

ADOLESCENTS' PERCEPTION OF PARENTAL PRACTICES FROM THE GENDER PERSPECTIVE

LA PERCEPCIÓN DE LOS ADOLESCENTES DE LAS PRÁCTICAS PARENTALES DESDE LA PERSPECTIVA DE GÉNERO

A PERCEPÇÃO DOS ADOLESCENTES SOBRE AS PRÁTICAS PARENTAIS DESDE A PERSPECTIVA DE GÊNERO

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ABSTRACT: Cultural gender representations are learned through socialization processes within a socio-cultural context. Parents are the main socializing agents of stereotyped beliefs about gender which exert an influence on the child-rearing practices. A questionnaire called *Percepciones del Alumnado sobre las Prácticas de Crianza de Madres y Padres (PAPC)*, prepared ad hoc for this research was used to assess the perceptions of adolescents about the parenting styles of fathers and mothers. A sample of 1837 students from 1st and 3rd of Compulsory Secondary Education and 1st of Non-Compulsory Secondary Education (Bachillerato) participated in this study. Regarding the reliability of the instrument, results indicated $\alpha_{\text{Mother}} = .828$ and $\alpha_{\text{Father}} = .812$. Turning to its validity, measured through the Exploratory Factor Analysis, results indicated that there were two factors that explained a 45.88% of the total variance, called *Uso del Castigo Físico y/o Verbal y Omisión y Asunción de Responsabilidades*. Both girls and boys from different cultures perceived that mothers were more concerned with the control of inappropriate behaviour than fathers, with mothers using both punitive strategies and those that appealed to responsibility ($M_{\text{mother}} = 12.43$, $M_{\text{father}} = 11.72$, $t = 6.98$, $p < .001$, $M_{\text{mother}} = 16.82$, $M_{\text{father}} = 15.62$, $t = 11.40$, $p < .001$, respectively). Lastly, in relation with the sex variable, significant differences were observed. Boys claimed to receive more physical and verbal punishments than the both from mothers ($M_{\text{girls}} = 12.12$, $M_{\text{boys}} = 12.68$, $t = 2.75$, $p < .05$) and fathers ($M_{\text{girls}} = 10.88$, $M_{\text{boys}} = 12.62$, $t = 8.08$, $p < .001$).

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<p>PALABRAS CLAVE: educación familiar relación padres-hijos crianza del niño discriminación educacional</p>	<p>RESUMEN: Las representaciones culturales de género se aprenden a través de los procesos de socialización dentro de un contexto sociocultural, siendo madres y padres los principales agentes socializadores de creencias estereotipadas sobre género que influyen en las prácticas de crianza. Con el objetivo de conocer las percepciones de los adolescentes sobre los estilos parentales de padres y madres, se ha aplicado un cuestionario, elaborado <i>ad hoc</i> para esta investigación, denominado <i>Percepciones del Alumnado sobre las Prácticas de Crianza de Madres y Padres (PAPC)</i>, a 1837 estudiantes de 1.º y 3.º de Educación Secundaria Obligatoria y 1.º de Bachillerato. Los resultados indican que, en primer lugar, la fiabilidad del instrumento el $\alpha_{Madre} = .828$ y $\alpha_{Padre} = .812$ y su validez, medida a través del Análisis Factorial Exploratorio, indica que existen dos factores que explican el 45.88% de la varianza total, denominados <i>Uso del Castigo Físico y/o Verbal y Omisión y Asunción de Responsabilidades</i>. En segundo lugar, tanto las chicas como los chicos de diferentes culturas perciben que las madres se ocupan más del control de conductas inadecuadas que los padres, siendo las madres las que más utilizan tanto las estrategias punitivas como las que apelan a la responsabilidad ($M_{madre} = 12.43$; $M_{padre} = 11.72$; $t = 6.98$, $p < .001$; $M_{madre} = 16.82$; $M_{padre} = 15.62$; $t = 11.40$, $p < .001$, respectivamente). Por último, en relación con la variable sexo, se observa que existen diferencias significativas siendo los chicos los que afirman recibir más castigos físicos y verbales que las chicas, tanto por las madres ($M_{chicas} = 12.12$; $M_{chicos} = 12.68$; $t = 2.75$, $p < .05$) como por los padres ($M_{chicas} = 10.88$; $M_{chicos} = 12.62$; $t = 8.08$, $p < .001$).</p>
<p>PALAVRAS-CHAVE: educação familiar relação pais-filhos criação dos filhos discriminação educacional</p>	<p>RESUMO: As representações culturais de gênero se aprendem por meio de processos de socialização dentro de um contexto sociocultural, sendo mães e pais os principais agentes socializadores de crenças estereotipadas sobre gênero que influem nas práticas de criação. Com o objetivo de conhecer as percepções dos adolescentes sobre os estilos parentais de pais e mães, se aplicou um questionário, elaborado <i>ad hoc</i> para esta investigação, denominado <i>Percepções dos Alunos sobre as Práticas de Criação de Mães e Pais (PAPC)</i>, a 1837 estudantes de 1.º e 3.º ano da Educação Secundária Obrigatória e de 1.º de Bachillerato (segundo o Sistema Espanhol de Ensino). Os resultados indicam que, em primeiro lugar, a respeito da confiabilidade do instrumento ou $\alpha_{Madre} = .828$ y $\alpha_{Padre} = .812$ e sua validade, medida através da Análise Fatorial Exploratória, indica que existem dois fatores que explicam o índice de 45.88% da variação total, denominados <i>Uso do Castigo Físico e/ou Verbal e Omissão e Assentimento de Responsabilidades</i>. Em segundo lugar, tanto as meninas quanto os meninos de diferentes culturas percebem que as mães se ocupam mais do controle de condutas inadequadas que os pais, sendo as mães as que mais utilizam tanto as estratégias punitivas como as que apela à responsabilidade ($M_{madre} = 12.43$; $M_{padre} = 11.72$; $t = 6.98$, $p < .001$; $M_{madre} = 16.82$; $M_{padre} = 15.62$; $t = 11.40$, $p < .001$, respectivamente). Por último, em relação à variável sexo, se observa que existem diferenças significativas, sendo os meninos os que afirmam receber mais castigos físicos e verbais do que as meninas, tanto pelas mães ($M_{chicas} = 12.12$; $M_{chicos} = 12.68$; $t = 2.75$, $p < .05$) quanto pelos pais ($M_{chicas} = 10.88$; $M_{chicos} = 12.62$; $t = 8.08$, $p < .001$).</p>

1. Introduction

Cultural representations of gender are learned through the socialisation processes within a sociocultural context (Padilla, Sanchez Garcia, Martin Berrido & Moreno, 1999; Triana, Avila & Malagon, 2010), with socialising agents being very important, especially the family, which is responsible for transmitting a social culture, through the communication of values and concepts of the society in which they live (Gonzalez, Guevara, Jimenez, & Alcazar, 2017), apart from dealing with “the construction of leisure for its members” (Sanz Arazuri, Saenz de Jubera & Cano, 2018, p.59). In our country, despite the advancement of women in society, culture is still very androcentric, which is characteristic of patriarchal societies.

Although the construction of gender is an inner process, it is developed in a constant interaction between the subject and his/her social and cultural context, where stereotyped and sexist identities are built on the basis of beliefs and

attitudes of male authority and domination and female dependence and need for protection.

These stereotyped gender beliefs are passed down from generation to generation and eventually become natural, that is, it is forgotten that they are social constructs and they are taken to be absolute truths that provide information on how men and women are, which hinders the deconstruction of the content of the roles on which they are based; that is why they are so difficult to change, even when the social conditions that shaped them (Amurrio, Larrinaga, Usutegui & Del Valle, 2012) are modified.

These ideas have also an influence on mothers’ and fathers’ parenting styles and child rearing practices (Canton-Cortes, Ramirez & Canton, 2014; Shek, 1998). The former are defined as the emotional climate in which parents raise their children, while the latter refer to the specific actions taken by parents to control the behaviour of their children (Gonzalez Ramirez & Landeros, 2012). This paper focuses on the latter.

One of the main tasks of parents is to encourage the socialisation of their children (Maccoby, 2007), so it is important to analyse and evaluate the type of educational practices that fathers and mothers use, since they can influence, positively or negatively, on an adequate social, emotional and family adjustment (Torio, Peña & Iñda, 2008), as well as on their academic performance (Malander, 2016). In this regard, students who perceive a high pathological control by their parents are those whose learning strategies are less developed. On the contrary, when there is no coercive control, sons and daughters show a more positive attitude towards school work and a greater motivation that will have a positive impact on their performance. In addition, Maroñas, Martínez and Varela-Garrote (2018) highlight the differences between fathers and mothers in leisure activities, with mothers dedicating more time to artistic-cultural activities and fathers to those related to the physical and sporting area.

The socialisation process is complex and includes responsiveness and demandingness (Baumrind, 1991; Musitu & García, 2004). Responsiveness refers to the support and care provided by parents to their children in order to foster their individuality, self-regulation and self-assertion. Demandingness refers to behavioural control, including, among others, practices of supervision and discipline. Nevertheless, it must be taken into consideration that educational styles are based on the parents' knowledge about evolutionary development, the culture of belonging and the experiences of their own upbringing (Infante & Martínez, 2016).

In line with Molina, Raimundi and Bugallo (2017), although research on parenting styles has mainly focused on the role of the mother, there are research studies which conclude that fathers and mothers develop different parental child rearing styles (Andrade, Betancourt, Vallejo, Segura, & Rojas, 2012; Canton-Cortes et al., 2014; Russell, Hart, Robinson, & Olsen, 2003), and portraying fathers as more strict than mothers (Canton et al., 2014; Gaylord, Kitzmann, & Coleman, 2003; Sorbring, Rödholm-Funnemark & Palmerus, 2003). In fact, mothers are perceived by their children as more understanding, close, affectionate, controlling and involved in school homework, with more flexible and equal, less severe discipline styles (Canton et al., 2014; Oliva, Parra, & Arranz, 2008; Sorbring et al., 2003), with a higher level of communication, affection, control, permissiveness (Rodríguez, Del Barrio, & Carrasco, 2009) and more focused on their children (Samper, Cortés, Mestre, Nacher & Tur, 2006). In contrast, fathers are perceived as more authoritarian, rigid, severe, restrictive

and formal, as well as less involved and present in child-rearing (Rodríguez et al., 2009). According to Capano, del Lujan Gonzalez and Massonnier (2016), both sons and daughters perceive their "fathers as less affectionate and more indulgent, while mothers are perceived as more affectionate, less persuasive and more forgiving" (p 431).

There are also differences regarding the disciplinary strategies used by fathers and mothers; for instance, some studies suggest that the former are often more authoritarian than the latter, while the latter employ a greater number of inductive discipline strategies (Oliva, Parra, Sanchez-Queija & Lopez, 2007; Sorbring et al., 2003; Winsler, Madigan & Aquilino, 2005; Zervides & Knowles, 2007). Thus, the research work by Casais, Flores and Dominguez (2017) indicates that mothers show a more prominent role in the affective and educational aspects, with greater communication, more concern in conflict situations related to their sons and daughters and dealing, to a greater extent, with health care. In the same line, Molina et al. (2017) consider that they spend more time with their children and show higher levels of responsibility in child-rearing.

Moreover, as children grow up, they perceive a decrease in the support and involvement of both parents and a lesser degree of control and supervision (Musitu & Cava, 2001). These same researchers, as well as Fuentes, Motrico and Bersabé (2001), point out that, as age increases, fathers use, to a greater extent, inductive disciplinary strategies based on reasoning, verbal interaction and the reinforcement, to the detriment of authoritarian disciplinary strategies based on physical interaction, imposition or power. On the contrary, Infante and Martínez (2017) conclude that, in early childhood, the strategies used are related to the demonstration of affection and the necessary care for proper development. But, as children grow up, it is necessary to establish norms and limits, and that is when the complications of an adequate child rearing style arise.

Although, in recent years, there has been an increase in the involvement of fathers in the education of their children, mothers still play the main role in the care and attention of the family (Megias, 2003; Moon & Hoffman, 2008). This may be due to the maintenance of traditional gender roles, according to which the socialisation of children and other parenting responsibilities are more typical of women than men (Sturge-Apple, Davies, Boker & Cummings, 2004).

Along these lines, Calvete, Gamez-Guadix and Orue (2010), Del Barrio and Carrasco (2004) and Fuentes et al. (2001) conclude in their studies that, from a gender perspective, parental discipline can

be generating differences in parenting styles used by mothers and fathers in the raising of their children. That is to say, it is not the same thing to be a father or a mother of a boy or a girl. This is the reason why it is necessary to rethink educational styles of fathers and mothers in order to promote gender equality at an early stage.

An equal education within the family will help avoid the development of stereotypical beliefs about gender roles that may lead to violence against women, with some predictors of the problem being the following: *type of education received by the family* (Musitu & Garcia, 2004), *bonds of authority and power* (Lerner & Melgar, 2010; Schmukler & Alonso, 2009), *observed models* (Diaz-Aguado, 2003) and *employment status* of fathers and mothers (Ferrer, Bosch, Ramis, Torres & Navarro, 2006). In this sense, Garcia-Linares, Garcia-Moral and Casanova-Arias (2014) note the proliferation of research studies focused on the analysis of the link between the quality of family relationships and aggressiveness, stressing the importance of paternal educational practices.

According to Roa and Del Barrio (2001, 2002), among others, sons and daughters' perception of the parenting styles of their fathers and mothers is more reliable and consistent than that provided by their own parents, as the latter may be subject to greater social desirability. From this perspective, the purpose of this paper, which is part of a broader research on the prevention of gender violence in youth, is to assess adolescents' perceptions of fathers and mothers' child-rearing practice and analyse the differences according to the variables sex, age and cultural background.

2. Methodology

2.1. Design

This study used an *Ex post facto* correlational design (Arias, 2006) given that the variables were not intentionally manipulated. The design chosen in the data collection process was cross-sectional, collecting data from various student groups, from compulsory and non-compulsory secondary education, at a given moment in time.

2.2. Participants

First, all Secondary Schools and High Schools in Autonomous City of Melilla (Spain) were selected. This city is characterised by a multicultural context, with the majority of its inhabitants belonging to two cultures: Western and Berber [term used to refer to the cultural group of Muslim origin residing in Melilla and whose native language is

Tamazight (ME, 2010)]. Secondly, a non-probability, incidental sampling method was used, by means of which students from Year 8, 10 and 12 were selected (due to their developmental stage), with the following criteria: availability and interest in participating in the research, and public nature of the education centres.

There were 1837 participants, distributed as follows: according to gender, 935 were boys (51%) and 899 were girls (49%); according to year of study, 947 participants were from Year 8 (51.6%), 575 from 10 (31.3%) and 315 from Year 12 (17.1%); according to ethnicity, 866 participants were European (48.2%), 850 were Berbers (47.4%), 28 were Jews (1.6%) and 50 belonged to other ethnic groups (4.2%). However, the statistical analysis has focused on the two main cultural groups. Lastly, the average age of participants was 14.11, ranging from 12 to 18 years of age.

2.3. Instruments

An ad hoc questionnaire was developed for this research, consisting of 3 main parts: non-university students' beliefs about gender, parenting styles and shared responsibility in the home. This paper focuses on the second one.

The questionnaire "Students' Perceptions of Parenting Practices of Mothers and Fathers (SPPP)" consists of 24 items that specify conducts adopted by fathers and mothers in order to change inappropriate behaviours (Gonzalez & Landero, 2012; Oliva et al., 2007; Penelo, 2009; Samper et al., 2006; Torio et al., 2008). The response format chosen was a Likert scale in which the frequency of use by fathers and mothers of strategies to control the inappropriate behaviour of their sons and daughters is expressed, with 1 being never and 4, always.

Once the questionnaire was developed, it was administered to a small group of students, who were not part of the final sample, in order to detect any possible errors or complications. On the basis of their comments on the test, the items that needed clarification and replacement of some words that seemed difficult were analysed. Then, slight modifications were made to the test in order to improve students' understanding for its subsequent application to non-college students in all high schools of Melilla.

2.4 Procedure

Data collection was carried out in three stages. In the first stage, following a request to the Provincial Directorate of the Ministry of Education and Science in Melilla to conduct research in

public Secondary schools, the Senior Management Teams of those schools were contacted to inform them about the research objectives. In the second stage, in collaboration with the head teacher of each school, the questionnaire administration schedule was designed and parents' consent is requested in order to participate in the study. In the third phase, students consent was also requested before finally administer the questionnaire.

2.5. Data analysis

The statistical software programme SPSS, version 23.0., has been used for statistical analysis. A split-half test has been used to determine the reliability of the data and Exploratory Factor Analysis was used to test the validity of the questionnaire. Moreover, inferential analyses were performed for the analysis of the study variables (t-Student test, ANOVA, MANOVA).

3. Results

Firstly, the reliability of the questionnaire SPPP was analysed, through the Split-half test, with corrected item-total correlation indices being very low in some of them. Therefore, 7 items were removed, with the final number of elements being 17. When analysing the questionnaire again, it was observed that both homogeneity indices, ranging

from .30 to .60, and internal consistency coefficient improved (Table 1).

Table 1. Reliability of the section "Mothers and fathers' Parenting Styles"

Reliability analysis				
Cronbach's Alpha	Part 1	Value	.828	
		No of elements	17(a)	
	Part 2	Value	.812	
		No of elements	17(b)	
	Total no. of elements		34	
	Guttman's split-half			.776

In addition, in order to measure the validity of this section, an Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) was performed. Data underwent the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO = .879) and Bartlett ($c^2 = 3604.18$, $df = 120$; $p < .005$) tests and we found values that permit the use of factor analysis as a suitable technique for the interpretation of the information contained in this matrix.

This group of items is divided into 2 clearly defined factors or dimensions (Table 2). These two components explain 45.88% of the total variance, which is an acceptable proportion.

Table 2. Exploratory Factor Analysis of rotated components in Parenting Styles used by fathers and mothers

ITEMS AND FACTORS	Components	
	1	2
PHYSICAL AND/OR VERBAL PUNISHMENT		
Item 9. He/she spanked, slapped or smacked you	.716	
Item 5. He/she shook or grabbed you for you to obey	.703	
Item 10. He/she used a stick, a broom, a belt, a slipper... to hit you	.686	
Item 23. He/she shoved or pushed you away	.637	
Item 4. He/she yelled or screamed at you	.526	
Item 7. He/she made you feel embarrassed or guilty	.513	
Item 13. He/she sent me to bed without supper	.462	
Item 19. He/she said that you were lazy, careless and other similar things	.379	

OMISSION AND ASSUMPTION OF RESPONSIBILITIES		
Item 17. You were punished with tasks (tidy your room, take the rubbish out, set and clear the table...)		.628
Item 22. You were punished with no outdoor activities		.606
Item 18. He/she made you fix the damage caused by your misbehaviour; for example, pay for something you broke, clean up your mess, etc.		.603
Item 3. He/she sent you to a different place or to your bedroom		.557
Item 16. He/she made you assume the consequences of your misconduct		.556
Item 2. He/she removed pocket money, games, mobile phone, PC, TV or permission		.522
Item 20. He/she watched you to make sure you were not misbehaving		.433
Item 24. He/she stopped talking to you due to your misconduct		.310

Then, the correlations between parenting patterns of mothers and fathers were analysed and significant correlations were observed between all factors ($F_{1\text{ mother-father}} = .558$; $p < .001$; $F_{2\text{ mother-father}} = .658$; $p < .001$), which indicates that adolescents perceive consistency in the parenting patterns of both

parents. After that, adolescents' perception of the forms of controlling inappropriate behaviour was analysed. The results indicate that there are differences between fathers and mothers, the latter being those who use punitive strategies and appeal to their sense of responsibility more often (Table 3).

Table 3. Comparison between Parenting Styles used by mothers and fathers

Factor		Mean _j	DT	N	t	p	d _{COHEN}	r
Factor 1 Use of physical and verbal punishment	Mother	12.43	4.28	1607	6.98	.000	.16	.083
	Father	11.72	4.34	1607				
Factor 2 Omission and assumption of responsibilities	Mother	16.82	4.85	1559	11.40	.000	.23	.117
	Father	15.62	5.27	1559				

After analysing each of the factors, data indicate that regarding Factor 1, *Use of Physical and/or Verbal Punishment*, a higher percentage of mothers than fathers use the following strategies: yell or scream (34% and 27%, respectively), tell their sons/ daughters that they are lazy or careless (28% and 23%, respectively). It should be mentioned that the less frequently used techniques are: hitting, pushing and send to bed without supper, where the percentage, for both mothers and fathers, is below 10%. Regarding the Factor 2, *Omission and Assumption of Responsibilities*, mothers use it more often than fathers do, with the most commonly used techniques being: making them assume the consequences for their misconduct (65% and 62%, respectively), punishing them with tasks such as tidying their room,

setting and clearing the table... (mothers, 35% and fathers, 26%), punishing them with no outdoor activities (mothers, 30% and fathers, 25%), making them fix the damage caused (34% of mothers and 29% of parents). It must be mentioned that *Omission and Assumption of Responsibilities* related strategies are used more frequently than those related to *Physical and/or Verbal Punishment*.

Later, we analysed students' perception of parenting patterns used by mothers and fathers to modify their inappropriate behaviour according to the variable sex (Table 4). The data indicated that there are significant differences in Factor 1, with boy being those who respond that they receive more physical and verbal punishment than girls. Regarding Factor 2, differences are only observed in parenting practices used by fathers

Table 4. Comparison of parenting styles used by mothers and fathers according to the variable sex

FACTOR		N	MEAN	DT	t	P	d _{COHEN}	r
Factor 1 Use of physical and verbal punishment	Mother	Girls= 845	12.12	4.01	2.75	.006	.13	.066
		Boys= 848	12.68	4.43				
	Father	Girls= 814	10.88	3.80	8.08	.000	.40	.198
		Boys= 835	12.62	4.76				
Factor 2 Omission and assumption of responsibilities	Mother	Girls= 814	16.67	4.64	1.46	.141	.07	.035
		Boys= 800	17.01	5.05				
	Father	Girls=773	14.97	5.39	4.84	.000	.23	.118
		Boys=799	16.22	5.04				

Having analysed the data according to female and male students' perception of child rearing in their family, as far as the first Factor is concerned, the results indicate that daughters consider that their mothers: yell and scream more to their sons (36% and 30% respectively), they are critical of their laziness or careless (30% and 25%, respectively). By contrast, boys consider that parents hit or shake more often than mothers do (13.5% and 4%, respectively). Factor 2, the strategy of training children to assume their responsibilities is more frequently used by mothers than by fathers, although there are no significant differences between the perception of boys and girls. Moreover, significant differences are observed when this strategy is used by fathers, being more commonly used with boys than with girls. Therefore, fathers use (more frequently) the following with their children: punish them with no outdoor activities (30% in the case of boys and 21% in the case of girls), make them fix the damage caused by their misbehaviour (31% in the case of boys and 26% in the case of girls), send them to their bedroom (28% in the case of boys compared to 9% in the case of girls) and do not give them pocket money, mobile or computer (37% in the case of boys and 17% in the case of girls).

When the items were analysed according to the variable cultural origin, the data indicate that there are no differences between the two groups. Regarding the first factor, it is observed that the most commonly used strategy is to *yell or scream*, being the mothers of Berber origin the ones who show the highest percentage ($M_{\text{European}}=32.4\%$, $F_{\text{European}}=28\%$, $M_{\text{Berber}}=35.7\%$, $F_{\text{Berber}}=26.8\%$), and mothers of European origin are those who most frequently tell their children that they are *lazy, careless and other similar things* ($M_{\text{European}}=31.1\%$, $F_{\text{European}}=25.7\%$,

$M_{\text{Berber}}=25.1\%$, $F_{\text{Berber}}=19.8\%$). As the second factor regards, the most frequently used strategy by all groups is to *force them to assume the consequences of their misconduct*, used mainly by mothers of European origin ($M_{\text{European}}=70.6\%$, $F_{\text{European}}=67.6\%$, $M_{\text{Berber}}=61\%$, $F_{\text{Berber}}=56.8\%$). This group is the one which most commonly make their children *fix the damage caused by their misbehaviour* ($M_{\text{European}}=36.3\%$, $F_{\text{European}}=31.1\%$, $M_{\text{Berber}}=32.1\%$, $F_{\text{Berber}}=25.9\%$) and *remove the pocket money, games, mobile phone, PC, TV or permissions* ($M_{\text{European}}=34.8\%$, $F_{\text{European}}=30.4\%$, $M_{\text{Berber}}=30.7\%$, $F_{\text{Berber}}=32.6\%$). In contrast, mothers of Berber origin employ the strategy of punishing by doing things such as *tidying the room, taking the rubbish out, setting and clearing the table, etc.* more often than other mothers ($M_{\text{European}}=34\%$, $F_{\text{European}}=27.7\%$, $M_{\text{Berber}}=36.9\%$, $F_{\text{Berber}}=24.4\%$). By analysing the perceptions of parenting practices of mothers and fathers and relating them to the age of their children, the data indicate that there are significant differences in both factors, being the mothers of the older students the ones who use techniques to control inadequate behaviours to a greater extent. In relation to factor 1, $F_{1, \text{madre}} [F_{(6, 1687)} = 4.031, p < .005, \eta^2 = .015]$, the *post hoc* analysis indicates that students between 16 and 17 years of age obtain higher means ($M_{16}=13.12$, $M_{17}=12.94$) and those of younger age, obtain the lowest scores ($M_{12}=11.88$, $M_{13}=11.84$). In the second factor, the same trend is observed $F_{2, \text{madre}} [F_{(6, 1682)} = 2.561; p < .05, \eta^2 = .008]$, *post hoc* analyses indicate that, the older the adolescent, the stronger the perception that mothers use strategies to control their behaviour ($M_{12}=16.18$; $M_{13}=16.65$; $M_{16}=17.14$; $M_{17}=16.89$).

There are no significant differences in other factors in relation to fathers, although the data collected show that the older the children, the

higher the use of physical and verbal punishments and strategies of omission and assumption of responsibilities to correct inappropriate behaviour.

Finally, a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was performed for sex and age, and for the factors related to child rearing patterns of fathers and mothers. The General Linear Model corresponding to mothers' child rearing patterns was significant for sex in all factors both in the case of mothers and in the case of fathers, the results being the following: $F_{1_{mother}} [F_{(4, 1268)} = 8.742, p < .005]$, with an effect size of $\eta^2 = .007$, $F_{2_{mother}} [F_{(4, 1268)} = 5.603, p < .05]$ with an effect size of $\eta^2 = .004$. Regarding fathers' child rearing practices, $F_{1_{father}} [F_{(4, 1268)} = 38.659, p < .001]$ with an effect size of $\eta^2 = .030$ y $F_{2_{father}} [F_{(4, 1268)} = 22.003, p < .001]$ with an effect size of $\eta^2 = .017$. As to age, there are significant differences only in $F_{1_{mother}} [F_{(24, 1271)} = 3.478, p < .005]$ with an effect size of $\eta^2 = .016$. No significant differences are observed in the interaction between sex and age in child rearing practices.

4. Discussion and conclusion

In the questionnaire "Students' Perceptions of Parenting Practices of Mothers and Fathers (SPPP)", the data indicate that both boys and girls, regardless of their culture of origin, consider that inappropriate behaviour is most frequently controlled by mothers, with the most commonly used strategies being: omission (she stopped talking to me, she did not give me pocket money, she sent me to my bedroom...) and assumption of responsibilities, making their children do something to fix the damage caused (she made me assume the consequences of my misconduct, she made me fix the damage I had caused...). These results are in line with the findings reported by Sorbring et al. (2003) and Winsler et al. (2005), as well as by Zervides and Knowles (2007), who consider that there are differences between parenting styles of fathers and mothers. Nevertheless, despite the differences, we should highlight that adolescents show agreement on the perception of mothers and fathers' child rearing patterns, as it can be inferred from the average magnitude of the observed correlations between the dimensions referred to maternal and paternal style, which coincides with the results of the research by Olive et al. (2007).

In addition, according to the perception of sons and daughters, mothers have a greater impact on their education, as noted by Molina et al. (2017). This perception of students is in line with the ideas of Megias (2003), Moon and Hoffman (2008), Samper et al. (2004) and Casais et al. (2017), who consider that mothers are more

involved in childcare. Russell et al. (2003) also found differences regarding parenting styles of fathers and mothers, with women being closer to the authoritative style while fathers show practices that are more in agreement with the authoritarian style.

In relation to the variable gender, the data confirm the idea that boys and girls perceive different control strategies, as noted by Rodriguez et al. (2009) and Samper et al. (2006). Thus, more daughters than sons consider that mothers use more verbal punishment. On the contrary, sons perceive that fathers use more physical punishment more often than daughters do. In any case, it is noteworthy that students perceive that mothers and fathers never or hardly ever use physical and verbal punishment. These results coincide with those shown in the studies by Gaylord et al. (2003) and Sorbring et al. (2003), who conclude that fathers are stricter than mothers.

In the same line, the study by Fuentes et al. (2001) concluded that boys felt more rejected and criticised than girls. They also found that they thought that both fathers and mothers are stricter with them, force them to obey their rules, and require too much from them or in an inadequate way.

Del Barrio and Carrasco (2004) also found differences in parenting styles between boys and girls, with boys being those who perceived that fathers exercised higher levels of control, hostility and autonomy-love. By contrast, girls perceived a higher level of love, autonomy-love and love-control. This agrees with the results of this research study as students perceive that more fathers than mothers use physical punishment with their sons than with their daughters.

Regarding age, the data indicate that older students perceive that the most commonly used strategy is that of physical and verbal punishment, that is, a higher level of criticism concerning the misconduct. This may be possible because, at the end of preadolescent stage, the number of conflicts is usually higher. This result is consistent with the research by Fuentes et al. (2001), who concluded that older boys perceive the behaviour of their fathers and mothers as more negative than the younger ones, that is, they feel less inductive, less loved and more criticised. The conclusions of the study by Infante and Martínez (2017) are in line with this, noting that the strategies used change according to the age, from those based on affection to those based on control.

These results confirm that paternal and maternal parenting styles are perceived differently by children, and that this perception seems to be clearly influenced by sex and age. Therefore,

it is necessary to work in programmes of family democratisation with students and their families in order to create experiences based on gender equity and equal authority, which involves relations of co-responsibility between men and women in the care and education of children and the attendance of family needs, achieving a balance in the responsibility assumed by mothers and fathers regarding the education and care of their sons and daughters.

To conclude, one of the limitations of this study is that the participants respond according to the perception of the use of strategies to control inappropriate behaviour that their parents use, which may not coincide with what they think. Besides, they may have answered what they consider to be socially desirable. For this reason, it would be necessary, on the one hand, to evaluate the students through the questionnaire; and on the other hand, to use, along with the questionnaire, other qualitative techniques, such as interviews or discussion groups, to enable an in-depth study of the reality of the parenting styles perceived and received by Secondary School students from a gender perspective. Another limitation has to do with the magnitude of the relationships found, measured through the size of the effect, which are between

medium and low, so we must continue to analyse what are the possible variables that may be influential: educational centre, socioeconomic level of the adolescent, the cultural context, etc.

For this reason, as a line of future work, it would be valuable to continue the in depth study of parenting styles from the adolescents' point of view, by analysing them from a sequential perspective and performing a non-probabilistic sampling stratified by quotas, in order to cover the cultural diversity of the city and its influence on the beliefs of young people. In addition, the perception of mothers and fathers of adolescents should be analysed, both through quantitative and qualitative techniques, in order to contrast the data and have different views, which will result in more information about the beliefs, perceptions and attitudes of parents and children in relation to educational styles, from the perspective both gender and cultural diversity.

Beyond the limitations, based on the results obtained, intervention programmes aimed at mothers and fathers can be designed in order to reduce or, at least, reverse the differences by sex that arise within the family as a result of the processes of socialisation, from the first stages of the life of boys and girls.

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