et al. 2009). Nondisclosure was primarily due to concerns about parental disapproval, claims that acts were personal or not harmful, or a combination of the two. When concerned about parental disapproval, older adolescents fully disclosed less (and lied somewhat more) than younger adolescents. The above results imply that advice on parenting adolescents needs to go beyond the suggestion that rules should be set and compliance monitored using direct methods of control to include more indirect ways for opening up the channels of communication in the family.

86.5 Children as Interpreters of Parental Messages

In the tradition of parenting styles and child-rearing practices, the move toward studying the nature and impact of parents' interpretation of child behavior has been stronger than the study of children's interpretation of parental behavior. And yet a significant shift to the children's side – insofar as they can be seen as "consumers" of parenting practices – is required in order to better understand the process of socialization. In this regard, few studies have paid attention to the positive or negative quality of children's evaluations of parenting styles. In an early study, Siegal and Cowen (1984) presented participants between the ages of 5 and 19 with descriptions of five disruptive behaviors and subsequent maternal disciplinary techniques. The maternal child-rearing strategies examined were induction, physical punishment, love withdrawal, and permissiveness. Siegel and Cowen found that participants' evaluations depended on the type of maternal intervention and disobedient behavior presented, as well as on the participant's age. As predicted, children tended to show a preference for authoritative parenting, which was expressed in strong approval for induction accompanied by mild approval for physical punishment. Contrary to expectations, both preschoolers and schoolchildren generally rated induction as favorably as physical punishment. However, a decline in favorable ratings with age was found for physical punishment, but not for induction.

Barnett, Quackenbush, and Sinisi (1996) examined the issue of effectiveness of parenting styles by looking at the types of discipline perceived by second graders, sixth graders, high school students, and college undergraduates as good deterrents of future child transgressions. The participants were shown three videotapes showing a mother's or father's reaction to a daughter or son who had treated peers unkindly. Although the participants generally favored induction over power assertion and love withdrawal, their perceptions of the particular forms of discipline were influenced by their gender and age as well as by the genders of the child-transgressor and parent-disciplinarian. Power assertion was perceived as more effective for a son, while induction was rated as more effective in suppressing a daughter's transgressions. In addition, the evaluation of a given form of discipline (and, among the older participants, the reported intention to use this technique with their own son or daughter in the future) was found to be related to participants' reports of the extent to which their own parents had used the same technique. This sort of modeling may explain the intergenerational transmission of parenting styles.

In the same vein, Sorbring, Deater-Deckard, and Palmérus (2006) examined Swedish children's perceptions of mothers' intentions to use physical punishment and reasoning, as well as their evaluations of the mothers as good parents. Children between 6 and 9 years of age were interviewed. The children's evaluations, as well as their reports on the mothers' intentions, varied according to the type of vignette presented (discipline in response to child aggression or noncompliance) and their own parents' child-rearing attitudes. Children who said that mothers who use physical punishment were "good mothers" were more likely to have parents with more traditional child-rearing attitudes, and they were older. Older children also

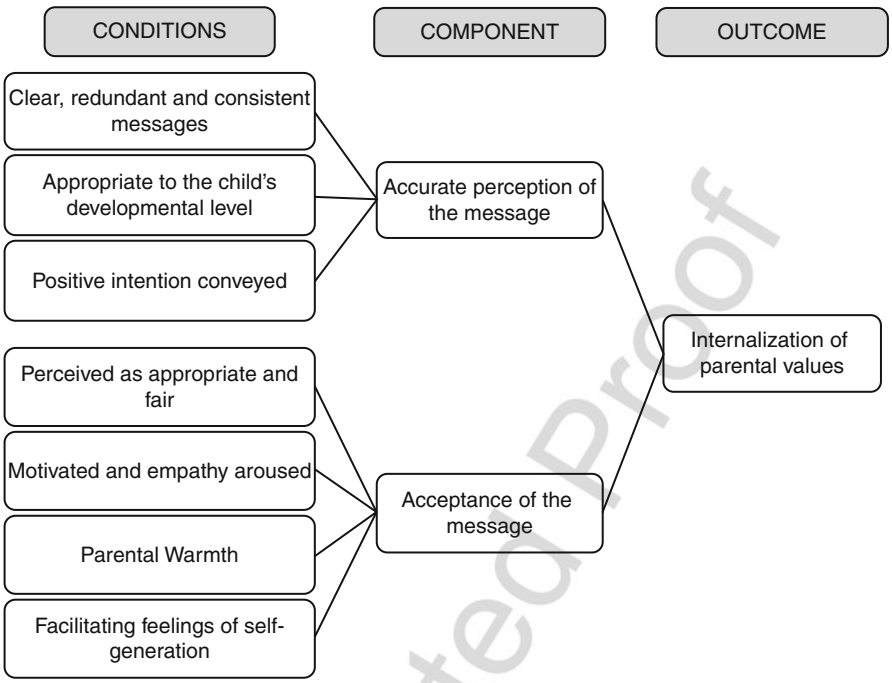

Fig. 86.1 Components of the child's processing of parental messages (Adapted from Grusec and Goodnow 1994)

evaluated more positively the mothers' use of reasoning and perceived greater intentionality in this form of discipline than did younger children. To conclude, even small children are able to evaluate parental actions in very subtle ways, taking into account situations, the gender of the child, and, progressively, parental intentions, suggesting that a more complete view of the socialization process is required.

The above results in regard to children's evaluations of parental messages call for a closer specification of the components in the interpretive process of a parental message related to the child's internalization of parental values. Within this framework, it is considered that a child has internalized a parental message when he or she adopts the values and attitudes of the parent (or the society) as his or her own. Why are some children able to internalize the parental message while others are not? Grusec and Goodnow (1994) proposed a model of internalization, depicted in Fig. 86.1, based on two components: a child's *accurate or inaccurate* perception of the parental message and *acceptance or rejection* of it. The model proposes that a parental message is more likely to be internalized when it is clearly perceived and accepted by the child. Parental messages are conveyed through the content of parenting styles and the content of their educational goals. Accuracy in the perception of the parenting style is defined as the ability of a child to report what a parent does in a particular kind of situation, whereas accuracy in the perception of goals is defined as the child's ability to report the qualities that a parent would like to see

him or her develop and demonstrate in these situations. Accuracies in perception of the parenting style and goals are seen as influenced by a parent using methods and proposing educational goals that make a position clear, match the appropriate developmental level of a child, and are conveyed with positive intention on the part of the parent. The second component, acceptance of the parental message, is especially likely to be influenced by the child's judgment that the parent's actions are appropriate for the nature of the transgression and that the child is motivated to accept the parental message. Also important for acceptance is the child's perception of parental warmth, which is frequently alleged to have its impact by way of increasing the child's desire to identify with or be like the parent. To warmth may be added parental responsiveness or past willingness to comply with the child's wishes, which promotes the child's willingness to comply in turn with the parent's wishes. A final consideration is the degree to which the child feels that a value is self-generated, a condition that is achieved mostly when the salience of external pressure is minimized and intrinsic motivation is at work.

Rodrigo, Janssens, and Ceballos (1999) examined in middle-childhood whether accuracy in the child's perception of the mother's style of parenting and goals is influenced by the situations in which these actions occur and by the style of parenting (authoritarian, authoritative, or permissive). The results showed that overall, children perceived goals more accurately than methods, probably because mothers' goals may be more stable than their methods (since a variety of methods may serve the same goal). The child's perceptions of the mother's parenting style in situations involving problems related to the child (e.g., shyness, social withdrawal, insecurity) were more accurate than in situations involving the child's violations of social conventions (e.g., being impolite, using bad manners at the table). Mothers may have perceived the former category as more upsetting and worthy of response, because such problems are more likely to be attributed to dispositional causes rather than to external constraints, and as a result they may have placed a special emphasis on these situations, which in turn may have facilitated the child's accuracy.

With respect to the content of parenting styles, the results of the Rodrigo et al. (1999) study showed that authoritarian styles, using methods such as establishing rules, making the child responsible for his or her actions, or enforcing rules with sanctions, were perceived very easily as they provide a number of explicit behavioral cues that can be read by the child. By contrast, authoritative styles, using methods such as taking the perspective of the child, promoting initiatives, or giving reasons and explanations, were less easily perceived than the authoritarian ones, as they provide a wealth of cognitive material that is difficult for a child to grasp. That is to say, a child has more difficulty predicting when the mother will give him or her a reason or explanation than when the mother will withdraw a privilege. However, both authoritarian and authoritative parenting are effective in clarifying the mother's goal with regard to the qualities she wants to see her child develop. In turn, permissive styles, with methods such as avoidance of conflict with the child, acceptance of the child's behavior, and indulgence of the child's transgressions, provide fewer cues of any kind (behavioral or cognitive), making the parent's position the least visible to the child. Rodrigo et al. (1999) also found that the

child's attributions of good intentions significantly contributed to increasing the accuracy of maternal styles of parenting and goals. According to Hoffman (1988), the affection that a child feels for a parent must be expected to influence the degree of effort given to understanding the parent's messages, whereas negative affect may interfere with the effective processing of the information.

To conclude, methods linked to authoritarian and authoritative styles were rated by children of several ages more positively than those linked to permissive styles. Interestingly, the former styles are comparatively more readable than the latter and involve clearer guidelines, through behavioral and cognitive clues, to understanding the parental goals. The child's accurate perception of authoritarian and authoritative styles increased with a climate of affection that biased the child's attributions of parental actions toward the positive side (e.g., "my mother means well"). This is an important condition for the acceptance of the parental message and for its subsequent internalization. Finally, the child's interpretation of the parental message was very much dependent on the type of misdeed or transgression, calling for attention to be paid to the contextual nature of the socialization process.

86.6 An Integrated View of Parenting Styles

Although researchers know a great deal about parenting styles, as has been shown in the preceding sections, their approaches have been diverse and not very well integrated. A domain model of socialization has been built for the purpose of integrating the field (Bugental 2000; Bugental and Grusec 2006; Grusec and Davidov 2010). This model builds upon the view that the socialization process takes place across bidirectional patterns of parent-child interactions and relationships (Grolnick et al. 2007; Kerr et al. 2003; Kuczynski and Parkin 2007). Thus, parent-child interactions or relationships can be partitioned into several domains, with differences between the mechanisms that govern socialization in these domains and between the child outcomes occurring in each domain. The five domains identified by Grusec and Davidov (2010) are *protection*, *reciprocity*, *control*, *guided learning*, and *group participation*. We discuss each in turn (see Table 86.2).

The protection domain conceptualizes the parent-child relationship as embedded in close emotional bonds that promote child development. Well-protected children are better able to respond empathically to the plight of others, because they are able to regulate their own empathic arousal and therefore remain focused on the other's plight rather than on their own personal distress (Davidov and Grusec 2006; Eisenberg et al. 1998). This facilitates the child's prosocial behavior, because the negative consequences of one's actions on others are more easily comprehended. The reciprocal domain conceptualizes the parent-child relationship as a trusting, mutual, and experience-sharing context. Parent and child are seen as active agents in the process of mutual influence and understanding, showing high commitment with each other (Bugental and Grusec 2006; Kuczynski and Parkin 2007). Child responsiveness in the domain of reciprocity thus reflects a genuine interest in compliance or receptive compliance. Later on, adolescents seek more horizontal

t2.1 **Table 86.2** Domains of socialization: Parent-child relationships, parental behavior, mechanism of socialization, and child outcomes (Adapted from Grusec and Davidov 2010)

t2.2 Domain	Nature of parent–child relationship	Parental behavior that is required	Mechanism of socialization	Child outcomes
Protection t2.3	Provider–recipient of protection	Alleviate child's distress	Confidence in parental protection	Greater empathy, trust, and effective coping during stressful situations
Reciprocity t2.4	Exchange/equality	Comply with child's reasonable requests and influence attempts	Innate tendency to reciprocate	Receptive compliance and cooperation
Control t2.5	Hierarchical	Use discipline method best suited for achieving parental goal	Acquired self-control or responding to heterocontrol	Obedience based on internalization or external pressures
Guided-learning t2.6	Teacher–student	Match teaching to child's changing level of understanding	Guided learning and scaffolding the child's competences	Acquisition of culturally relevant knowledge and skills
Group participation t2.7	Joint members of the same social group	Enable child to observe and take part in appropriate cultural practices	Firm sense of social identity	A sense of belonging and ready adoption of group norms

555 relationships with parents that allow greater involvement in decision-making and in
556 their own discipline. As adolescence progresses, children become increasingly
557 assertive with parents and learn to reflect on and question existing family norms
558 and practices.

559 The control domain, well researched from the traditional view, conceptualizes
560 the parent-child relationship in terms of authority, rules, and restrictions. Parents
561 hierarchically establish the norms and children must obey them. However, children
562 can follow two tracks: doing the right thing even when it requires inhibiting one's
563 conflicting goal or desire, because they have assumed the norm (internalization), or
564 complying with the parental request due to external pressures (rewards and pun-
565 ishments). In both cases, there is obedience on the part of the child, but the internal
566 attitude is very different, leading alternatively to positive and negative child out-
567 comes (Deci and Ryan 1985; Grolnick et al. 1997).

568 In the guided-learning domain, parents or other socialization agents carefully
569 scaffold the children's acquisition of knowledge or skills during the performance of
570 tasks (Gauvain and Pérez 2007; Rogoff 1990). Children learn what is important to
571 the adult, learn how to perform significant activities, and develop a deep under-
572 standing of everyday knowledge that is relevant for the family, school, or society.

573 Finally, in the group-participation domain, parents promote routines, habits,
574 and rituals for the family that reflect many in-group expectations and norms
575 (Super and Harkness 1986). They also serve as role models from whom children
576 learn by observation much about social customs and cultural practices.

The domain model has provided researchers with new hypotheses for testing. For instance, one can hypothesize that parents may be successful in one domain of interaction but not in another. Some parents, for example, may be very good at assuming the role of protector and responding to their children's distress but not as good at assuming the role of disciplinarian and applying appropriate levels of control. In fact, this is what appears to happen to permissive parents, but does it work for other combinations? Rodríguez, Rodrigo, Janssens, and Triana (2011) investigated the extent to which the mutuality and control domains are related to the guided-learning domain. They studied mothers in adverse psychosocial circumstances by means of in-depth interviews about their views of their relationships with their preadolescent children. They also observed interactions between mothers and children while they solved a task that required them to find the shortest route to complete a set of shopping errands in an imaginary town depicted on a map (only one route was allowed so mother-child collaboration was required). This is a typical situation that requires the use of the guided-learning domain. The results showed that mothers who conceived parent-child relationships as reciprocal (reciprocity domain) provide a better scaffolding and a more stimulating environment for learning (guided-learning domain) than mothers who conceived parent-child relationships as hierarchical (control domain). That means that the mutual, bidirectional, and reciprocal qualities of the "cooperative interpersonal set" typical of reciprocity goes hand in hand with the guided-learning domain, which emphasizes maternal guidance of the child's learning. By contrast, a mother operating in the control domain approached the shopping task in a more imperative way, giving orders and interfering with the child's initiatives, preventing the child from engaging in collaborative learning during the task.

Finally, the domain model can help discover new formats of parent-child interaction other than the typical directional formats (parents giving orders to children). The simple routines of everyday family life offer a rich developmental context related to all the domains mentioned above. First, shared family activities facilitate bonding and protective links between parent and child that give children of all ages more confidence to navigate the external world. Second, family activities can be embedded in the reciprocity domain, because they provide opportunities for collaboration in the planning and realization of activities of interest for parents and children. Third, through modeling or explicit teaching, parents can use family activities to transmit their values, teach their children special tasks, develop their children's skills, and provide life lessons (Wigfield et al. 2006). Fourth, shared activities – especially those outside the home – are an important way for parents to expose children to novel experiences and integrate them into larger social networks in which they learn to navigate public life (Furstenberg et al. 1999). Finally, not only involvement in external and novel activities, but also involvement on a regular basis in common, home-based, relatively accessible activities with family members may be an effective way of enhancing the parents' and children's well-being (Fiese et al. 2002; Zabriskie and McCormick 2001). In sum, family activities are

a revealing window into the parental ethnotheories, as conceived by the developmental niche account described in a previous section, and they provide the grounds for effective socialization exchanges between parents and children.

86.7 Family Policies on Positive Parenting

The previous sections have shown how the field of parenting has changed, in the eyes of researchers, from the unidirectional to the bidirectional view of socialization. The present section addresses this question from the perspective of family policies on parenting. Do these policies reflect a similar trajectory from parent-centered views to child-centered or mutual views on socialization? The answer is yes. There is currently an increasing interest in developing child and family policies in the European Union that integrate the views of both the parent and the child as two collaborative partners in the socialization task, rather than focusing exclusively on the exercise of parental authority and the identification of the different parental actions involved in child-raising. As a major step in this direction, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe (2006) has launched Recommendation 19 on Policy to Support Positive Parenting, which is very important for developmental and educational science, family and social policy, and society in general. Positive parenting is defined in the Recommendation as "parental behavior based on the best interest of the child that is nurturing, empowering, non-violent and provides recognition and guidance which involves setting of boundaries to enable the full development of the child." According to the positive-parenting initiative, there must be a perfect match between the key aspects of parenting and the fulfillment of the child's needs in order to obtain positive child outcomes (Table 86.3).

Three main aspects of the parenting task have already been proposed in previous theories of socialization: nurturing, structuring, and stimulation. Children need warmth, acceptance, sensitivity, responsiveness, positive involvement, and support from their parents. They also need borders and guidance for their physical and psychological security and the development of their own values and sense of personal and social responsibility. Further, they need opportunities to interact with other, more knowledgeable individuals to learn more about the world. Accordingly, the child outcomes to be achieved refer to the establishment of affective links, the internalization of norms, and the promotion of child competences.

However, there are two new facets added here to the parenting task: recognition and empowerment. Recognition involves being acknowledged and having one's personal experience validated by others. Empowerment involves feeling capable enough to exert some influence over others. Both are clearly related to the acquisition of self-regulatory competence and the promotion of child agency, which involves a sense of control and capacity to change the world around them. The last parenting factor, being treated in a environment free from violence, has to do with the child's need to be considered as a human being with dignity and rights,

t3.1 **Table 86.3** Key aspects of positive parenting, child needs, and child outcomes

t3.2 Positive parenting	Child needs	Child outcomes
t3.3 *Nurturing*: showing positive feelings of love, acceptance, and joy to the child	Healthy and protective parent-child bonds	Security, confidence, and sense of belonging
t3.4 *Structuring*: creating an environment with routines and habits well established	Clear and flexible limits and supervision	Internalization of norm and values
t3.5 *Stimulation*: providing guided support to the children's informal and formal learning	Opportunities to participate with adults in learning activities	Promotion of cognitive, emotional, and social competences
t3.6 *Recognition*: showing interest in their world and taking into account their ideas for decision-making into the family	Be acknowledged and have his or her personal experience responded to and confirmed by parents	Self-concept and self-esteem, and sense of mutual respect in the family
t3.7 *Empowerment*: displaying a parental capacity to grow in a relationship as children develop	Enhance their strengths and sense of capacity as active agents to change the world around	Self-regulation, autonomy, and a capacity to cooperate with others
t3.8 *Free from violence*: excluding any form of verbal and physical violence against children	Preserve their rights and dignity as human beings	A protection against violent relationships with others and a respect for themselves

660 a longstanding plea highlighted many years ago in the United Nations Convention
661 on the Rights of the Child (Articles 28, 23, and 37) and the revised European
662 Social Charter. When translated into the family setting, the values of mutual
663 respect, equal dignity, authenticity, integrity, and responsibility are foundations
664 for developing parent-child relationships that promote children's rights and
665 dignity (Daly 2007).

666 Finally, the Recommendation emphasizes the responsibility of the states to
667 create the right conditions for positive parenting (Rodrigo 2010). Member states
668 are encouraged to take all appropriate legislative, administrative, and financial
669 measures to create the best possible conditions for positive parenting. They are
670 also called upon to support parents in their upbringing tasks through adequate
671 family policy measures that provide the necessary material conditions for families
672 and the provision of services to support parents, especially those parents and
673 children facing adverse circumstances. With respect to services, the Recommen-
674 dation specifically proposes that psychoeducational resources such as parenting
675 programs should be made available to all parents (Rodrigo et al. 2012). Parent
676 education programs are generally meant to help parents develop and enhance their
677 parenting skills by trying alternate approaches to child-rearing, improving the
678 family learning environment, fostering their sense of personal competence,
679 and strengthening their capability to draw upon available resources for their own
680 well-being and the well-being of their young and adolescent children. According to
681 the Recommendation, communities should also be empowered, since families are
682 heavily dependent on the quality of their neighborhoods and the existence of

cohesive and well-resourced environments to satisfy their many needs. Ultimately, the well-being of families is clearly dependent on the well-being of the community at large (Daro and Dodge 2009).

Conclusions

The content of this chapter has brought readers to what lies at the heart of civilization: the socialization process that guides the transition from childhood to adulthood in every society. This chapter has shown how researchers have endorsed different views of socialization over the years. The classical models shared the underlying assumption that individual parents could be characterized as having some degree of stability in their approach, usually manifested in their interaction with their children, the so-called "parenting style." Later research has produced evidence of considerable within-parent variability depending on the nature of the child's transgression and the situation, as well as on the age and gender of the child. Cultural variability has also been the rule when comparing the effects of parenting styles on child well-being. The universal character of parenting styles has been questioned, as their impact on child development depends on the cultural meaning that each society gives to the parenting task. In this respect, the notion of developmental niche is very useful to describe the processes by which the culture, by means of the parental ethnotheories, shapes the children's lives and helps to select the child outcomes to be promoted as desirable in every society.

Even within the mainstream culture, the definition of the parenting task has changed dramatically, as has how the child is viewed. Thus, classical models described the task of parenting as the teaching of good habits and the regulation of wild impulses, requiring the exercise of parental control based on authoritarian, permissive, or more democratic attitudes. The child was conceived as a passive recipient of parental norms. The classical view was also aimed at connecting static characteristics of parents (parenting styles) to static characteristics of children (e.g., the child's social skills), conceived as consequences of parental actions.

By contrast, current socialization theories consider socialization to be a process of mutual adaptation, accommodation, and negotiation performed during complex, ongoing, bidirectional exchanges between parents and children (Grolnick et al. 2007; Kerr et al. 2003; Kuczynski and Parkin 2007). These interactions are embedded in a history of parent-child relationships, which constrains the meaning given by the actors during the process of mutual exchanges (e.g., positive or negative attributions to parental or child behavior). In these views, it is crucial to know the domains of child-rearing that are operating during parent-child interactions, because each has its own rules and child outcomes (Bugental and Grusec 2006; Rodríguez et al. 2011). However, it is also crucial to reveal the child's agency in reading and interpreting the parental messages (Grusec and Goodnow 1994; Rodrigo et al. 1999). It is clear that in these accounts the child is seen as an actor actively contributing to his or her own development.

Another important change has been observed on the type of outcomes forwarded by researchers as being desirable in the socialization process. It started with the emphasis on child obedience based on external pressures, then moved on the achievement of child obedience based on internalization, which was followed by receptive compliance and collaboration with the parent, and finally led to the focus on the achievement of child autonomy, self-reliance, and self-regulation. Therefore, there seems to be a dialectic tension between parental agency and child agency. However, this is just a first impression. According to Maccoby (2007, p. 36): "The question underlying much modern parenting research is not *whether* parents should exercise authority and children should comply but, rather, *how* parental control can best be exercised so as to support children's growing competence and self-management." Thus, under a bidirectional view, parental agency and child agency are not incompatible, as both can be maintained within a system of legitimate authority based on mutual understanding and collaboration that should be progressively renegotiated as the children grow older. For the same reason, child and parental well-being should be harmonized and accomplished in an integrative way.

Within this bidirectional view, more research is needed to identify the parental capacities required to establish the scenario of parent-child collaboration during the socialization process. These new capacities might include observing the child's characteristics and needs and the situational constraints for actions; being flexible in the application of parental actions; promoting cognitive and emotional perspective-taking; paying attention to and recognition of the child's new achievements and points of view; designing appropriate leisure activities with children and family members; experiencing reciprocal affection and companionship in parent-child relationships; and adapting to the changing demands of the developing child.

Family policies on positive parenting developed by the Council of Europe are also in agreement with this bidirectional view of socialization. It seems that at last, laymen, researchers, and policy-makers are endorsing a view of positive parenting that places the focus on the development of parent-child relationships to optimize the child's development and well-being. The key message is that the child's rights are first protected within the context of the family and that the state should give proper support to families. To make children's rights present in everyday interactions at home is difficult and challenging; therefore, in many cases, parenting programs are needed to build on parents' existing skills and competences in order to reinforce the effectiveness of positive and nonaggressive parenting strategies, even under adverse and stressful circumstances. Parenting programs should be delivered through adequate family services that should also empower communities to provide families with the appropriate social environment. In these programs a diversity of family structures and cultural traditions of parenting should be considered, promoting those related to the preservation of children's rights and well-being. In the end, there is a growing consensus that the task of parenting should be framed in terms of a "community" of key parties: parents, children, local and national service providers, and the communities themselves.

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