PARENTAL CONTROL AND CONFLICTS IN ADOLESCENCE, A COMPARISON IN 5 COUNTRIES : CANADA, FRANCE, IT   ALY. MEXICO AND UNITED-STATES

Michel Claes [1], Éric Lacourse[1], Marc Pagé[2], Lyda Lannergrand-Willems[3], Colette Sabatier[3], Cyrille Perchec[3], Patricia Andrade Palos[4], Alessio Vienno[5] & Jorge I Ramirez Garcia[6]

1. Université de Montréal, Canada
2. Université du Québec à Montréal, Canada
3. Université de Bordeaux, France
4. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico
5. Università degli Studi di Padova, Italy
6. Oregon Research Institute, USA

ABSTRACT

This study examines different aspects of parental control and how they are related to conflicts in five countries: United States, Canada, Mexico, France, and Italy. The sample comprised 1751 adolescents aged 12 to 15 years and their parents. The data of the present study are based on a self-report questionnaire composed of 4 scales: behavioral control, curfew, disciplinary style, and conflicts. Adolescents were asked how they perceived these dimensions in the case of the mother and the father, and the same questions were asked to the parental couple. MANCOVAs indicate that, after adjusting for diverse confounding variables, there are significant differences by country on the 4 parenting measures. Results of the ANCOVAS on each individual measure lead to significant differences between countries. United States and Canada are both using parental practices marked by reduced requirements, more tolerance, a disciplinary style marked by induction and negotiation and the lowest rate of conflicts. Parents in Mexico and France are characterized by a higher level of control practices, earlier curfew and a disciplinary approach more repressive and coercive. Mexican families appeared to be the most conflictual. Generally Italy is at a middle position. Regression analyses indicated that the control measures are not associated with the presence of conflicts, however coercive disciplinary measures are associated with conflicts in all countries. Results are discussed in light of the ethnocultural perspectives developed in cross-cultural psychology to

account for these differences.

INTRODUCTION

The study of the links between family and culture has a long and rich tradition in social sciences and for over a century, many studies seek to capture the differences between cultures and how human development is linked to culture. From the beginning, interest has been focused on culture-related parenting and the impact of these practices on development. Miller and Goodnow (1995) have underscored the habitual, ritualized, and automatic nature of parental practices which are charged with normative values that are largely shared within a given social or cultural group. They consider parental practices to be formal behavioral codes largely prescribed by a given culture which dictate appropriate family dynamics according to situation. Universally, every parent's child-rearing cognitions are shaped by socially constructed ethnotheories, or what Harkness & Super refer to as "cultural common sense" (1996, p. 115). As highlighted by Bornstein, cross-cultural comparisons show that virtually all aspects of parenting are informed by culture: culture influences when and how parents care for children, what parents expect of children, and which behaviors parents appreciate, emphasize and reward or discourage and punish (Bornstein 2013, p. 258).
The cross-cultural study in developmental psychology adopts a comparative approach that aims to identify similarities and differences in individual psychological functioning in various cultural and ethnic groups and this have led to cross-cultural frameworks that explain both continuities and dissimilarities in parenting across different cultural and social contexts (Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen, 2002; Kagitçibasi, 2007).

In recent years, several empirical studies have examined the parenting of adolescents across countries and cultures (e.g., Barber, Stolz, & Olsen, 2005; Darling, Cumsille, & Pena-Alampe, 2005; Georgas, Berry, van de Vyver, Kagitçibasi, & Poortinga, 2006; Smetana, 2011; Vazsonyi, Hibbert, & Snider, 2003). The relationship between parents and adolescents and the impact of family background on socio-emotional development of adolescents is probably the topic that generated the most intercultural work in recent years in the field of development in adolescence (Smetana, Campione-Barr & Metzger, 2006). As highlighted Chen & Farruggia (2002) three topics dominate research in this field: the effects of emotional closeness with parents, the impact of conflict between parents and adolescents, and the timetable for establishing autonomy from parents.
Research conducted on parenting practices have consistently identified two central dimensions : emotional bonding and parental control (Baumrind, 1975; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Rollins & Thomas, 1979; Schaefer, 1965). Cross-cultural studies have also indicated the presence of these two dimensions in all cultures studied thus far, and as such, they may even represent universal realities (Barber et al., 2005 ; Khaleque & Rohner, 2002 ; Putnick, Bornstein, Lansford, Malone, Pastorelli , Skinner …. Oburu, 2015). The concept of parental

emotional bonding pertains to notions such as love, closeness, caring, and sensitivity to adolescents' needs, while the concept of parental control refers to the proactive role exercised by parents to regulate behavior, developing their adolescents' interpersonal abilities and competencies necessary to their social adaptation (Galambos, Barker, & Almeida, 2003 ; Barber et al., 2005). By exerting control, parents impose regulation structures, by setting rules and boundaries, monitoring behavior outside home and adopting strategies of discourage possible misbehavior. As Soenens and Beyers (2012) emphasize, this concept of parental control remains by far the most controversial and most debated in the field of research on the effects of parenting on socialization. The concept raises several debates on its definition, the effect of control mechanisms on the development and its measurement. Rollins and Thomas (1979) already differentiated coercive control which imposes rules unilaterally and does not tolerate any deviation and inductive control that leaves room for discussion and negotiation. Barber et al. (2005) introduced the concept of psychological control which is intrusive and interferes with the adolescent's personal life, dictates rules of conduct, and imposes points of view. This type of control differs from the concept of behavioral control which aims to regulate behaviors by setting up demands, rules, and restrictions (Galambos et al., 2003). As many point out, parental support and emotional bonding are robust universal elements of an evolutionary process based on protecting and caring for offspring to ensure survival (Georgas et al., 2006; Rohner, Khaleque, & Cournoyer, 2005; Smith, Bond, & Kagitçibasi, 2006). Parental control, on the other hand, is more directly determined by cultural norms and varies considerably across periods and cultures (Kagitçibasi, 2007; Youniss, 1994).

As for measuring the construct of behavioral control, the concept of parental supervision has been largely used to evaluate the level of parental control in adolescence (Dishion & McMahon, 1998; Patterson & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1984). The notion of supervision refers to the quantity and accuracy of information parents have about what is happening in their adolescents' daily lives. Kerr, Stattin, & Trost (1999) and Kerr & Stattin (2000) have since reconsidered the validity of this construct, estimating that if parents know what is happening in their adolescents' daily life it is because adolescents spontaneously confide in them in a climate of mutual trust. In response to their findings, these researchers developed an instrument that suggests an adequate evaluation of parental control depends on the presence of family rules and the need to obtain authorizations, especially for staying out with friends.

Determining the weekend curfew is undoubtedly central to the exercise of parental control in preadolescence (Pavlova, Haase, Silbereisen, 2011; Smetana, 2008). Many studies have examined the role of parental control over the development of problematic behavior to observe that more tolerant household curfew in preadolescence was related to a higher likelihood of being in the "increasing high risk-takers group" (Sterrett, Dymnicki, Henry, Byck, Bolland, & Mustanski, 2014; Ritchwood, Traylor, Howell, Chirch & Bolland , 2014). Cross-cultural studies reveal that families characterized as belong to collectivistic cultures including Latin, Italian, Asian and African American impose later timetable of establishing autonomy and earlier curfew than those of European descent from United States and Canada (Claes, Perchec, Miranda, Benoit, Bariaud, Lanz …. Lacourse, 2010; Daddis & Smetana, 2005; Fuligni, 1998).

Finally, parental control involves the prescription of consequences in case of non-compliance with agreed limits. Studies that examine parental disciplinary style usually call for the typology developed by Hoffman (2000) structured in terms of induction, love withdrawal, and power assertion (Patrick & Gibb, 2012). The latter involves negative action such as insults, threats and beatings. The study of the impact of parental discipline on the development in adolescence gives rise to two lines of thought that are apparently opposing. Excessive or coercive control leads to negative effects: aggressive social behavior, social withdrawal, inhibition, low self-esteem (Bender, Allen, McElhaney, Antonishak, Moore, Kelly & Davis, 2007; Pomerantz & Thompson, 2008). Studies indicate that lack of parental control predict poor school performance, promotes deviant behavior and the use of soft drugs (Barber et al ., 2003 ; Claes & Lacourse, 2001 ; Galambos et al., 2003 ; Hoeve, Dubas, Eichelsheim, van der Laan, Smeenk & Geriss, 2009). Various intercultural studies indicate that the use of harsh discipline and corporal punishment vary widely among cultures (Dodge, McLoyd &

Lansford, 2005 ; Lansford & Deater-Deckart, 2012; Runyan, Shankar, Hassan, Hunter, Jain, Paula, & Bordin, 2010). Legally banned in some society, such practices are regarded as educative technique in many culture such as the Egypt, India, Syria, the Philippines and Mexico.

Conflicts between parents and adolescents are inevitable and universal realities considering various developmental variables: affirmation of autonomy, increased cognitive skills and assertiveness (Smetana, 2011). Research conducted in the US has shown both similarity and differences in the nature, level, and correlates of parent-adolescent conflicts across the different cultures that have been studied (Chen & Farruggia, 2002 ; Smetana, 2011). Few cross-cultural studies have compared the frequency of family conflict in different cultures in the world. However, some studies indicate that confrontations between parents and adolescents are more frequent in collectivist cultures (Ember & Ember, 2005). However recent work indicates that several family variables act as moderators between the frequency of conflicts in such cultures and negative impact on children's development (Gershoff, Grogan-Kaylor, Lansford, Chang L, Zelli , Deater-Deckard, &Dodge, 2010; Lansford, Chang, Dodge, Malone, Oburu, Palmerus, & Quinn, 2005).

The present study

Objectives

The present study consider parental control among adolescents from five countries located in North America and Europe by examining the perception of the adolescents with regard to each parent and also how the parents report their parenting on the same dimensions. This study particularly compares three aspects of parental control and how they are related to conflicts. The article examines these dimensions in five countries to identify similarities and the peculiarities of national culture : United States, Canada (province of Quebec, the French speaking part of Canada), Mexico, France, and Italy. All of these countries have a certain number of social and cultural factors in common such as Christian religion and advanced industrialization (Georgas et al., 2006). Their economic and political systems also place them among the world's major democracies. Despite these commonalities, their values about

family and education can vary considerably.

Cultural norms of European American parenting favor raising adolescents that are autonomous, independent, and self-reliant (Sophtas-Naland & Sukhodolsky, 2006). European American parents try to foster emotional and behavioral regulation of their adolescents and encourage acting in a socially appropriate manner without relying on severe parental control (Grolnick and Farkas, 2002; Jose, Hunstinger, Hunstinger, & Liaw, 2000). North American educational philosophy is marked by a strong emphasis on autonomy and individualization, extols tolerance and comprehension, excludes forms of coercive control, and encourages inductive approaches that emphasize discussion and negotiation (Arnett, 2002; Kwak & Berry, 2006; Youniss, 1994).

As United States, Canadian society falls into the category of individualist cultures (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002) and, as such, this country broadly shares educational philosophy of United States. Canadian parents values individuation and gives heightened importance to the development of initiative and autonomy (Smetana, 2011). Any forms of physical or mental abuse is strictly forbidden. Parenting in Canada is based on mutual respect and equal rights between the parent and the child. Parents are encouraged to listen to their children's thoughts and ideas, and negotiate, rather than simply dictate them what to do (Su & Hynie, 2011). The few studies carried in the province of Quebec indicate that parent-adolescent relationships reflect the adoption of a model of family relationships conveyed in North American society emphasizing the values of autonomy, tolerance and negotiation in case of conflict (Clermont & Claes, 2008). Claes et al. (2010) noted that, compared to European adolescents, Canadian from Quebec reported less parental control, more tolerance and permissiveness and less conflicts with both parents.

In contrast, Mexican families'parenting comes largely from a more traditional family model characterized by the affirmation of parental authority and respect for the family hierarchy. Collectivist cultural patterns play a significant role in Mexican parenting engendering a family oriented approach emphasizing obedience, obligation to family and parental authority (Solis-Camara, Fung & Fox, 2014). Many sources indicate that the Mexican family values affective dimensions such as love, nurturing, sharing and solidarity (Diaz-Guerrero, 2003). However, the Mexican families have also been reported to impose parental rules, authoritarian and punitive tendencies when parental rules are broken (Moral de la Rubia , 2013). As Diaz-Loving (2006) underscores, surveys of Mexican families indicate that the majority of them endorse the following statements defining what he calls the traditional model "affection-obedience": "*Children should always obey their parents* "" *all must love their mother and respect their father"*. Corporal punishment is part of the repertoire of disciplinary methods and positive educational practices to produce responsible citizens (Solis-Camara, Fung, & Fox, 2014).

It seemed to us interesting to compare adolescents in Quebec and France since both societies are French speaking, and have a common origin. Most French Canadians are, in fact, descendants of French immigrants. However, both cultures have evolved in very contrasting social and historical contexts. As pointed out by Lannegrand-Willems, Sabatier & Brisset (2012), in valuing both independence, obedience and respect for parental authority, French

society is positioned between the collectivist and individualistic model of society. Comparing adolescents from France and Canada, Sabatier & Berry (2008) observed a more distant family climate in France and a lower self-disclosure to parents. Suizzo (2002) had already underscored this specific dimension that emerges when one examines the educational values of parents in France, namely the promotion of traditional values and conformity to social norms such as respect and politeness. Such emotional distance between French parents and adolescents was strikingly confirmed in a recent survey conducted in a large sample of adolescents aged 11-15 years coming from 32 countries. The study focused on the evolution of the communication between parents and adolescents between 2002 and 2010 (Brooks, Zaborskis, Tabak, Alcon, Zemaitiene, Granado, Roos & Klemera, 2015). In most countries significant increases in the prevalence of ease of communication with both mothers and fathers were observed. In some countries, the opposite trend was found with the greatest negative changes occurring in France, in the case of the mother and especially in the case of the father.

The choice of Italy is justified by the importance this country grants to family values, as illustrated in numerous empirical studies (e.g., Lanz, 1997; New, 1988; Sgritta, 1988; Scabini, Marta, & Lanz, 2006). Scabini et al. (2006) underscored that the Italian family is characterized by a high degree of emotional bonding and support from both parents, yet also by restrictions. As Scabini et al. (2006) showed, the Italian family may be the most emblematic of these values among Mediterranean societies: It is characterized by a high degree of emotional closeness and support from both parents, yet also by restrictions dictated by children's obligations to family and their relations of dependency with their parents. This lends support to other observations regarding the presence and maintenance of adolescents' requirements and restrictions within the Italian family, a parenting pattern that leads to an increase in conflict over the years (Lanz, 2000).

Hypotheses

Although this study is exploratory in nature, we can still formulate two broad hypotheses and one research question.

Hypotheses 1 : parental control in each country
H1A. It is expected that US and Canada will stand out from other countries with a lower level of parental control. This will mean fewer behavioral control, more tolerance for later curfew and less severe disciplinary action in case of non-compliance.
H1B. It is expected that Mexico and Italy will stand by a more severe level of parental control: higher behavioral control, less tolerance for later curfew and more severe disciplinary action in case of non-compliance.
H1C. France will stand between these two extremes.
Hypotheses 2 : conflicts
H2A It is expected that Mexico and Italy will stand a higher level of conflict with parents
H2B US and Canada will stand a lower rate of conflicts.
H2C Again France is somewhere between these two extremes.
The study also seeks to examine which control variable is most associated with the presence

of conflicts by controlling whether this association is maintained in all five countries.

METHOD

Sample

The sample comprised 1751 adolescents aged 12 to 15 years (school grades 7th, 8th and 9[th.]). In each country, the participants come from public schools, from middle-class socioeconomic backgrounds. The sample is constituted of adolescent whose parents were both born in the country where the study is taking place. This is justified by the fact that many studies indicate that within the same country, there are differences in parental control by ethnicity and immigration status of respondents (e.g., Clermont & Claes, 2008; Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, & Maynard, 2003; Peterson, Steinmetz, & Wilson, 2005).

Insert table 1 about here

Table 1 reports the descriptive statistics of youth and parent's participation in each country taking into account age, gender, marital status of parents, the socioeconomic status and education level of each parent. Participants are younger in the United States and older in Canada. The distribution of boys and girls is similar for Canada, Italy and Mexico, while there was an over-representation of girls in France and the USA. Divorce rate is significantly different between countries: very low in Italy, less than 10%, but more than 40% in US and Canada. Parents' SES was calculated using the index developed by Blishen, Carrol, and Moore (1987). This tool provides a score derived from parents' occupation, and the income commonly associated with it. For both parents SES is lower in Italy and Mexico compared to the three other countries. Same figure for the education level: low for Italy and Mexico, highest in France and Canada, and particularly high in the United States. All analyses will control for the potential confounding effects of these variables.

The number and parents' response rate is also presented in Table 1. Almost all Italian parents responded to the questionnaire, while this number is lower in Canada and the USA. Overall, for

the entire sample.

Instruments

The data of the present study are based on a self-report questionnaire answered by groups of adolescents during school hours. Parental permission was requested according to the ethical procedures particular to each country. Participation in this study was voluntary; however, only a very small number of adolescents refused to participate, less than 2% in each country. After the session, a questionnaire for parents was given to the participants in a sealed envelope. The questions were addressed to the parental couple. Most often it is the mother who responded (70%), in 20% parents answered the questionnaire together, while in 10% of cases the father completed the questionnaire alone.

The present study falls within a broader intercultural research that examined the main aspects of parenting in adolescence. As part of this study we selected three measures evaluating parental control: behavioral control, curfew on Saturday night, disciplinary style plus a measure evaluating the presence and the severity of conflicts. Each time, adolescents were asked how they perceived these dimensions in the case of the mother and in the case of the father. The same questions were asked to the parental couple to see how they consider their

own control practices.

Each of the scales used in this study underwent previous validation procedures with a sample of French Canadian adolescents. To maximize the content and construct validity of measures across the five countries, the questionnaire was subject to a double translations procedure as advocated scientific procedures (Erkut, 2010). This was done collaboratively over the course of several meetings between the partners in each country. All answers to items are organized on a five-point Likert type scale (e.g., 1 not at all/never; 2 rarely/a little; 3 sometimes; 4 often/ rather well ; 5 always / totaly) except for the curfew for which the questionnaire proposed a series of curfews ranging from 8 PM to 2 AM and "no curfew".

To test the cross-cultural validity of the instruments, each of the scales has been subject to amultigroup confirmatory factor analysis to asses whether the same factor structure is found in the 5 countries.

Behavioral control. The items of this scale are taken from the instrument developed by Kerr & Stattin (2000). The scale is composed of two separate factors which evaluate the degree of parental control, as measured by adolescents' need for authorization from their parents (e.g., "*I need to have my father's permission to stay out late on a weekday)* and the presence of family rules (e.g., "*My mother wants me to do my schoolwork before going out with friends).* The results of the multigroup confirmatory factor analyses carried out with the 5 countries indicates that in each case the model fit well the data. (Ado./Mother: CFI = .96, RMSEA = . 02, Alpha = .78; Ados./Father : CFI = .93; RMSEA = .03: Alpha = .90; Parents : CFI = .98, RMSEA = .02, Alpha = .89)

Curfew. We proposed a simple single-item asking the adolescents to indicate at what hour their mother and their father imposes curfew on Saturday night. We asked the same question to the parents.

Disciplinary style. Items measuring parental disciplinary actions were derived from diverse questionnaires (George & Bloom, 1997; Kim & Ge, 2000). This original scale was built and validated by the authors to examine the kind of practices are used by parents to discourage unwanted behavior or to punish their child when a rule has been broken or a limit has been crossed. (Claes, Debrosse, Miranda & Perchec, 2008). This scale is composed of 3 factors: 1) Punishment: involves negative actions such as withdrawal of privileges or additional work (*my mother punishes me by making me do extra work*) ; 2) Coercion refers to parental responses driven by aggressiveness or anger: insults, verbal threats or use of physical punishment (*when I do something very wrong, my father hits me*) ; 3) Induction is intended to correct inappropriate behavior through negotiation and the adolescent's active participation in the search for solutions (*when I have a poor grade in my report card, my mother tries to understand why*). The results of the multigroup confirmatory factor analyzes carried out with the 5 countries indicates that in each case the model fit well the data. (Ado./Mother: CFI = . 94, RMSEA = .03, Alpha = .74; Ados./Father : CFI = .95; RMSEA = .03: Alpha = .73; Parents : CFI = .94, RMSEA = .02, Alpha = .72)

Conflicts. This scale was build from the instrument developed by Moilanen, Shaw, Criss, & Dishion (2009) which assesses both the presence and severity of conflicts. The 4 items asses arguments that are minor (*we had arguments about little things*) and increasing in severity including severe confrontations (*we had a severe conflict that really hurt me, made me angry*

or very sad). A high score indicates the presence of severe conflict with each parent. This scale is composed by a simple robust factor. The results of the multigroup confirmatory factor analyses carried out with the 5 countries indicates that in each case the model fit well the data (Ado./Mother: CFI = .97, RMSEA = .05, Alpha = .81; Ados./Father : CFI = .98; RMSEA = .06: Alpha = .85; Parents : CFI = .98, RMSEA = .01, Alpha = .74)

RESULTS

We first conducted MACOVAs to test for mean differences on the 4 measures of parenting by country adjusted for the following covariates: age, gender, parental status (divorced / intact), socioeconomic status and education level of parent.
Insert table 2 about here

Table 2 reports the means and standard deviations obtained in each country for the 4 parenting variables and the three sources of information: (a) adolescent-reported maternal parenting, (b) adolescent-reported paternal parenting, and (c) parenting practices reported by the parents themselves. The MANCOVAs indicate that, after adjusting for the five covariates, there are significant differences by country on the 4 parenting measures (Mother : $F_{(3, 1467)}$ = 55.03, $p < .001$; Father : $F_{(3, 1464, 3)}$ = 21.71, $p < .001$; Parents : $F_{(3, 909)}$ = 19.90, $p < .001$). We therefore undertook ANCOVAS on each individual measure to test for differences between countries, and used Bonferoni corrections to account for multiple tests.
These analyses indicate that in the case of the perception of the mother, each measure leads to highly significant differences between countries (behavioral control: $F_{(4, 1466)}$ = 29.42, $p < .001$; curfew : $F_{(4, 1466)}$ = 5.75, $p < .001$; disciplinary style :$F_{(4, 1466)}$ = 36.68, $p < .001$; conflicts : $F_{(3, 1467)}$ = 13.64, $p < .001$). Pairwise comparison indicate a common pattern for the three maternal control practices: no significant differences between Mexico and France. These two countries had the highest mean scores on behavioral control, early curfew, and adoption of more strict disciplinary action in case of non-compliance with rules. No significant mean differences between the United States and Canada which stand out by a lower level of requirements on the three maternal control measures indicating less behavioral control, later curfew, more tolerance in case of non-compliance. Italy lies between these two extremes. The perceived level of conflict with the mother also leads to significant differences between the countries. It is in Mexico that adolescents perceive the higher levels of conflict. No differences between Canadian and United States adolescents who report the lowest rate of conflict. France and Italy occupy the intermediate level between these extremes.
The ANCOVAS indicate that in the case of perception of the fathers parenting practices, adolescent responses differed also significantly by country for each of the four measures: behavioral control ($F_{(4, 1342)}$ = 12.95, $p < .001$; curfew : $F_{(4, 1342)}$ = 3.65, $p < .01$; disciplinary style : $F_{(4, 1342}$ = 13.40, $p < .001$; conflicts : $F_{(4, 1342)}$ = 5.80, $p < .001$).
Pairwise comparisons show a quite similar pattern as in the case of the mother, except that this time Italy joined United States and Canada in the subgroup that had relatively lower

levels of control, later curfew requirements and more tolerance when limits are exceeded compared to Mexico and France. At the opposite, Mexican and France adolescents perceive more behavioral control, earlier curfew requirements and a more coercive paternal discipline practiced. In the case of conflict with the father as perceived by adolescents, three significant differences emerge. Mexicans adolescents perceive the highest rate of conflict, US adolescents perceive the lowest rate, no significant differences between France, Italy and Canada that fall between Mexico and the U.S.

When comparing the positions of parents between countries, univariate analyses showed significant differences for three measures (behavioral control: $F_{(4, 921)} = 4.73, p < .01$; curfew: $F_{(4, 921)} = 11.95, p < .001$; disciplinary style : $F_{(4, 921)} = 11.59, p < .001$). The pairwise analyses indicate that the US parent stood out with significantly lower levels of behavioral control; there were no significant differences between the four other countries. Parent-reported curfew revealed a pattern of results similar to that of adolescent reports: Mexican and French parents reported imposing the earliest curfew, the American and Canadian parents tolerate the latest curfew, while Italian parents are between those two extremes. Finally there is no difference between countries, when parents report the presence of conflicts with their adolescents.

Insert table 3 about here

Table 3 presents the linear correlations between the variables for the entire sample. It is found that behavioral control and the imposition of curfew were significantly correlated in the case of the perception of the mother and the father. This was expected and confirms that rules setting, authorization requirement and curfew setting are part of the same universe. However, the disciplinary style is not significantly correlated with either the behavioral control or with the establishment of the curfew. This indicates that how react when the agreed rules are not respected constitutes a specific element in the management of relations between parents and adolescents. Finally we noted that neither behavioral control nor curfew rules are correlated to the presence of conflits. In contrast, the adoption of a more severe disciplinary style is very highly correlated with the presence of conflicts within the family, and this for each of the selected target: perception of the mother and the father by adolescents and statements by parents themselves.

Insert table 4 about here

This led us to establish the regression analyzes between the disciplinary style and conflicts by introducing the country of origin as interaction variable. Table 4 showed that in each country the disciplinary style marked by coercion strongly predicts the presence of such conflicts and this again in case of the perception of the mother and the father by adolescents and statements by parents themselves.

DISCUSSION

The first part of Hypothesis 1 postulated that United States and Canada would differ from other countries by exerting less behavioral control and an approach valuing the negotiation in case of conflicts. This is totally confirmed. In both countries, adolescents reported that they are subject to lower level of rules and constraints, later curfews and less severe disciplinary action in case of non compliance with the rule, and this from mothers or fathers. It is also in US and Canada that parents reported imposing fewer rules, later curfews and higher levels of tolerance in case of non compliance compared to other countries.

As expected, Mexican families are characterized by a higher level of control practices than other countries: more rules, more restrictions, lower curfews and a disciplinary approach more repressive and coercive. This set of results were confirmed regardless of the reporter: adolescents reports of each parent or parents'self report.

It was expected that the Italians adolescents reported similar high level of parental control as those reported by Mexican adolescents. This was not the case. Regarding adolescents' reports of maternal parenting, the Italians occupied every time the median position for the various control measures. Regarding adolescents' reports of paternal parenting, Italian adolescents joined Canadians and Americans in their perceptions of the lowest levels of parental control, later curfews and a disciplinary style characterized by negotiation and induction.

It was expected that France would occupy a middle position between the most tolerant and the most demanding countries in terms of parental control. This is clearly not the case, since the French adolescents perceived, as the Mexicans, the highest level of constraints and rules and disciplinary style more punitive and coercive in the case of both parent. French parents like Mexicans show the most requirements and control practices and adopt disciplinary approach more repressive and coercive.

Regarding coercion, we examined the responses of adolescents to the next question : « *when you do some really serious things, sometimes your mom (or dad) hits you* ». In the case of the mother, 32 French adolescents endorse this statement by stating that this happens often (15) or always (17). The Mexicans followed with 29 (14 and 5), followed by the Italians with 18 (13 and 5) while this affirmation is rarely endorsed by Canadian and US, 4 each time (2 and 2). In the case of the fathers the differences between countries are more marked: 36 adolescents in France endorse this statement, 24 in Mexico, 11 in Italy, 4 in Canada and only 2 in the United States. The hypothesis concerning using coercive disciplinary action is therefore confirmed for Mexico but it is in France that the use of physical punishments for adolescents are the most frequent. The very low frequency of physical punishment in Canada and the US, confirms the assertion that physical punishment are discouraged from parenting practices in those countries.

The second group of hypotheses about conflicts are partially confirmed. The sample of Mexico reported most frequent and most severe level of conflict; this was confirmed across the three information sources. Adolescents from Canada reported less conflict with each parent, while American parents reported the lowest rate of family conflicts. Contrary to the hypotheses, Italy differs from Mexico in term of conflicts between adolescents and their parents and joined France where respondents report a medium level of conflicts.

The analyses performed in this study leads to the following picture of parental practices among adolescents in each country.

United States and Canada . Whether questioning adolescents about the practices of each parent or parents themselves, a clear common vision emerges, dominated by a model marked by reduced requirements and more tolerance for what concerns authorization demands and curfew. American and Canadian parents share educational practices marked by induction and negotiation rather than coercion in case of problems, while corporal punishment is practically banned. This may minimize sources of conflict and, indeed, it is in these two countries, particularly in United States, where conflict rate between parents and adolescents is the lowest.

Studying patterns of parenting in various cultures, research has delineated two contrasting parenting models that regulate the achievement of developmental tasks, such as access to autonomy in adolescence (Greenfield et al., 2003; Kagitçibasi, 2007; Kitayama, 2002). The first model, called independent, values individuation and gives heightened importance to the development of initiative and autonomy; the second, the interdependent model, emphasizes collective dimensions, mutual support, allegiance to family and respect of parental authority. Results suggest that US and Canadian parents have clearly adopted the first model by avoiding restrictions of control practices and promoting conflict resolution that involve induction and negotiation and excluding coercive disciplinary forms. The results also suggest that this educational philosophy may lead in those two countries to a reduction of conflicts within families with adolescents.

Mexico. Mexican parents are characterized by the higher level control practices: more rules, more restrictions, earlier curfew and a disciplinary approach more repressive and coercive and this was found across informants: teens for each parent or parents themselves. Compared with other countries, the Mexican family also appears to be more conflictual and this was confirmed across informers. This places Mexico among the countries that have adopted the interdependent model, emphasizes collective dimensions, allegiance to family and respect of parental authority. This confirms the observations reported by many observers of the Mexican family who consider that the collective cultural pattern engender a family approach dominated by the imposition of parental rules, authoritarian and punitive tendencies when parental rules are broken (Diaz-Loving 2006; Moral de la Rubia , 2013). Solis-Camara et al. (2014) recognize that this model still dominates in Mexican society even when they observe a gradual counter-cultural movement in middle and upper-class society placing a greater emphasis on individuation and by adopting a model of parenting that promotes independence and negotiation in conflicts.

Italy. Generally Italy is at a middle position for what concerns the perception by adolescents of behavioral control by the mother or by parent reports themselves. A distinction appears when looking at the perception of the father who appears as a person who, like the Canadian and American fathers, seems less demanding, more tolerant and more open to negotiation in conflicts. This gap in favor of the father seems specific to the Italian family. Claes et al. (2010) already noted that specificity of Italian fathers in a study comparing the perception of the father by French, Italian and Canadian adolescents. On her side Bosoni (2014) emphasizes that recent empirical studies highlight a change in the father role in Italy, towards a more family-involved style of male parenthood. This characteristics of Italian fathers therefore deserves to be explored more systematically.

France. The case of France is undoubtedly the most intriguing since most results are contrary to what was expected. Indeed France joined Mexico to all parental requirements : more restrictive family rules and needs for authorization, earlier curfew. But what is more surprising is the use of punitive and coercive measures in case of non compliance and the use of corporal punishment by some French parents, even it is relatively unfrequent. We fond here the emotional distance between parents and adolescents still underscored by Sabatier & Berry (2008) and Suizzo (2002), distance which originated from conformity to traditional social rules and respect for authority in the French family. Our results are close to those of a recent study showing that among 32 countries, it is in France that the quality of relationships between adolescents and parents is the most deteriorated during the ten last years (Brooks et al., 2015). The authors of this study report what they call a coincidence between relational difficulties in family in France where they observe the lowest perception of reported work-family life balance, considering that reconciliation of work and family is a key factor in determining the quality of family lives. This explanation is plausible but other forces that lie at the core of the educative philosophy in France probably play a major role. This last explanation has to be exploring in depth.

Our results suggest that how to achieve parental control varies according to the educational values that dominates in each country. Indeed the present results gathered from five highly industrialized Western societies delineate consistent differences in terms of parental control. The results are consistent with the notion that parenting, particularly parental control, is dictated by social codes and culture-specific values, which promote certain parental practices and proscribe others (Kagitçibasi, 2011;

Smetana, 2011; Smith, Bond & Kagitçibasi, 2006)

.

Our results raise several classic questions, such as whether the diversity of parental practices within a culture is greater than that between cultures. Although cross-cultural differences do exist, we must keep in mind that they are often lesser than differences observable within the same country.

This study also aimed to establish relationships between the variables, particularly the links between parental control measures and the presence of conflicts. The results are very clear and are proving very robust across each country. It is noted that neither the behavioral control or curfew are associated with the presence of conflicts between adolescents and parents and this is true in every country and for the three sources of information: perception of maternal and paternal practices by adolescents and statement by the parents themselves. However disciplinary style adopted by parents is a very strong predictor of the presence of conflicts within families. This means that the family rules requirements, requests for authorization and curfew are not related to the presence of conflicts. This is how to impose sanctions in case of non-compliance with agreed limits which is source of negative outcomes. The more parents adopt coercive measures, the more conflicts, while the inductive approach significantly reduced the number and severity of conflicts. This joins results of recent studies which have found the deleterious effect of coercive parental practices to children in all countries examined (Gershoff et al. 2010; Lansford, et al. 2005).

A study on parental control raises important questions whose primary concerns the impact of

parental control over the development of children and adolescents. The results obtained in this study confirms a clear link between a coercive disciplinary parental style and the presence of conflict. But as numerous studies have found, strict parental control has also positive effects on the development (Barber et al., 2003; Galambos et al., 2003 ; Hoeve, et al. , 2009). Firm control promotes academic achievement and reduces the engagement of adolescents in deviant behavior and consummation of substances. These aspects have not been covered in this article, which was limited to examining the control and presence of conflicts in a cross cultural perspective. The authors propose to examine these links in their future work.
Strengths and limitations.

This study has several merits. The national samples are relatively large, the sources of information come both from adolescents and parents. The study is based on instruments adequately validated in the five countries. The analyses have attempted to account for confounding variables and analysis of relationships between variables was checked through the different countries. Various limitations in the current study should be noted. First the nature of the sampling : adolescents came from participating schools, and thus made up a convenience sample. These schools are located in cities and regions of the countries that are not necessarily representative of the populations of their respective countries. This poses limitation to the generalizability of our results. Another limitation concerns the information collected from parents. The questionnaire was addressed to both parents as a couple. Most often, in 70% of cases it is the mother who responded while only 9% of fathers answered the questionnaire. It would be worthwhile asking to each parent separately to check the degree of similarity or difference between the positions of each parent in the issues addressed in this study.

REFERENCES

Arnett, J. J. (2002). Adolescents in western countries in the 21st century: Vast opportunities for all*?* In B. Bradford-Brown, R. W. Larson, & T. S. Saraswathi (Eds.), *The world's youth: Adolescence in eight region of the globe* (pp. 307–343). Cambridge: University Press.

Barber, B. K., Stolz, H. E., & Olsen, J. A. (2005). *Parental support, psychological control, and behavioral control: Assesing relevance across time, culture and method*. Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, Vol. 70. Boston: Blackwell Publishing.

Baumrind, D. (1975). Early socialization and adolescent competence. In S. E. Dragastin, & G. H. Elder (Eds.), *Adolescence in the life cycle* (pp. 117–143). New York: Wiley.

Bender H.L., Allen J.P.,, McElhaney K.B., Antonishak J., Moore C.M., Kelly H.O., & Davis S.M. (2007). Use of harsh physical discipline and developmental outcomes in adolescence. *Developmental Psychopathology, 19*, 227-42.

Berry, J. W., Poortinga, Y. H., Segall, M. H., & Dasen, P. R. (2002). *Cross-cultural psychology. Research and applications* (2nd ed.). Cambridge University Press.

Blishen, B. R., Carrol, W. K., & Moore, C. (1987). A revisited socio-economic index for occupations in Canada. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 13*, 71–79.

Bornstein, M. H. (2013). Parenting and child mental health : A cross-cultural perspective. *World Psychiatry, 12*, 258 – 265.

Bosoni, M.L. (2014). « Breadwinners » or « involved fathers? » Men, fathers and work in Italy *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 45*, 293 - 315.

Brooks, F., Zaborskis, A., Tabak, I., del Carmen, M., Alcón, G., Zemaitiene, N., de Roos, S. & Klemera, E. (2015). Trends in adolescents' perceived parental communication across 32 countries in Europe and North America from 2002 to 2010. European Journal of Public Health, 25, 46 – 50.

Chen, C., & Farruggia, S. (2002). Culture and adolescent development. In W. J. Lonner, D. L. Dinnel, S. A. Hayes, & D. N. Sattler (Eds.), *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture* (Unit 11, Chapter 2), Center for Cross-Cultural Research, Western Washington University, Bellingham, Washington USA.

Claes, M., Perchec, C., Miranda, D., Benoit, A., Bariaud, F., Lanz, M., Marta, E. & Lacourse, E. (2010). Adolescents' perceptions of parental practices: A cross-national comparison of Canada, France, and Italy. *Journal of Adolescence, 34*, 225-238.

Claes, M., Debrosse, R., Miranda, D, & Perchec, C. (2010*)*. Un instrument de mesure des pratiques éducatives parentales à l'adolescence : validation auprès d'adolescents du Québec et

de France. (An instrument for measuring parental educational practices in adolescence: validation from Quebec and France). *Revue Européenne de Psychologie Appliquée*, *60*, 65 – 78.

Clermont, M. & Claes, M. (2008). Une étude comparative des pratiques parentales d'adolescents québécois et haïtiens vivant à Montréal. (A comparative study of parenting practices of Quebec and Haitian adolescents living in Montreal). *Revue Québécoise de Psychologie*. *29*, 205 223.

Darling, N., Cumsille, P., & Pena-Alampe, L. (2005). Rules, legitimacy of parental authority, and obligation to obey in Chile, Philippines, and United States. In J. Smetana (Ed.), *Changing boundaries of parental authority during adolescence*. New Direction for Child and Adolescent Development. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Diaz-Gerrero, L. (2003). Bajo las garras de la cultura. (Under the clutches of culture). *Psichologia del Mexicano*. Mexico City : Trillas.

Diaz-Loving, L. (2006). Mexico. In J. Georgas, J. Berry, F. van de Vijver, C. Kagitcibasi & Y. P. Poortinga, [Eds], *Families across cultures: A 30-nation psychological study* (pp. 394-401). New York : Cambridge University Press.

Dishion, T. J., & McMahon, R. J. (1998). Parental monitoring and the prevention of the child and adolescent problem behavior: a conceptual and empirical formulation. *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review, 1*, 61–75.

Dodge, K.A., McLoyd, V.C. & Lansford, J.E. (2005). The cultural context of physically disciplining children. In, V. C. McLoyd, N. E. Hill & K.A, Dodge [Eds], *African American family life: Ecological and cultural diversity* (pp. 245-263). New York : Guilford Press.
Erkut, S. (2010). Developing multiple language versions of instruments for intercultural research. *Child Development Perspectives, 4*, 19–24.
Ember, C R. & Ember, M. (2005) Explaining corporal punishment of children: A cross-cultural study. *American Anthropologist, 107*, 609-619.

Galambos, N. L., Barker, E. T., & Almeida, D. M. (2003). Parents do matter: trajectories of change in externalizing and internalizing problems in early adolescence. *Child Development, 74*, 578–594.

Georgas, J., Berry, J. W., van de Vijver, F. J. R., Kagitcibasi, C., & Poortinga, Y. H. (2006). *Families across cultures: A 30-nation psychological study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

George, E. L., & Bloom, B. L. (1997). A brief scale for assessing parental child-rearing practices: psychometric properties and psychosocial correlates. *Family Process, 36*, 63–80.

Gershoff E. T., Grogan-Kaylor A, Lansford J.E., Chang L., Zelli A., Deater-Deckard K., Dodge K.A. (2010). Parent discipline practices in six countries: Frequency of use, associations with child behaviors, and moderation by cultural normativeness. *Child Development, 81*, 487-502.

Greenfield, P. M., Keller, H., Fuligni, A., & Maynard, A. (2003). Cultural pathways through universal development. *Annual Review of Psychology, 54*, 461–490.

Grolnick, W.S. & Farkas, M. (2002). Parenting and the development of children's self-regulation. In, Bornstein, M. H. [Ed], *Handbook of parenting: Vol. 5: Practical issues in parenting* (2nd ed.) (pp. 89-110). Mahwah, NJ, US: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers

Harkness, S., & Super, C. M. (1996). Introduction. In S. Harkness & C. M. Super (Eds.), *Parents' cultural belief systems: Their origins, expressions, and consequences* (pp. 1-23). New York: Guilford.

Hoeve M., Dubas J.S., Eichelsheim V.I., van der Laan P.H., Smeenk W., & Gerris J.R. (2009). The relationship between parenting and delinquency: a meta-analysis. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 37*, 749-75.

Hoffman, M.L. (2000). *Empathy and moral development: Implications for caring and justice.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Jose.P. E., Hutsinger, C.S. Hutsinger, P.R. & Liaw, F. R. (2000). Parental values and practices in Taiwan and the United States. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, *31, 677-702.

Kagitçibasi, C. (2007). *Family, self, and human development across culture*. London : Lawrence Erlbaum.

Kim, S. Y., & Ge, X. (2000). Parenting practices and adolescent depressive symptoms in Chinese American families. *Journal of Family Psychology, 14*, 420–435.

Kitayama, S. (2002). Culture and basic psychological process – towards a systematic view of culture. *Psychological Bulletin, 128*, 73–77.

Kerr, M., Stattin, H., & Trost, K. (1999). To know you is to trust you: Parents' trust is rooted in child disclosure of information. *Journal of Adolescence, 22*, 737– 752.

Kerr, M., & Stattin, H. (2000). What parents know, how they know it, and several forms of adolescent adjustment: further support for a reinterpretation of monitoring. *Developmental Psychology, 36,* 366–380.

Khaleque, A., & Rohner, R. P. (2002). Perceived parental acceptance-rejection and psychological adjustment: a meta-analysis of cross cultural and intra-cultural studies. *Journal*

of Marriage and the Family, 64, 54–64.

Kwak, K., & Berry, J. (2006). Canada. In J. Georgas, J. W. Berry, F. J. R. van de Vijver, C. Kagitcibasi, & Y. P. Poortinga (Eds.), *Families across cultures: A 30-nation psychological study* (pp. 284–292). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lannegrand-Willems, L., Sabatier, C. & Brisset, C. (2012). France. In, J. Arnett (Ed.), *Adolescent psychology around the world* (pp. 257 – 272). New York : Psychology Press.

Lansford J.E., & Deater-Deckard, K. (2012). Childrearing discipline and violence in developing countries. Child Dev. 83, 62-75.

Lansford, J. E., Chang, L., Dodge, K. A., Malone, P. S., Oburu, P., Palmerus, K., Bacchini, D., Pastorelli, C., Bombi, A. S., Zelli, A., Tapanya, S., Chaudhary, N., Deater-Deckard, K., Manke, B. & Quinn, N. (2005). Physical discipline and children's adjustment: Cultural normativeness as a moderator. *Child Development, 76*, 1234-1246.

Lanz, M. (1997). Parent-Offspring communication scale: applicazione ad un campione italiano [Parent-Offspring communication scale: a study on a Italian sample]. *Bolletino di Psicologgia Applicata, 224*, 33–38.

Lanz, M. (2000). From adolescence to young adulthood: a family transition. In C. Violato, E. Oddonne-Paolucci, & M. Genius (Eds.), *The changing family and child development* (pp. 132–146). UK: Ashgate.

Maccoby, E. E., & Martin, J. A. (1983). Socialization in the context of the family: parent-child interaction. In E. M. Hetherington (Ed.), *Socialization, personality, and social development* (4th ed.). Vol. 4. New York: Wiley.

Moilanen, K.L., Shaw, D.S., Criss, M.M., & Dishion T.S. (2009). Growth and predictors of parental knowledge of youth behavior during early adolescence. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 29*, 800-825.

Miller, P. J., & Goodnow, J. J. (1995). *Cultural practices: Toward an integration of culture and development*. New Directions for Child Development. San Fransisco: Jossey-Bass.

Moral de la Rubia, J. (2013). Prácticas parentales y percepción del rol en padres de adolescentes. (Parental practices and role perception
in parents of teenagers
). *Revista Mexicana de Investigación en Psicología, 2013*, 6 – 19.

New, R. S. (1988). Parental goals and Italian infant care. In R. A. LeVine, P. M. Miller, & M.

M. West (Eds.), *Parental behavior in diverse societies*. New directions for child development, Vol. 40 (pp. 51–63). San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

New, R. S. & Beligni,L. (1987). Italian fathers and infants : Cultural constraints on paternal behavior. In M.E. Lamb (Ed.), *The father's role : Cross-cultural perspective*. Hillsdale : Lawrence Erlbaum.

Oyserman, D., Coon, H.M., &Kemmelmeier, M. (2002). Rethinking individualism and collectivism: Evaluation of theoretical assumptions and meta- analyses. *Psychological Bulletin*, *128*, 3–72.

Patrick, R. B., & Gibbs, J. C. (2012). Inductive discipline, parental expression of disappointed expectations, and moral identity in adolescence. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 41,* 973-983.

Patterson, G. R., & Stouthamer-Loeber, M. (1984). The correlation of family management practices and delinquency. *Child Development, 55*, 1299–1307

Pavlova M.K., Haase C.M. & Silbereisen R.K. (2010). Early, on-time, and late behavioural autonomy in adolescence: psychosocial correlates in young and middle adulthood. *Journal of Adolescence*, *34*, 361-70.

Peterson, G. W., Steinmetz, S. K., & Wilson, S. M. (2005). *Parent-youth relations. Cultural and cross cultural perspectives*. New York: The Haworth Press.

Pomerantz E.M. & Thompson R.A. (2008). Parents' role in children's personality development: The psychological resource principle. In John O.P., Robins R.W., Pervin L.A. (Eds.), *Handbook of personality: Theory and research* (Vol. 3, pp. 351–374). New York: Guilford.

Putnick DL, Bornstein MH, Lansford JE, Malone PS, Pastorelli C, Skinner AT, Sorbring E, Tapanya S, Uribe Tirado LM, Zelli A, Alampay LP, Al-Hassan SM, Bacchini D, Bombi AS, Chang L, Deater-Deckard K, Di Giunta L, Dodge KA, Oburu P. (2015). Perceived mother and father acceptance-rejection predict four unique aspects of child adjustment across nine countries. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 56*, 923-32.

Ritchwood, T.D., Howell, R.J., Traylor, A., Church, W.T., & Bolland, J. (2014). Socio ecological predictors of intercourse frequency and number of sexual partners among male and female African American adolescents. *Journal of Community Psychology, 42*, 765-781.

Rohner, R. P., Khaleque, A., & Cournoyer, D. E. (2005). Cross national perspectives on parental acceptance-rejection theory. In G. W. Peterson, S. K. Steinmetz, & S. M. Wilson (Eds.), *Parent-youth relations. Cultural and cross cultural perspectives*. New York: The Haworth Press.

Rollins, D. G., & Thomas, D. I. (1979). Parental support, power and control techniques in the socialization of children. In W. Burr, R. Hill, I. Nye, & I. Reiss (Eds.), *Contemporary*

theories about the family (pp. 317–364). New York: Free Press.

Runyan D.K., Shankar, V., Hassan, F., Hunter W.M., Jain, D., Paula C.S., Bangdiwala S.I., Ramiro L.S., Muñoz, S.R., Vizcarra, B., & Bordin I.A.(2010). International variations in harsh child discipline. *Pediatrics*. *126*, 701-11.

Sabatier, C. & Berry, J.W. (2008). The role of family acculturation, parental style, and perceived discrimination in the adaptation of second-generation immigrant youth in France and Canada. European Journal of Developmental Psychology, 5, 159 – 185.

Scabini, E., Marta, E., & Lanz, M. (2006). *The transition to adulthood and family relations. An intergenerational perspective*. New York: Psychology Press.

Schaefer, E. S. (1965). Children's reports of parental behavior: an inventory. *Child Development, 36*, 413–424.

Sgritta, G. B. (1988). The Italian family. *Journal of the Family Issues, 9*, 372–393.

Smetana, J. G. (2008). "It's 10 O'Clock: Do You Know Where Your Children Are?" Recent advances in understanding parental monitoring and adolescents' information management. *Child Development Perspectives*, 2, 19-25.

Smetana, J. G. (2011) *Adolescents, families, and social development. How teens construct their world*. England: Wiley-Blackwell.

Smetana, J. G., Campione-Barr, N., & Metzger, A. (2006). Adolescent development in interpersonal and societal contexts. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *57*, 255-284.

Soenens, B. & Beyers, W. (2012). Cross-cultural significance of control and autonomy in parent–adolescent relationships. *Journal of Adolescence, 35*, 243–248.

Solis-Camara, P., Fung, M.P. & Fox, R.A. (2014). Parenting in Mexico : Relationships based on love and obedience. In, H. Selin, (Ed.) *Parenting across cultures* (pp. 349-366). New York : Springer.

Sophtas-Nall, B. & Sukhodolsky, D. G (2006). Family in the United States: Social context, structure, and roles. In, J. Georgas, J.W. Berry, F. J. R van de Vijver, C. Kagitcibasi, & Y. H... Poortinga (Eds.), *Families across cultures: A 30-nation psychological study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sterrett, E. M., Dymnicki, A. B., Henry, D., Byck, G. R., Bolland, J. & Mustanski, B. (2014). Predictors of co-occurring risk behavior trajectories among economically disadvantaged african-american youth: Contextual and individual factors. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 55,*

380 – 87.

Su, C. & Hynie, M. (2011). Effects of life stress, social support and cultural norms on parenting styles among mainland Chinese, European-Canadian and Chinese-Immigrant mothers. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 42, 1-19.

Suizzo, M.-A (2002). French parent's cultural models and childrearing beliefs. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *26*, 297–307.

Vazsonyi, A. T., Hibbert, J. R., & Snider, J. B. (2003). Exotic enterprise no more? Adolescent reports of family and parenting processes from youth in four countries. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 13, 129–160.

Youniss, J. (1994). Rearing children for society. In J. G. Smetana (Ed.), *Beliefs about parenting: Origins and developmental implications*. New directions for child development, Vol. 66 (pp. 37–50). San Francisco: Jossey Bass.