# Ethnic Youth: Parental Style and Consumer Socialization

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## Abstract:

A substantial portion of the U.S. population consists of immigrants and all the indications are that the segment is growing in numbers. According to the 2010 Census, 37.9 per cent of the American population consisted of non-European ethnic groups; this proportion is expected to be at 48 per cent in 2030 (United States Census Bureau 2012). On the contrary, the non-immigrant population is expected to have a lower growth rate of 4 per cent to 12 per cent over the same period. With the steady rise in immigrant population and subsequent diversity in the marketplace, particularly in North America and across Europe and Australia, the topic of cultural influences on immigrants' consumption behaviour is attracting increasing attention (e.g., Forehand and Deshpandé 2001; Forehand, Deshpandé and Reed 2002; Laroche, Yang, Kim, and Richard 2007).

## Book chapter:

## Introduction

A substantial portion of the U.S. population consists of immigrants and all the indications are that the segment is growing in numbers. According to the 2010 Census, 37.9 per cent of the American population consisted of non-European ethnic groups; this proportion is expected to be at 48 percent in 2030 (United States Census Bureau 2012). On the contrary, the non-immigrant population is expected to have a lower growth rate of 4 per cent to 12 per cent over the same period. With the steady rise in immigrant population and subsequent diversity in the marketplace, particularly in North America and across Europe and Australia, the topic of cultural influences on immigrants' consumption behaviour is attracting increasing attention (e.g., Forehand and Deshpandé 2001; Forehand, Deshpandé and Reed 2002; Laroche, Yang, Kim, and Richard 2007).

Traditionally, prior research has examined ethnic consumption, primarily focusing on adults and largely ignoring children (Laroche *et al*. 2007). A move towards understanding how rising immigration levels and subsequent cultural adaptation impact ethnic minority children's consumption attitudes and behaviours is particularly warranted because ethnic children now account for approximately 21.8 per cent of the American school-aged children (Humes, Jones and Ramirez 2010). Not only are children themselves important customers, but also their influence on family purchase decisions is steadily increasing (Caruana and Vassallo 2003). American children in the 1990s had three times the disposable income than they had in the 1980s, spending approximately an average of $23.4 billion each year (McNeal 1999). In addition to their direct spending, the American children's influence in family purchases increased from $5 billion in the 1960s to about $188 billion in 1997. Corresponding to this trend, every year over $1 billion is spent on media advertising to children through youth-oriented marketing channels that include television advertising, in-school marketing, the internet, product placements, kids clubs and toys/products (Austin and Reed 1999; Story and French 2004).

Acknowledging the important role of children as consumers, marketing researchers have paid serious attention to the topic of consumer socialization, which is broadly defined as the processes through which children accumulate consumption-related skills, knowledge and attitudes (Ward 1974). These processes encompass various socialization agent–learner relationships and modes of learning. One aspect of consumer socialization that has attracted considerable research concerns parental style, which is defined as 'a constellation of attitudes toward the child that are communicated to the child and that, taken together, create an emotional climate in which the parent's behaviors are expressed' (Darling and Steinberg 1993, p. 488). This chapter provides a comprehensive overview of the extent to which parental style affects consumer socialization in the Western and Eastern countries. Building upon the cross-cultural literature, the chapter further elaborates on how processes of culture change (e.g., cultural adaptation) among ethnic minority groups may affect such a socialization process. The chapter also outlines future research avenues in this relatively untapped domain.

**Differences in socialization across cultures**

Consumer socialization, as a profile of social realities, is an inherently cultural process (Laroche *et al*. 2007). Socialization processes and outcomes may differ due to distinct socialization goals followed by people in a given society. Socialization goal differences are manifested through several dimensions, including collectivism–individualism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance and sex-role orientation (Hofstede 1983). The socialization goal in mainstream Western cultures (e.g. the US, Canada and UK) is to develop an individual sense of identity and self-sufficiency away from family members (Triandis 1995). With this foundation, children are considered well-prepared to advance to adulthood and make decisions for themselves with less reference to family expectations. Even in the presence of family expectations, a sense of honour and integrity is attached to those who are able to follow their own initiatives and achieve their personal goals. By contrast, the socialization tasks in mainstream Far Eastern cultures (e.g., China, Korea and Japan) are to: 1) help children learn to control individualistic acts and to reduce unique individual characteristics; 2) develop collectivistic ideology and co-operative skills and behaviour including obedience, conformity and interdependence; 3) become an integral part of

the larger group and make contributions to the achievement and welfare at collective societal level (Chen 2000; Triandis 1995).

The differences in socialization goals in Eastern and Western culture significantly impact marketing practices. For example, the socialization goal towards collectivism drives Eastern cultures to exhibit high-context communication patterns, whereas the Westerns prefer low-context styles due to their socialization goal towards individualism. This explains why advertisements in the West are vested in the explicit code, whereas Eastern adverts are often implicit and indirect (Gao, Ting-Toomey and Gudykunst 1996). More recently, Yang, Kim, Laroche, and Lee (2014) find that the Eastern and the Western consumers differ in other consumption-related patterns. For example, the Eastern adolescents are less susceptible to peer influence than their Western counterparts, suggesting that marketers should place a relatively stronger emphasis on targeting parents for children's merchandize in the East than in the West. Also, Eastern parents tend to be less concept-oriented and more socio-oriented than the Western parents, indicating that Eastern parents are less likely to engage in an open exchange of ideas with their children and to allow them to exercise much decision influence. Therefore, it would behove marketers to direct marketing communication more towards parents when launching children products in the Eastern countries (Yang *et al*. 2014).

**Effect of parental style on socialization in Western cultures**

Parental style plays a critical role as a transition belt to pass normative values and socialization goals of society from one generation to another (Yang and Laroche 2011). From an early age, parents provide their children with information about cultural priorities and parental expectations (LeVine *et al*. 1994). Through extended interaction with their parents, children internalize these inputs, slowly building up the desired cultural orientations (Yang and Laroche 2011).

In family socialization research, the most widely used approach in studying parenting style is Baumrind's (1971) authoritative-authoritarian-permissive typology, which was developed in the context of the United States. This tripartite model was later reconceptualized by Maccoby and Martin (1983) to reflect two specific underlying dimensions: *demandingness* refers to the extent to which parents show control, maturity demands and supervision in their parenting, and *responsiveness* refers to the extent to which parents show affective warmth, acceptance and involvement (Aunola, Stattin and Nurmim 2000; Maccoby and Martin 1983). The combined effects of these two dimensions yield a four-fold classification of parenting style.

Authoritative parents (both demanding and responsive) are warm and supportive, but also exert firm control. They value children's autonomy but at the same time expect disciplined conformity (Yang *et al*. 2014). Authoritarian parents (demanding but not responsive), on the other hand, maintain high levels of control over their children and limit children's autonomy. They judge and evaluate children's conduct by a set of standards endorsed by higher authority figures. They strictly enforce rules, favour children's unquestionable obedience and punish willful behaviour (Baumrind 1968; Carlson and Grossbart 1988). Permissive parents (responsive but not demanding) view children as having adult rights but few responsibilities (Baumrind 1978). These parents show emotional warmth and support and avoid confrontations, allowing their children to do what they want. Last, neglectful parents (neither demanding nor responsive) provide no

structure and little or no monitoring of children's behaviour. They see children as having few rights or responsibilities that require parenting attention (Carlson and Grossbart 1988). Therefore, they do not support or encourage their children's self-regulation or impose control on their child's behaviour (Maccoby and Martin 1983; Baumrind 1991).

Socialization research has extensively used this typology for examining the role of parental style in explaining children's adjustment with respect to a wide array of developmental factors. Many of these studies have found authoritative parenting to be the most effective style for a variety of positive outcomes, such as pro-social development, psychological competence, school achievement and self-esteem (Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg and Dornbusch 1991). In contrast, authoritarian parental style has been associated with decreased or more negative child outcomes such as increased internalized distress, problem behaviour and drug use, and poorer self-esteem (Lamborn *et al*. 1991). Substantial research has focused on investigating the effectiveness of parenting styles on childrens' or young adults' academic achievement. Findings suggest that a positive relationship exists between authoritative parenting style and high academic achievement (Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts and Dornbusch 1994; Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch and Darling 1992) and that a negative relationship exists between authoritarian parenting and low academic achievement (Steinberg 2001). Such research studies were primarily conducted in the United States involving middle class White American parents and their children.

In the context of consumer socialization, however, there is a paucity of research on the role of parenting style in children's consumer behaviour. Among the rare exceptions, Rose (1999) reports that the indulgent parenting style fosters greater purchase participation and influence by children in family purchase decisions than the authoritarian style. More recently, Yang *et al*. (2014) find that authoritarian parents are more socio-oriented than authoritative, permissive and neglectful parents, whereas authoritative and permissive parents are more concept-oriented than authoritarian and neglectful parents. Furthermore, adolescents with authoritative and permissive parents are more likely to use bilateral influence strategies (e.g., reasoning, bargaining) than those with authoritarian parents, while those with neglectful parents more likely use unilateral influence strategies (e.g., playing on emotions, stubborn persuasion) than those with other parental styles. These findings are generally in line with the socialization goals that these parental styles intend to transfer. From a managerial standpoint, a better understanding of the potential impact of parental styles on consumer socialization process is important to marketers. Parental styles are meaningful segmentation variables (Rose 1999). Knowing about the strategies children use to persuade their parents and the communication patterns in each segment helps marketers design adverts that best reflect their target consumers' communication style. For example, Yang *et al*. (2014) reveal that authoritative parents tend to promote a more open parent–child communication and allow their children greater consumption autonomy and influence in family purchases. As a result, if a marketer of teenagers' educational products wants to target the authoritative parental segment, it would be effective to direct marketing communication to both the child and the parents in view of the two-way, concept-oriented communication that is likely to be prevalent in authoritative families (ibid.).

**Effect of parental style on socialization in Eastern cultures**

Consistent with collectivistic socialization goals, the primary concerns in Eastern societies consist of getting along with others (i.e., group harmony), conforming to the group (i.e., family and society) and being well behaved (Chao 1996; Triandis 1995). Self-directed willingness and individual interests are subordinated to those of the collective, and individual behaviours that may threaten the group functioning are discouraged or even prohibited (Ho 1986; Triandis 1995). Accordingly, Eastern socialization and formal education systems stress discipline, morality, ethics and collectivism (Yang and Laroche 2011).

The general social orientation of the Eastern culture towards collectivism has great impact on parenting styles (Triandis 1995). It has long been found that Eastern parents tend to use a more authoritarian parenting style that discourages children's independence, creativity, assertiveness and individuality in order to foster conformity and interdependence in favour of the goals and interests of the family (Kagitcibasi 1996). As a result, Eastern parents are high in parental control and restrictiveness (Chao and Sue 1996; Ho 1986; Yang, Schaninger and Laroche 2013) and use more physical punishment and yelling at their children than middle class American parents (Kelley and Tseng 1992). Since the Eastern cultures 'legitimatize' parents' role as 'trainers' as well as their use of more power-assertive forms of discipline, authoritarian parenting does not seem to have as much negative impact on Eastern children's well-being as that on Western children's (Yang *et al*. 2014).

These findings provide a rich foundation for consumer researchers to understand cultural differences in some important socialization outcomes, for example susceptibility to peer influence among adolescents. Worldwide, adolescents are the most vulnerable (compared with older adults or younger children) to the opinions of their peers, such as their friends, activity partners and co-workers (Yang, Schaninger, and Laroche 2013). Marketing practitioners recognize the importance of peer influence when targeting adolescent consumers and spending huge amounts of money every year on advertising in youth-oriented channels, including television advertising, in-school marketing, product placements and children's clubs (Austin and Reed 1999). In international marketing, the conventional wisdom would suggest that, when targeting adolescent consumers, one should allocate larger budgets for interpersonal communications in collectivist cultures than in individualist ones, because Eastern children are often encouraged to sacrifice personal goals for the sake of having good relationships with others, whereas their Western counterparts are socialized to be independent from an early age (Triandis 1995). However, this is not the right strategy according to Yang and associates (Yang 2008; Yang and Laroche 2011). In their pioneering work, Yang and Laroche (2011) show that in individualist cultures, parental responsiveness reduces adolescents' susceptibility to peer influence mainly through an indirect effect by undermining their interdependent self-construal, fostering self-esteem and impairing self-monitoring. However, in collectivist cultures, responsive parenting reduces susceptibility primarily through a direct effect. These findings suggest a counterintuitive international marking strategy: in Western cultures such as in Canada or the United States, marketers should allocate larger budgets for interpersonal communications towards adolescents such as buzz marketing and opinion leaders. In Eastern cultures, it may be more profitable to target parents, who would in turn influence their adolescents. Furthermore, within each culture, parental responsiveness can be a meaningful segmentation variable to identify adolescents who are high or low in susceptibility to normative influence from peers

(Yang and Laroche 2011). Ethnic marketers can use these insights in developing effective marketing strategies.

**When the East meets the West: role of cultural adaption**

Immigration to a new culture adds a new layer to the normal socialization process as it involves a cultural adaptation in aspects of social and psychological functioning (Taft 1986). The immigration case can be classified into one of the following situations: (1) the West meets the West (e.g., British migrating to the US), (2) the East meets the East (e.g. Philippines moving to Malaysia), (3) the West meets the East (e.g., Americans moving to Japan and living there) and (4) the East meets the West (e.g., the Chinese migrating to the US). Of these four conditions, this chapter mainly focuses on the forth category, 'the East meeting the West', as this is the major trend of the immigration in the world and is the focus of the literature when discussing about cultural adaptation.

According to Berry (1990), cultural adaptation is a special case of socialization that changes an immigrant's values, attitudes, abilities, motives, personal identity, ethnic identity and lifestyle preferences. A unique aspect of the socialization processes applicable for the immigrants under the 'the East meets the West' category is that migrants in such a situation may face somewhat contradictory socialization goals. For example, the socialization goal of the host (Western) country may require them to pursue individualism – a cultural orientation that promotes independence and an individual sense of being (e.g., Hofstede 1983). On the other hand, the socialization goals of their own country of origin can still be based on collectivistic cultural values and norms, whereby people are supposed to be interdependent, having strong and cohesive ties with in-group members (Kim, Yang and Lee 2009). While many have studied the acculturation processes and agents of cultural change in cultural encounters such as this (e.g., Peñaloza 1994), not many have investigated the role of contradictory socialization goals on socialization outcomes among migrant families facing the push and pull factors from original and host cultures.

**Cultural adaptation and consumer socialization**

To better understand how cultural adaptation affects socialization among immigrants, we need to first introduce two important concepts that capture the gist of cultural adaptation: acculturation and ethnic identification. While many conceptualizations exist, *acculturation* can be considered as the degree to which an immigrant learns the traits of the mainstream consumer culture, whereas *ethnic identification* refers to the extent to which one retains the cultural traits from the country of origin (Laroche *et al.* 2007). Through adaptation, coping and learning processes, some individuals are more acculturated than others, whereas others still keep a strong maintenance of original cultural traits.

There are two schools of thoughts regarding the relationship between acculturation and ethnic identification. One research camp holds the view that ethnic consumers who are highly acculturated behave similarly to the mainstream individualists. This view reflects the assimilation perspective of culture change (Laroche and Jamal, this volume), whereby the key assumption is the loss of cultural values associated with culture of origin. The view is supported

by some research findings. For example, Tan and McCullough (1985) find that Chinese Americans high in acculturation are more similar to Anglo-Americans in terms of a high reliance on price and quality, whereas Chinese low in acculturation put more weight on image during their decision-making process. Highly acculturated Koreans, as compared with their less acculturated counterparts, are more likely to adopt American cultural styles in terms of observing friends' purchasing behaviour, taking peers' advice in selecting products and listening to advertising. Consistent results are also found based upon ethnic identification measure. For example, Deshpandé, Hoyer and Donthu (1986) report that significant differences exist in responses to ethnic advertising within the Hispanic subculture. Specifically, the preference for the ethnicity-congruency cues appears to be higher for respondents with stronger ethnic identity with their racial/ethnic group (Whittler 1989; Williams and Qualls 1989) than those with weak ethnic identity

The other research camp believes that acculturation and ethnic identification are not the bipolar ends of a single-continuum and, therefore, adopting cultural values of the host culture does not necessarily cause the loss of one's original ethnic identity (Lambert, Mermigis and Taylor 1986). To varying degrees, immigrants can incorporate two co-existing cultural self-identities (Ryder, Alden and Paulhus 2001). Along this bi-directional approach to cultural adaptation, Laroche *et al.* (2007) find that acculturation and ethnic identification are orthogonal and interact with each other to jointly affect children's purchase influence at home. Highly acculturated individuals with weaker ethnic identification tend to accept more individualistic values than those with stronger ethnic identification, whereas lowly acculturated individuals with stronger ethnic identification have more preference towards the collectivistic culture than those with weaker ethnic identification. Based on these findings, Laroche *et al.* suggest that advertisers, when targeting ethnic minority consumers, need to identify the primary target family member(s) based on the level of cultural adaptation the family has experienced. Advertisers of family products may be rewarded by launching advertisements whose messages are primarily targeted towards the parents for ethnic families who still largely identify with their traditional values. Messages reflecting traditional family values should be integrated into the promotion of products to enhance the market response. Advertisers may also use ethnic-congruent spokespeople in the advertisements, because high ethnic identifiers have been found to have more favourable responses to advertising that features ethnically similar actors or spokespeople (Whittler 1991; Torres and Briggs 2005), which in turn, elicits greater source honesty and attitudes towards the brand being advertised (Deshpandé and Stayman 1994; Toffoli and Laroche 2002).

## Cultural adaptation and the effect of parental style on socialization

The socialization research has extensively used the authoritative-authoritarian-permissive-neglectful typology for examining the role of parental style in adolescents' adjustment with respect to a wide array of developmental factors. Many of the studies involving mainstream Western cultures find authoritative parenting to be the most effective style for a variety of socialization outcomes: pro-social development, psychological competence, school achievement and self-esteem. In contrast, authoritarian parental style has been associated with more negative outcomes: increased internalized distress, problem behaviour, drug use and poorer self-esteem (Lamborn *et al.* 1991). In consumer research, scholars (Carlson and Grossbart 1988; Rose 1999) have also associated parental styles with consumption-related socialization outcomes. They find

that authoritative and permissive parents grant more consumption independence to their children and engage in higher levels of intergenerational communication about consumption than authoritarian parents. Focusing on children's use of influence strategies, Yang *et al.* (2014) find that children with neglectful parents tend to use more unilateral influence strategies than those with other parental strategies, including both stubborn persuasion and playing on emotions, whereas adolescents in authoritarian families use higher levels of both unilateral and bilateral strategies to get their way. This pattern exists in both Western societies and Eastern societies. In fact, a majority of studies involving diverse Western and non-Western cultures have shown support for the universal application of these parental styles (Chen 2000; Rohner 1986; Wu *et al.* 2002).

Although the parental style typology exists in both Western and Eastern cultures, two points are worthy of notification. First, the prevalent parental style differs in different cultures. Yang *et al.* (2014), for example, report that the most prominent parenting in Canada is authoritative parental style, followed by permissive parental style. By contrast, the most prevalent style in China is authoritarian, followed by authoritative parental style. Second, the effect of a specific parental style may be different in different cultures. Although authoritarianism is viewed as uniformly negative in the United States (Barber 1997), it is found to be more frequently used and more acceptable as a means of regulating children's behaviour in both China (Wu *et al.* 2002) and Japan (Rose 1999). For example, love withdrawal (e.g., threats of abandonment), shaming and guilt induction seem to be a prevalent part of Chinese children's socialization (Olsen *et al.* 2001). Not only do parents shame their children, but also primary schools use shaming (e.g., group ostracism or abandonment) as a principal moral training technique to correct children's misbehaviour (Fung 1999; Ho 1986).

An increasing number of researchers argue that the patterns found among White American families (e.g., link between authoritative parenting and positive outcomes, as well as between authoritarian parenting and negative outcomes) may not hold for ethnic minority groups (e.g., Asian Americans and African Americans) (Dornbusch *et al.* 1987). Sue and Abe (1995), for instance, find that although the majority of Chinese American parents tends to be authoritarian in parenting style, Chinese American children are likely to achieve higher test scores (e.g., SATs) and better school and college school grades. Similarly, focusing on the Chinese immigrant mothers living in the US, Wang and Phinney (1998) find that authoritarianism is positively associated with higher cognitive competence of pre-school children. Apparently, this explains why some researchers believe that the cultural traditions of the country of origin are so firmly entrenched among ethnic groups that their core cultural values do not change rapidly (Laroche *et al.* 2007). According to Ho, Peng and Lai (2001), the traditional values and ideologies, such as those concerning respect for authority figures and parents, continue to play a significant role in affecting socialization and child development among ethnic groups due to the enduring and resilient nature of the culture. For example, Wu (1996) shows that Chinese parents from Shanghai, Southern Taiwan, Bangkok, Singapore, Honolulu and Los Angeles share many basic traditional values, socialization goals and parenting practices, despite varying degrees of geographical and ideological differences. The recent debate on 'tiger mom' lends anecdotal evidence in this regard as well. However, as shown in the following, this view may be applicable for some ethnic groups, but not for others. Even in a particular ethnic minority group such as

Chinese Americans, this view may only be applicable to high ethnic identifiers. Therefore, there is a need to exercise caution when generalizing findings from one cultural context to the other.

**Potential issues and future research directions**

Idiocentricity in the effect of parental style

Previous research involving effects of parental styles on socialization outcomes has mainly centred on the aggregated level of evidence while the idiocentricity of the immigrants is largely neglected. In an attempt to address this issue, Laroche *et al*. (2007) introduced the construct of 'generational dissonance' at the family, further segmenting the Chinese Canadian immigrants. Based on this measure, the Chinese Canadian families were classified into two categories: generationally dissonant families (i.e., dissimilar levels of acculturation between parents and children) and generationally consonant families (i.e., similar levels of acculturation between parents and children) (Portes and Rumbaut 1996). According to Laroche *et al*., children in generationally consonant families had more influence over both frequently and infrequently purchased family product purchases than children in dissonant families. In addition, for members of consonant families, higher-acculturation and lower ethnic identification resulted in higher children's purchase influence on purchase decisions for all product categories. On the other hand, some of the findings for dissonant families were in the opposite direction. Specifically, acculturation affected children's influence negatively in dissonant families for both categories of the family products and infrequently purchased children products.

Future family research should consider idiocentricity in their studies. One way of doing so is to take both family-level and individual-level factors into consideration. By nature, families are multilevel entities where individuals (lower level units) are nested within families (higher level units). On the one hand, individuals are influenced by the families to which they belong. On the other hand, the properties of a family are in turn influenced by the individuals who make up that family. These kinds of interactions between the individuals and the families can be specified as a hierarchical system, in which individuals and families represent different hierarchical levels. This leads to research into the interplay between variables that describe the individuals and variables that describe the families. As shown in prior research (Laroche *et al.* 2007; Laroche, Yang, Kim and Chan 2006), including the family-level variables into the study opens a new avenue for research insights.

Another research avenue is to disentangle the differences among ethnic groups that share some common cultural values. Apparently similar looking cultures may not be the same. Let's use Hispanic Americans and Chinese Americans as an example. Similar to Chinese Americans, Hispanics are also under the category of collectivists (Hofstede 1983). However, readers should be cautious about the cultural difference between these two ethnic groups. For example, Koslow, Shamdasani and Touchstone (1994) find that among Hispanic consumers, there exists the effects of language-related inferiority complex (i.e., negative attitudes towards the advertisements when the ethnic language is exclusively used); nonetheless, prior research does not report similar effects among Chinese consumers. Such a cultural difference may cause the effects of parental style on consumer socialization to be dissimilar across these two groups.

Heterogeneity in responsiveness to parental influence among ethnic youth

The literature paints a mixed picture of the effect of parental style on children's behaviour. Some researchers argue that parenting strategies exert significant impact on children's behaviour after they become adults (Peters 1989; Shim 1996), while others suggest that parents have little influence on children's behaviour after they enter adolescence (McNeal 1991; Youniss and Smollar 1985; Yang, Schaninger and Laroche 2013). This chapter proposes that such mixed findings may be due to behavioural heterogeneity among children: different children may have different levels of sensitivity to parental influence. Parenting strategies may have positive, negative or null effects on children's behaviour, depending upon the characteristics of these children and, as such, may require marketers to use different strategies towards different types of families.

In the case of youth smoking, researchers show that intervention strategies that ignore this heterogeneity, ask the wrong questions, or those that take too harsh of an approach may actually exacerbate the maladaptive adolescent behaviour that they are designed to minimize (Berger and Rand 2008; Fitzsimons and Moore 2008; Yang and Netemeyer 2015). For example, delivering anti-smoking messages to the wrong audience may boost rather than curtail tobacco usage, which is termed as a 'boomerang effect' (Wakefield *et al*. 2006). To disentangle the behavioural heterogeneity among children's smoking, Yang and Netemeyer (2015) simultaneously examine the effects of parenting strategies on a child's: (1) probability to follow a specific trajectory for smoking growth; (2) growth pattern within a particular smoking trajectory; and (3) tobacco dependence at adulthood. Using nationally representative longitudinal data gathered over twelve years, they reveal five distinct smoking trajectories and demonstrate that parenting strategies have differential effects on these segments. Future researchers should examine how such heterogeneity is augmented or reduced by the process of cultural adaptation.

Future research may also want to examine the potential underlying mechanisms through which parental style affects socialization outcomes across different ethnic groups. Yang and Schaninger (2010) study the effects of a distal factor – parenting strategy – on child smoking development, after controlling for the effects of proximal factors. Findings suggest that parenting strategies have a direct impact only on the onset of smoking (smoking intercept), but not on smoking progression (smoking slope). However, after introducing the self-esteem trajectory as a mechanism, they find that parenting strategies affect child smoking progression indirectly – through child self-esteem trajectory factors. Similarly, from a developmental perspective, Yang and Laroche (2011) focus on how parental responsiveness affects adolescent susceptibility to normative influence both directly and indirectly through the key elements of adolescent self-concept (i.e., interdependent self-construal, self-esteem and self-monitoring). The findings suggest that, in individualist cultures such as Canada, responsiveness reduces susceptibility mainly through an indirect effect by undermining interdependent self-construal, fostering self-esteem and impairing self-monitoring. However, in collectivist cultures such as China, responsive parenting reduces susceptibility primarily through a direct effect (Yang and Laroche 2011). These findings indicate that one should use more interpersonal communications in individualist cultures than in collectivist ones; a suggestion that contradicts with conventional wisdom.

Moderating role of other socialization agents

Prior research has long considered parents, peers and mass media as the primary social influence sources for affecting the consumption-related behaviour among young consumers (Benezra 1995; Moschis 1987; Moschis and Churchill 1987; Shim 1996). More recently, the internet has become another important socialization agent, especially for university students. According to McKenna and Bargh (2000), the influence of the internet is so powerful that it even starts to erode the amount of human interactions among teenagers. In the context of ethnic marketing, a fruitful future research agenda could be to examine the extent to which parental styles moderate the effects of other socialization agents, such as mass media.

According to Peñaloza (1994), the media plays a significant role in socialization processes and acts as an important agent in the acculturation process. Extending previous research in this domain, this chapter argues to consider the role of parental style in enhancing media's impact on socialization outcomes. Consistent with this argument, research has shown that mass media health campaigns are most effective when utilized in conjunction with other sources of information (Wallack 1990). Family members have the ability to help young children understand what they see on television and in public, as well as understand what is true and what advertisers are trying to do in the commercials (Austin, Chen and Grube 2006). Furthermore, parental and family guidance can be a teaching aide in improving children's processing of information received via any media channel. As children further develop these skills, the pattern of influence becomes more effective and longer lasting (Austin, Chen and Grube 2006). When children and family experience messages via media channels together, there exists an opportunity to facilitate children's understanding and learning (Huston *et al*. 1992). However, further research is needed to investigate the interplay of new and old media, family roles, socializing goals, socialization agents and socializing outcomes among ethnic minority consumers.

Unique contribution of each dimension of parental style

A potential problem of the authoritative-authoritarian-permissive-neglectful typology is that multiple parenting behaviours co-exist within each style (Peterson and Hann 1999). This leads to the suggestion that more specific parenting behaviours, as opposed to broad all-inclusive parenting styles, can more accurately account for the relationship between parenting styles and socialization outcomes. In line with this reasoning, Darling and Steinberg (1993) propose that parenting styles should be disaggregated into their component parts to understand the processes through which styles influence child development. Parenting dimensions are relatively culture-free and therefore the examination of specific dimensions of parenting allows researchers to isolate relationships between specific parenting behaviours and socialization outcomes (Barber 1997; Peterson and Hann 1999), as well as to increase the explanatory power of socialization models among non-Western cultural groups (Steinberg *et al*. 1992).

In line with this reasoning, Yang and colleagues (Yang and Netemeyer 2015; Yang and Schaninger 2010; Yang, Schaninger and Laroche 2013) examine how three key parenting strategies – namely parental responsiveness, parental psychological control and parental monitoring (aka parental behavioural control) – affect children's smoking growth. Parental responsiveness refers to the extent to which parents show affective warmth, acceptance,

involvement, nurturance and support. Parental *psychological control* reflects psychological manipulation aimed at obedience and conformity, accompanied by such specific parental behaviours as threats, physical discipline, withdrawal of love and guilt induction. Parental monitoring or behavioural control is the degree to which parents monitor, set and enforce limits on their child's activities and behaviours (Barber 1997). The general social orientation towards collectivism or individualism is reflected by the extent to which these parenting strategies are used. Relative to their Western counterparts, Chinese parents are less likely to use reasoning and induction in parenting (Chen 2000). They are more controlling and protective in child rearing (Kriger and Kroes 1972; Lin and Fu 1990; Kim, Yang and Lee 2009) and use more high-power strategies such as physical punishment and yelling in teaching adolescents (Kelley and Tseng 1992; Yang and Laroche 2011).

Using longitudinal panel data from parents and children aged ten through seventeen, Yang and Schaninger (2010) show that parental responsiveness decreases children's smoking development by enhancing the initial level and reducing the natural rate of deterioration in child self-esteem, while psychological control increases smoking development both directly, and indirectly, by reducing the initial level of child self-esteem. These findings support targeting parents as a complement to the present approach focusing on children/teens. Different from existing parent-oriented marketing practices, a new approach is suggested by this study – emphasizing the detrimental impact of psychological control in parent-targeted media and website campaigns, and targeting parents before their child reaches late grade school. By the time a child reaches late grade school, the damage to his/her self-esteem and parent–child relationships has been done and it may be too late to reverse, which is likely to lead to escalating smoking (Yang and Schaninger 2010). Parent-oriented programs should also be used in combination with effective segmentation strategies. These are hitherto unrecognized transformative implications for public policy and anti-smoking marketers.

Due to data constraint, Yang and Schaninger (2010) only examine the effect of parenting strategies on socialization outcome (smoking in this case) in the Western society. Future research can extend the model to the Eastern cultures to examine how culture plays an important role in enhancing or mitigating the effect of parenting styles. Also, cross-cultural research can examine such important variables as perceived attractiveness of smokers, perceived popularity of smokers and attitudes towards peers who quit smoking. Customized long-term longitudinal data sets can be developed in different cultures, measuring these and other variables that can reveal the process through which parenting strategies affect child smoking patterns in different countries and ethnic groups. Another research avenue is to examine how parenting strategies may moderate, or interact with child/adolescent-oriented marketing campaigns among ethnic youth. For example, children with particular parenting strategies in a specific ethnic group may be receptive to advert appeals that emphasize 'smoking is not cool', while others with different parenting strategies in another ethnic group may be receptive to advert themes emphasizing that quitting smoking shows 'you are independent' (Fitzsimons and Moore 2008).

Importance of collecting dyadic/triadic data

While some researchers (e.g., Minuchin 1985) warn about the potential biases in collecting parenting data from one parent, no empirical research has yet been conducted to examine the

extent to which the results are distorted if such data are used. Acknowledging this potential problem, more recent research in consumer socialization (Kim, Yang and Lee 2009; Laroche *et al*. 2007; Yang and Schaninger 2010; Yang and Laroche 2011; Yang *et al*. 2014) use both parents' data and children's data. Gathering information from both parents and the child has at least the following three advantages over using only one informant from the family (most often the mother). First, collecting data from one single parent but interpreting the results at the parent level can be misleading. Yang (2008) gathers parenting information from three members in every family (i.e., father, mother, child) and compares the results of parenting measures derived from four resources: adolescents' reports of parenting, fathers' self-reported paternal parenting, mothers' self-reported maternal parenting and a combination of both parents' self-reported parenting. The results suggest that children's reports of parenting tend to have a greater predictive power than one single parent's self-reported parenting in studying the children's self-concept. Besides, it is the combination of both parents' parental behaviours, rather than any one of the parents alone, that has the strongest influence on children's self-concept. Second, there are potential methodological concerns regarding using one single informant in a family. When using one parent, parents' self-reports may be subject to social desirability response biases by attempting to conceal certain behaviours that are socially sanctioned, such as harsh or punitive behaviours (Peterson and Hann 1999). However, using children as the single information of the family may result in distorted results caused by common method bias. As a result, it is unclear whether the stronger results observed from children's reports of parental behaviours on their self-reported self-concept are due to common method bias, or due to the fact that no matter what the actual parental behaviour was, the thing that mostly matters was how the child perceived the behaviour (Buri 1991).

Finally, not only do the multiple-informant family data reduce the common method bias in investigations of substantive relationships but also allow us to examine: (1) the differences in parental style between mothers and fathers, and (2) the differences between the parental styles more often practised with boys and those more often practised with girls (Yang *et al*. 2014). According to Meyers-Levy (1989), females are relationship/nurturing oriented, whereas males are agentic oriented. It seems natural to expect that fathers would be higher in controlling behaviours than mothers, and the reverse should be true for responsiveness. In addition, the collectivistic-oriented parents should be more controlling but less responsive than their individualistic-oriented counterparts, given the sex-role distinction is more pronounced in more traditional societies (Hofstede 1983). Furthermore, product type may set up boundary conditions for the effect of fathers' and mothers' influence on boys' versus girls' consumer socialization outcomes. Without the data from multiple informants in the family, these insights are not likely to be uncovered.

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