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**RELATIONSHIPS AMONG PARENTING STYLES, ETHNICITY, GENDER AND
ADOLESCENTS INTERNALIZED DISTRESS IN
IMPOVERISHED FAMILIES**

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ABSTRACT

The principal objectives of the study were to examine the concurrent and long-term effect of parenting style and its interaction with the ethnicity and gender on adolescent internalized distress in low income families. The data were from the first two waves of the Three City Study. Nine hundred and fifteen mothers from Boston, Chicago, and San Antonio reported their parenting behaviors on authoritative, harsh, permissive, and disengaged parenting; and their adolescent children responded to the Brief Symptom Inventory 18 to indicate their internalized distress. The results of the study indicated that disengaged and harsh parenting were significantly associated with adolescent concurrent internalized distress; however, authoritative and permissive parenting styles were not significantly associated with adolescent concurrent internalized distress. Except for harsh parenting, prior parenting style also failed to predict adolescent internalized distress. There was no significant interaction between parenting styles and ethnicity; however, the interaction between child gender and harsh parenting was a significant predictor of children's psychological outcomes, such that gender moderated the association between harsh parenting and adolescent internalized distress.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Parenting and its relationship to child outcomes have been well studied, with much of the research over the last century focusing on examining the lasting effect of parenting on children's developmental outcomes (Collins, Maccoby, Steinberg, Hetherington, & Bornstein, 2000). Further, a substantial body of the vast empirical literature on the dynamics of family processes has delineated the parenting practices that put children at risk for unfavorable consequences and those that protect children from undesirable outcomes. For example, inept and dysfunctional parenting such as neglect and harsh discipline have been found to be related to a host of childhood developmental problems (Alloy, Abramson, Smith, Gibb, & Neeren, 2006; Jacobtitz, Hazen, & Curran, 2004; Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1991; Miller, Warner, Wickramaratne, & Weissman, 1999; Robertson & Simons, 1989; Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts & Dornbusch, 1994). Conversely, parental practices steeped in warmth and nurturance have been found to foster positive all-round development in children (Brennan, Le Brocque, & Hammen, 2003; Garber, Robinson, & Valentiner, 1997; Gil-Rivas, Greenberger, Chen, & Lopez-Lena, 2003; Greaven, Santor, Thompson, & Zuroff, 2000; Greenberger & Chen, 1996; Liu, 2003; Muris, Meesters, Schouten, & Hoge, 2004; Shirk, Gudmundsen, & Burwell, 2005).

A particular area that has received much attention over the past two decades relates to parental effects on childhood psychopathology. That body of research evidence has

consistently demonstrated the benefits of warm and supportive parenting in fostering good psychological adjustment and by default other positive outcomes in children (Lamborn et al., 1991; Miller et al., 1999; Robertson & Simons, 1989; Steinberg et al, 1994). Conversely, problematic parental processes, such as parental rejection and over-control have been linked to poor psychological adjustment in children, for example, emotional problems, low self-esteem, anxiety, and depression symptoms (Alloy et al, 2006; Berg-Nielsen, Vikan, & Dahl, 2002; Gerlsma, Emmelkamp, & Arrindell, 1990; Petersen, Compas, Brooks-Gunn, Stemmler, Ey, & Grant, 1993). Specifically, parenting that is low on warmth, acceptance and positive communication put children at risk for psychological and behavioral problems (Chiariello & Orvaschel, 1995; Kaslow, Deering, & Racusin 1994; Khaleque & Rohner, 2002; Rohner, & Britner, 2002).

One limitation of the parenting literature is that the overwhelming majority of studies have employed middle-class European American participants. Therefore, little is known about whether the associations between parenting practices and children's psychosocial outcomes vary across socio-economic and ethnic groups. Moreover, the few studies that have included ethnicity have reported inconsistent findings regarding ethnic differences. While some studies have found the effects of parenting practices to be similar across ethnic groups (Steinberg, et al, 1991, 2006), others (e.g., Lamborn et al., 2005) have suggested that parenting attitudes, behaviors, and goals for their children vary as a function of cultural and ethnic contexts and circumstances. For example, while authoritarian parenting is associated with poor school performance in European American children, it is associated with higher academic achievement among African American

youth (Lamborn et al., 1996). Furthermore, the theoretical literature on ethnicity and minority populations has suggested that parenting both in attitude and behavior may vary among groups (Lamborn et al., 2005). Accordingly, the meaning and importance attached to parenting might be unique to different cultural groups and contexts (Gorman-Smith, Tolan, Zelli, & Huesmann, 1996).

Another limitation in the previous studies on parenting pertains to the moderating role of child gender. While there is a plethora of studies examining how parenting influences child psychological adjustment, far less research has investigated the moderating role of child gender in the association between parenting and child psychopathology. For example, available data has indicated a higher prevalence of mood disorders among girls, compared to boys, starting as early as adolescence (Costello, Erkanli, & Angold, 2006). However, whether this unequal vulnerability is related to the differential influences of parenting practices for boys and girls is not known. It is possible that boys and girls are at different levels of risk even when they are exposed to the same parenting behaviors (Hale, Valk, & Engels, 2005). Among those limited studies examined the gender differences, there are conflicting findings. While some studies (e.g., Ge, et al., 1994; Hale, et al., 2005; Helsen, Vollebergh, & Meeus, 2000; Jacobvitz et al., 2004; Rohner & Britner, 2002) have reported girls being more vulnerable to negative parenting and more likely to develop internalizing difficulties, others (e.g., Herman-Stahl & Petersen, 1996; Young, Berenson, Cohen, & Garcia, 2005) have indicated equal vulnerability for children of both genders. Therefore, there is a critical need for studies addressing the contribution of the interaction between parenting and child gender to

children's developmental outcomes.

The current study will examine the relationship between parenting practices and adolescent psychological adjustment in the context of poverty in two ethnic groups in the United States. Specifically, the study will examine 1) whether the relationship between child psychological functioning and parenting is moderated by gender of child; 2) whether the relationship between parenting practice and adolescent mood problems vary as a function of ethnicity.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Parenting Practices and Its Relationship to Child Outcomes

Typology of Parenting

The earliest studies on the typology of parenting practice date back to the 1940s and 1950s, when parenting was classified into two basic dimensions: a supportive component and a controlling component (Schaefer, 1961). Later, researchers suggested more discrete dimensions. For example, Becker (1964) suggested three distinct aspects of parenting that he labeled “love versus hostility”, “restrictiveness versus permissiveness”, and “anxious emotional involvement versus calm detachment”. Similarly, Schaefer (1965) proposed three conceptual dimensions: acceptance versus rejection, psychological autonomy versus psychological control, and firm control versus lax control. Those studies laid the groundwork for research and further conceptual refinement of parental behavior.

Using those basic conceptual perspectives as a base, Baumrind (1966, 1971, 1978), in a series of studies, developed one of the most extensively used parenting typology in contemporary research. Baumrind contended that parents, in their effort to socialize their children, exhibit various patterns of parenting behaviors. These patterns of behaviors are derived from how parents score (i.e., high or low) on two different and independent parenting dimensions: responsiveness and demandingness. Parental responsiveness (also referred as warmth, acceptance, and nurturance) is defined as the “extent to which parents foster individuality and self-assertion by being attuned, supportive, and acquiescent to

children's requests; it includes warmth, autonomy support, and reasoned communication.” (Baumrind, 1966, p.61-62). Demandingness (also referred as control) on the other hand is defined as “the claims parents make on children to become integrated into society by behavior regulation, direct confrontation, and maturity demands and supervision of children's behaviors” (Baumrind, 1966, p.61-62).

Baumrind (1972, 1991) further delineated four qualitative prototypes of parental authority, which she termed parenting styles: authoritative, authoritarian, permissive/indulgent, and rejecting/neglecting. This parenting model has become the gold standard by which parenting is measured, and it is used extensively in studies related to family socialization processes and child outcomes (Baumrind, 2005; Steinberg, 2001). Baumrind's typology of parenting has been deemed a valid measurement of strategies parents employ to socialize their children (Baumrind, 2005). Each of the four parenting style is explained as follows.

Authoritative Parenting. Baumrind's model of parenting suggests that authoritative parents are highly responsive yet demanding. Therefore, authoritative parents exhibit a balanced style of childrearing. On the one hand, they are warm and involved, but on the other hand, they exert firm guidance by establishing clear boundaries and expectations for their children. They value behavioral compliance and autonomous self-will, but at the same time value and establish clear bidirectional communication with their children. Research has shown that children and adolescents from authoritative households tend to have more positive developmental outcomes than children from nonauthoritative

households. For example, authoritative parents are more likely to have children who are more psychosocially mature, achievement oriented, and cognitively and socially competent (Baumrind, 1991; Miller et al., 1999; Milevsky, Schlechter, Netter, & Keehn, 2007; Steinberg, 2006; Weiss & Swartz, 1996).

Authoritarian Parenting. Authoritarian parents are highly demanding and directive, but low on responsiveness and warmth. They place a premium on obedience and conformity, and value absolute compliance. They limit independence and autonomy, set strict standards of conduct and are usually very critical of children for not meeting those standards. Furthermore, they often hold a very high level of unrealistic expectation for their children's achievement, and are prone to using coercive control and forceful discipline (e.g., physical punishment). Children and adolescents who are subjected to authoritarian parenting have been found to have poorer outcomes, than their peers from authoritative homes, in many developmental aspects. For example, compared to children from authoritative homes, children and adolescents from authoritarian homes have poorer social skills and show greater susceptibility to psychopathology (Baumrind, 1991; Milevsky et al., 2007; Weiss & Schwartz, 1996).

Permissive Parenting. Permissive parents, also referred to indulgent parents, are high on responsiveness but not low on demandingness. They tend to be overindulgent, make few demands on their children; their main concern is the child's happiness. Therefore, they allow their children considerable independence and autonomy and exercise lax discipline

and guidance. Permissive parenting has been found to be associated with poor school achievement and social incompetence in children. Also, perhaps not surprisingly, children from permissive homes have been found to lack self-control to exhibit a propensity to deviancy, irresponsibility and antisocial behaviors. However, they have been shown to have lower levels of internalizing problems (e.g., anxiety and depression) than their peers with authoritarian parents (Baumrind, 1991; Steinberg et al., 2006; Weiss & Schwartz, 1996).

Rejecting/Neglecting Parenting. Rejecting-neglectful parents are low on both demandingness and responsiveness. They provide little or no warmth and exercise little or no control over their children. They tend to not structure or monitor their children's activities and to actively reject or neglect their childrearing responsibilities. Generally, children from rejecting/neglecting homes tend to demonstrate all around negative developmental outcomes. For example, they have been found to be socially immature, irresponsible, to have poor academic achievement, and show a strong propensity to mental health problems and behavioral disorders (Baumrind, 1991; Milevsky et al., 2007; Weiss & Schwartz, 1996).

As indicated earlier, most of the contemporary literature on child socialization processes has employed Baumrind's parenting typology. The overwhelming majority of those studies have demonstrated that parenting patterns can be predictive of child developmental outcomes in both the short- and long-term. The following section provides

an overview of those studies, which have shown a link between the parenting patterns and academic, psychological, and behavioral adjustment in childhood and adolescence.

Parenting Styles and Child Outcomes

In a series of studies, Steinberg and his colleagues (e.g., Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg, et al., 1991, 1994) examined the relationship between parental authoritativeness and adolescent outcomes. The sample consisted of 10, 000 high school students from four ethnic groups (African American, Asian American, Hispanic American and European American), two family structures (intact and nonintact), two socioeconomic strata (working and middle class), and three community contexts (urban, suburban, and rural). Students were directed to rate their parents' childrearing styles. Using a median-split procedure, the investigators categorized the parenting style, as reported by the students, as either authoritative or non-authoritative. The participants also provided information regarding their academic achievement, social competence, behavioral problems and psychological well-being. Consistent with Baumrind's (1991) findings, adolescents who rated their parents as authoritative performed better on all dimensions of adjustment than children raised in nonauthoritative households. For example, they scored better on school performance and self-reliance, and demonstrated less psychological distress and delinquency. The benefits of authoritative parenting held across ethnic groups, family structure, and socioeconomic status.

In another cross-sectional study, using the same sample as Steinberg et al., Lamborn et al. (1991) examined the correlates of child outcomes as a function of four styles of

parenting: authoritative, authoritarian, permissive and neglectful. Using a tertile-split procedure, the researchers categorized parenting style on two dimensions (acceptance/involvement and strictness/supervision). As the previous study, findings indicated positive outcomes for children from authoritative homes (e.g., higher social competence, better academic achievement and psychological well-being, and less problem behaviors). Of all groups, youngsters from neglectful families, scored the lowest across all sets of developmental outcomes examined, while authoritarian and permissive parenting produced a mixture of positive and negative traits. Children who described their parents as authoritarian reported higher levels of obedience and conformity to adult standards as well as academic competence, less somatic symptoms, and lower levels of problem behaviors. However, they demonstrated negative development on issues of social competence (e.g., self-reliance, and self-perception). On the other hand, children from permissive families have shown moderately competent on psychosocial development but lower levels of academic achievement, and higher levels of somatic symptoms and problem behaviors. The findings persisted across ethnic groups but varied along the lines of socioeconomic status on the issue of somatic symptoms. Style of parenting was related to somatic symptoms among children from the middle class but not those from the working class. Among the families from middle class, authoritative parenting was related to the lowest incidence of somatic symptoms, followed by authoritarian, permissive, and neglectful families respectively. Parenting style was not related to somatic symptoms among the working class group.

In another cross-sectional study, Randolph and Dykman (1998) investigated the

depression proneness of 246 late adolescents and young adults (the majority ethnicity was white) in relation to the parenting. Both the parents and adolescents completed measures of parenting behaviors: low care, overprotection, perfectionism, and criticalness, that have been posited to engender dysfunctional attitudes and psychological problems in the offspring (Beck, 1967; Hewitt & Flett, 1991; Whisman & Kwon, 1992). Overprotection referred to low levels of allowance of autonomy and independence; perfectionistic parenting referred to parents imposed rigid or perfectionistic standards upon children and perfection-demanding; criticalness referred to parents demanded children “have to do something right”. Adolescents also assessed their own dysfunctional attitudes (e.g., perfectionistic rules of self-acceptance and rigid expectations of how others should act), general depression proneness, and current depression status. Path analysis showed that although all dimensions of negative parenting were significantly related to children’s dysfunctional attitude and depressive tendency, perfectionist and criticalness were especially predictive of children’s mental health problems. The authors contended that low care, overprotection, perfectionism, and criticalness seem to engender mental health problems in children, not only because they instill dysfunctional attitudes in children but also present a perfectionist model for which children might strive to imitate. This may lend credence to the theoretical perspective that authoritarian parenting, often characterized by the four dimensions of negativities noted in the study, may result in psychopathology in children.

The studies reviewed above have shown a fairly robust association of parenting and concurrent child outcomes. However, those studies are limited in their cross-sectional

design: although the investigations have established the co-occurrence of parenting practice and child outcomes, it is not clear if parenting is related to later child development over time. In contrast, longitudinal studies were more appropriate to address the issue of long-term effect of parenting.

Extensive studies have examined the durable effect of parenting on child outcomes; parenting influences have been found to persist over time. For example, in a follow up to their earlier study (Lamborn et al., 1991), Steinberg et al. (1994) found that the children raised in authoritative families generally maintained their positive adjustments and competences one year later. However, children from neglectful homes showed continued declines in their developmental adjustment: their maladjustment worsened in school performance, orientation to work, delinquency, and drug use. Children from authoritarian homes continued to score poorly in most aspects of adjustment. In addition, those children showed more internalized distress than they did a year before. Children from permissive homes continued to report less somatic distress and higher psychosocial competence, but scored worse in school performance and problem behaviors.

Shumow, Vandell, and Posner (1998) examined the concurrent and long-term associations between maternal parenting strategies and children's academic and behavioral outcomes. The sample consisted of 184 urban low-income European American and African American mothers and their children. Data were collected at two points: when the children were in the third grade and two years later. Mothers' reports of their parenting strategies (e.g., rules for bedtime and television, chores, use of physical punishment, and explanations for rules), were assessed on the three dimensions of

parenting: harshness, responsiveness-firmness, and permissiveness. These dimensions were measured as continuous rather than categorical variables. Controlling for ethnicity and other demographic variables, the analysis of concurrent parenting practice and child outcomes confirmed beneficial effects of a balance between parental responsiveness and firmness, which is correspondent with authoritative parenting, and the detrimental effects of harsh parenting (e.g., Baumrind, 1991). Responsive and firm parenting was associated with children's more responsible behavior and fewer behavior problems, but not with current academic achievements of children. Harsh parenting was associated with poorer school performance, and more behavior problems as reported by both parents and children. Also, parental permissiveness was not related to children's developmental outcomes in either ethnic group. Further, although the above concurrent association between parenting and child outcomes was significant, the long-term effects of parenting were not found in the study, such that parenting in the third grade was not able to predict with child adjustment in fifth grade.

Knutson, DeGarmo, Koepl, and Reid (2005) examined punitive parenting, supervision, parental neglecting and social disadvantages in the development of child aggression in a 28-month period. 218 mothers and children between ages 4 to 8 years living in low socioeconomic status participated in the study; the sample was diverse in urbanization and ethnicity, with the majority ethnic groups of white, African American and multiracial. A multisource approach of parent and child survey, in-home interview, as well as laboratory assessment of parent-child interaction tasks was used to collect data of parenting behaviors and child regression. All the variables were assessed as continuous,

rather than categorical. The results have indicated that harsh and punitive discipline, poor supervision, and neglectful parenting all put children in higher risk of aggression. The results were consistent with Gershoff's (2002) literature review of corporal punishment, which indicated that parental physical punishment was associated with higher levels of aggression, lower levels of moral internalization and mental health.

In another study, the role of parenting styles in children's internalized and externalized problem behaviors were investigated (Anuola & Nurmi, 2005). A total of 196 kindergarten children were followed up from kindergarten to the second grade. The results demonstrated that the combination of mother's high levels of affection and psychological control increases in the levels of problem behaviors among children. In addition, a combination of a low level of psychological control and a high level of behavioral control protected children from externalizing problem. This study suggested that parents who exhibited a high level of psychological overcontrol (indicative of an authoritarian style) may engender detrimental behavioral adjustment in their children.

Using the same categorical measurement of parenting styles as Steinberg et al. (1994), Milevsky et al. (2007) examined maternal and paternal parenting style and its relation to adolescent depression, self-esteem, and life-satisfaction. Data were collected from 272 high school students who were primarily white, middle-class in their 9th and 11th grade. Results demonstrated that for both mothers and fathers, authoritative parenting was associated with the best outcomes (i.e., lowest levels of depression, highest self-esteem and life-satisfaction among children). Neglectful parenting was related to the poorest outcomes on all three measures. However, contrary to previous studies (e.g., Randolph &

Dykman, 1998) children who rated their fathers as authoritarian reported the lowest scores of depression. Interestingly, in this study, permissive parenting was not related to poor child psychological development of children as have been found in other studies (e.g., Lamborn et al, 1991). More specifically, children raised by permissive mothers reported higher self-esteem than those with authoritarian and neglectful mothers. Furthermore, permissive fathering was related with children's higher self-esteem and life-satisfaction than authoritarian and neglectful parenting.

More longitudinal studies have studied the role of parenting styles in child adjustment outcomes. For example, Hoeve, Blokland, Dubas, Loeber, Gerris, and Laan (2008) investigated parenting styles preceding the trajectories of children delinquency in the 14 years since grade one. A sample of 503 boys reported their parent-child relationship, parental supervision, disciplining style, the quality of communication with parent, and positive parenting strategies. Cluster analysis identified three different parenting styles similar to Baumrind's conceptualization: authoritative (i.e., high on positive parenting, communication skills, lower physical punishment), authoritarian (i.e., moderate supportive, high supervision and physical punishment), and neglectful (i.e., negative relationship with children, inadequate discipline). Boys' report of parenting behaviors was categorized into one of the three parenting styles. Controlling for the demographic variables and previous delinquency level, the results revealed that authoritative parenting was not related to delinquency trajectory, but authoritarian parenting predicted serious delinquency. Also, neglectful parenting was significantly related to moderate and serious delinquency of the boys. The findings have indicated that

parenting behaviors characterized by harsh punishment, inadequate discipline, and low levels of supportive parenting may put youngsters to a future of serious delinquency.

Rohner and Britner (2002) reviewed the extensive cross-cultural and intracultural, cross-sectional and longitudinal literature that examined the correlates of psychosocial maladjustment and children's perceived acceptance and rejection from parents. Parental acceptance, defined as parents showing love and physical and verbal affection to their children, was associated with children's positive adjustment, while parental rejection was associated with negative outcomes. Specifically, parenting behaviors of liking their child, approving of their personality, taking an interest in his activities and well-being were significantly related to psychological adjustment of children across ethnicity, race, gender, socioeconomic status, or other defining conditions of children. On the contrary, parents who exhibited a rejecting parenting style (e.g., cold, unaffectionate, hostile, or indifferent) had children who showed a propensity to internalizing and externalizing disorders such as unipolar depression, conduct disorder, and substance abuse. The authors noted the detrimental role of negative parenting and concluded that regardless of nationality, culture or ethnicity, parental rejection was related to maladjustment of children. These cross-cultural and intracultural studies from various cultures and nations have evidenced that children who experienced parental rejection were more likely to develop mental health problems.

It is clear that the studies reviewed present various inconsistencies. Although the findings relating to authoritative and neglectful parenting are consistent, those relating to authoritarian and permissive parenting tend to be inconsistent. For example, there is a

consensus among researchers that an authoritative parenting style is the most desirable and neglectful parenting is the worse of the all the parenting dimensions.

Authoritativeness has consistently been shown to promote positive child adjustment; neglectful parenting has been shown to be predictive of negative child outcomes.

However, the findings related to the other two styles, authoritarian and permissive are conflicting. While the majority of the studies on those dimensions have shown both positive and negative outcomes, the direction of those outcomes are often inconsistent.

For example, some findings (e.g., Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994) report negative psychological outcomes for children from authoritarian homes, others (e.g., Milevsky et al., 2007) reported the opposite. Pertaining to permissive parenting, studies have consistently indicated a positive relationship between permissive parenting and social competence; however, the findings are inconsistent in relation to psychological problems and academic achievement in children. While some studies (e.g., Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994) have found that parental permissiveness was related to higher behavioral problems and lower school performance, others (Milevsky et al., 2007; Shumow et al., 1998) have found that it was not associated with children's academic and behavioral adjustment.

The inconsistent findings may be due to measurement issues related to parenting style. While parenting is classified in some studies (e.g., Steinberg et al., 1994) as a categorical variable, others (e.g., Randolph & Dykman, 1998; Shumow et al, 1998) used a continuous classification. Among those studies employing a categorical procedure there is further inconsistency. For example, among those studies while some have employed a

median-split formula others have utilized a tertile-split; therefore, the inconsistencies are not surprising. This is because, with a median split, the assignment of parenting style depends on whether the parent scored above or below the sample mean. As such, a parent who is categorized as authoritative in one sample may be classified as authoritarian in another. With a tertile-split, the sample is divided into three groups and the middle third excluded from analysis; therefore, only parents who are at the extreme ends of the parenting spectrum are included. For example, using the tertile-split methodology, a parent who is slightly neglectful is excluded. In contrast, such a parent would be included in the studies using median-split procedure and continuous measure of parenting. Because the outcome for a child with extremely neglectful parents would be different from one with slightly neglectful parents, it is not surprising that studies using different assessments of parenting have shown conflicting results. Clearly, these issues could result in contradictory findings across samples. Arguably, a continuous approach is more appropriate since the full range of each style is considered.

In sum, the body of literature on parenting styles has suggested authoritative parenting promotes child adjustment while neglectful parenting is related to negative outcomes of children. Authoritarian parenting and permissive parenting are related to mixed outcomes of children; however, the findings are inconsistent in their direction of effects, which may due to methodological incongruity.

Parenting, Ethnicity, and Child outcomes

An important issue related to parenting is its presumed interaction with ethnicity to affect child outcomes. However, the issue of ethnicity and parenting has been neglected in the extensive literature because the overwhelming majority of studies have employed samples of White, middle-class families. In addition, many of the limited studies using diverse samples have fail to detect the ethnic differences. Nevertheless, there is emerging evidence to indicate the importance of considering the interaction of parenting and ethnicity in studies of child socialization and outcomes. In the following section, the role of ethnicity will be reviewed.

Steinberg et al. (1994), in their longitudinal study, have found that the interaction between ethnicity and parenting styles was a significant predictor of child adjustment. Specifically, although authoritative parenting was beneficial for children from all ethnic groups, its association with better psychosocial and academic competence was stronger for European American youth than for youth from minority groups. In addition, authoritarian parenting predicted poor academic achievement for European- and Hispanic-American youth, good academic achievement for Asian American youth, but was unrelated to academic achievement for African American youth.

In a later study, Steinberg et al. (2006) examined the relationship between parenting style and adolescent adjustment in a sample of 1,335 (85% male) poor, African-American and Hispanic-American youth, who were juvenile offenders from impoverished urban neighborhoods. Consistent with earlier findings, youth who described their parents as authoritative demonstrated greater psychosocial maturity, academic competence, and a

lower propensity to internalizing and externalizing problems than those from all other family types. Youth who rated their parents as neglectful demonstrated the poorest outcomes in all aspects of development. However, in this sample of juvenile offenders, there was no significant difference between authoritative and authoritarian parenting indicating that authoritarian parenting is as advantageous as authoritative parenting. Youth from both authoritarian and authoritative families had better school engagement, and lower anxiety and externalizing problems; they also performed well in the areas of academic and social competence. Permissive and neglectful parenting were equally disadvantageous for children.

These findings are contrary to studies that have employed white middle-class samples (Milevsky, et al., 2007) and ethnically and socioeconomically mixed samples (Lamborn et al., 1991). Steinberg et al. noted that two factors may possibly account for the dissonant findings relating to child outcomes. One explanation may relate to the traditional contention of dangerous contexts. The authors posited that the youth in the sample mostly lived in poor and disadvantaged neighborhoods and parents in those contexts tend to exert greater parental authority and stricter monitoring to protect their children from the dangers inherent in those contexts. Therefore, authoritarian parenting, which is detrimental for children living in safe, affluent communities, is beneficial for children living in the poor, risky context. Another tenable explanation is that the meaning and importance attached to parenting might be unique to different cultural groups and contexts (Gorman-Smith et al., 1996). Accordingly, the consequences of parenting style vary across ethnic groups.

Previous studies generally favored the first hypothesis. Because in many studies, neighborhood quality, socioeconomic status (SES), and ethnicity are confounded, researchers generally attributed the different child outcomes to SES and neighborhood context, and failed to detect the function of ethnicity. The more sophisticated studies, by distinguishing community variable from ethnic variable, have provided support for the role of ethnicity in parenting effect. For example, Lamborn et al. (1996) examined the role of ethnicity, community context, and family decision making patterns in adolescent adjustment, and found ethnicity interacted with parenting to predict child outcomes. The study employed youth report from a sample of 3645 European-, African-, Hispanic- and Asian- American middle-adolescents from predominantly white, affluent communities, and disadvantaged, ethnically mixed communities. Over a 2-year period, adolescents reported the frequency of joint decision making (authoritative parenting), unilateral parental decision making (authoritarian parenting), and adolescent decision making (permissive parenting), as well as their academic competence, psychosocial development, and deviance (including substance use, school misconduct, and antisocial behavior). Controlling for the developmental outcomes one year before, results indicated that joint decision making consistently predicted better child outcomes across all groups. Unilateral parental decision making was advantageous for academic and behavioral adjustment in African American youth, but predicted poorer psychological development for European American youth, and unrelated to adjustment for Asian American and Hispanic American youth. Unilateral adolescent decision making predicted poor adjustment of youth for all ethnic groups.

More recent studies have provided evidence for the function of ethnicity in parenting effects. For example, Park and Bauer (2002) examined parenting practices, ethnicity, socioeconomic status and academic achievement in adolescents among a nationally representative sample of Asian-, Hispanic-, African- and European- Americans high school students over two years. Based on children's report of their parents' supervision, strictness, support, and involvement in their academic performance in tenth grade, students were classified as having parents with one of the four parenting styles. Controlling for other demographic variables (e.g., education, occupation, and income), results revealed that style of parenting interacted with ethnicity to predict children's academic achievement. Specifically, the previous findings that parental authoritativeness was associated with higher academic achievement were supported only for European American groups. Neglectful parenting consistently produced the poorest academic performance of children for all ethnic groups. For African- and Hispanic-American children, authoritarian parenting was equally beneficial as authoritative parenting for their academic achievement. For Asian American and African American students, authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive parenting was equally associated with positive school performance. In addition, different parenting behaviors were culturally and ethnically effective for different ethnic groups. Specifically, parental supervision has a significant impact on academic achievement for Asian Americans. Parental support had the most significant impact on academic achievement for European American children, while strict parenting practice had the most significant impact for Hispanics.

In another study related to ethnicity and parenting, Dearing (2004) investigated the

restrictive and supportive parenting and child outcomes in a sample of 50 African-American, 59 European-American and 52 Latino-American elementary school-aged children. The attitudes and beliefs of restrictive parenting (e.g., emphasis of parental authority, monitoring and supervising, and controlling children's behavior) were reported by mothers while supportive parenting (i.e., parental involvement, learning stimulation, and emotional warmth) was assessed by researchers through home observation of family interactions. Results demonstrated that in general, supportive parenting was associated with higher academic performance among children; however, this associated was only evident in low quality neighborhoods for African-American children. On the other hand, the effects of restrictive parenting depended on the ethnicity of children and their community context. For European-American children, restrictive parenting was related to lower school performance and higher depression of children regardless of their neighborhood contexts. For African- and Hispanic-American children, greater restrictive parenting was a risk factor in high-quality neighborhoods, but was a protective factor in low-quality neighborhood, especially for their academic performance. This study, again demonstrated that although neighborhood context partially accounted for the child outcomes, ethnicity to a large extent interacting with parenting styles to predict child outcomes. One strength of this study is that data were collected from multiple resources, which would facilitate illustrating a more complete picture of parenting from both of children's and parents' perceptions. However, one limitation of this study is that the association between restrictive parenting and child outcomes may be hypothetical, because restrictive parenting was based on parents' attitudes and beliefs,

instead of actual parenting practice. Another weakness is its small sample size, which limited the external validity of the results.

In a cross-cultural study, Lansford et al. (2005) tested the moderating effect of cultural normativeness between parents' discipline strategies and child adjustment. Based on a sample of 336 children ranging in age from 6 to 17 years from six countries (i.e., China, India, Italy, Kenya, Philippines, and Thailand), the researchers found that parents' use of physical discipline was associated with children's adjustment depending on the extent to which parents and children perceive physical discipline is normative in their culture. Specifically, perceived normativeness of physical discipline, particularly children's perceptions, moderated the association between experiencing physical discipline and child aggression and anxiety. In countries where physical discipline was perceived more normative, the association between mothers' use of physical discipline and children's behavioral problems was weaker, compared to the countries where physical discipline is perceived as less normative. This study clearly indicated a potential mechanism underlying the function of ethnicity and its effect not only on parenting practices but on child adjustment.

In sum, the above studies found that ethnicity may be a significant factor in the link between parenting and child outcomes. Based on the limited studies reviewed here, it appears that ethnic minority children, for example, for African American youth, authoritarian parenting may be beneficial not only in middle-class families living in affluent and safe neighborhoods but also in low-income families and less advantaged communities (Dearing, 2004; Lamborn et al, 1996). These finds may reflect the broader

cultural values that children and parents may assign to particular family process (Jackson-Newsom, Buchanan, & McDonald, 2008). Because different cultures have different norms and legitimization of parental authority, parenting behaviors that are adaptive for one group might be maladaptive for other groups (Smetana, 2000). However, one weakness of the previous studies is that most of the investigations examined the ethnic difference between the dominant group and minority groups; comparison of child outcomes associated with parenting between the ethnic minority groups, for example, African American and Hispanic American, have been marginalized. More studies are needed to clarify the effect of parenting on child outcomes among ethnic minority children in the United States.

Parenting, Gender, and Child Outcomes

The research on the contribution of child gender to the developmental effects of parenting has presented two different perspectives. On one hand, Gilligan (1982) argued that because females are more relational and emotional oriented, they may be more affected by parenting behaviors than males, a hypothesis that has been partially supported by research findings (Ge et al., 1994; Hale et al., 2005; Helsen et al., 2000; Jacobvitz et al., 2004; Rohner & Britner, 2002). For example, empirical findings on parental rejection have supported this differential vulnerability hypothesis. In a review of literature on parental acceptance-rejection, Rohner and Britner (2002) noted that although the experience of parental rejection in childhood tends to be associated with the development of emotional symptoms in children of both genders, those symptoms occur more

frequently and more intensely among female children than among males.

In one cross-sectional study that examined the association of perceived parental rejection to adolescent depression and aggression in 1379 Dutch adolescents, researchers found that experienced rejection from parents, engendered adolescent depression which in turn resulted in youth's aggressive behaviors. This pathway was supported among both male and female adolescents, but the association between parental rejection and depression was stronger for girls than boys (Hale et al., 2005). Another cross-sectional study on Dutch adolescents (Helsen et al., 2000) yielded similar results. The researchers reported a stronger association between low parental support and emotional problems for girls than boys.

Also, parental intrusiveness seems to relate differently to the psychological outcomes of boys and girls. In a longitudinal study, Jacobvitz et al. (2004) observed family interaction and analyzed its prospective correlation with children's psychological well-being. A sample of 71 middle-class mothers, fathers and children, mostly White, were observed at home interacting on a series of everyday tasks when the children were 1 year old; mothers and teachers assessed children's depression, anxiety, attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), and somatic problems when the children were 7 years old. After controlling the effects of other family variables, they found that enmeshed, controlling, and disengaged family interaction patterns were strongly related to internalizing and externalizing problems among both girls than boys. However, enmeshing interaction patterns, whereby a parent attempted to "pull in" the child to meet the parents' needs, without respecting the child's personal psychological space, interacted

with the gender of child in different ways. Whereas boys who experienced enmeshed family patterns more often developed symptoms of ADHD, girls who experienced enmeshed family interactions showed symptoms of depression. According to these studies, parental rejection, excessive control and low levels of support are more likely and strongly to put girls in the risk for current internalizing problems than boys.

In contrast to the differential vulnerability hypothesis, some investigators (Mezulis, Hyde, & Abramson, 2006; Young et al., 2005) have derived contrary conclusions. Those studies found that male and females are equally vulnerable to internalizing difficulties when they encountered negative parenting behaviors. Using a community sample from 100 randomly selected neighborhoods in upstate New York, Young, et al. (2005) revealed that as the level of adolescent-reported parental support decreased, boys and girls showed the similar levels of vulnerability to depressive symptoms. Another longitudinal community study using both mothers' and fathers' self-report and home observation of parent-child interaction, reported findings of equal depression risks among adolescent boys and girls as it relates to negative parental feedback (Mezulis, et al, 2006). In a sample of juvenile offenders, there is also no gender difference found in the relationship between parenting styles and child outcomes (Steinberg et al., 2006).

Using data from the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH), Amato and Fowler (2002) examined parenting practices and child outcomes for children in two age groups: 5-11 and 12-18. When parents exhibited a high level of support, monitored their children's behavior, and avoided harsh punishment, children demonstrated the least behavioral problems, and the greatest competence school performance, psychological

adjustment. On the other hand, parents who were unsupportive, exhibited lax monitoring, and performed harsh punishment, both boys and girls showed an increased propensity to problem behaviors, got low GPAs, and were poorly adjusted.

In sum, empirical findings regarding whether child gender moderated the association between parenting and internalizing problems of children are inconsistent. While some studies have suggested that girls were more vulnerable than boys to negative parenting, others have shown an equal vulnerability between the two genders of children. One factor that results in the inconsistencies refers to the samples used. Most of the studies employed small size samples that primarily consisted of white, middle-class parents and children. The samples tended to be homogenous in geographic location, ethnicity, and cultural values. Thus it is hard to generalize the results to other geographic, social and ethnic groups. Even when studies employed diverse samples, they failed to examine whether the effects of parenting on child outcomes differ as a function of gender and ethnicity. Thus little is known about the effect of child gender on the relationship between parenting and child outcomes in ethnic minority groups. Another limitation pertains to the cross-sectional design of the studies. The majority of prior studies which examined the gender differences of child are cross-sectional studies. To clarify the function of child gender in parenting effects, this current study will compare the strength of relationship between parenting practices and child internalizing difficulties between male and female adolescents in a longitudinal design.

Limitations of the Research on Parenting

Despite the voluminous body of research literature that exists on the effect of parenting on child outcomes, there are a number of important issues that require additional investigation. First, although the beneficial influences of authoritative parenting and detrimental role of neglectful parenting are established, research on the effects of authoritarian and permissive parenting has been less consistent. For example, empirical findings on whether authoritarian and permissive parenting are related with poor psychological outcomes of children are conflicting (Milevsky et al., 2007; Steinberg et al., 1994, 2006).

Another area of inconsistency relates ethnicity and whether that variable moderates the relationship between parenting style and child adjustment. While the earlier classic studies (Baumrind, 1991; Lamborn et al., 1991) found no ethnic differences, the more recent ones have reported that the effects of parenting vary significantly across ethnic groups (e.g., Dearing, 2004; Park & Bauer, 2002; Radziszewska, Richardson, Dent, & Flay, 1996). Therefore, research is needed to examine whether the benefits and the relative costs of certain parenting styles are greater for one ethnic group than another.

Third, most of the studies are limited in their methodology. The majority of studies used the categorical measurement of parenting styles. This resulted in sample specific findings and the failure of generalizing the results.

Fourth, most of the studies have relied on children reported data on both parenting and their own developmental outcomes. It has been noted in the parent socialization literature that when a single informant provides data on both parents and child, the

relationships between parenting behaviors and child outcomes become artificially inflated, resulting in inflation of the strength of association between the variables (Baumrind, 2005). In addition, as most of the studies have used children's report of parenting, thereby representing only the children's perception of the parenting they receive; the relation between parenting as parents perceived and child outcomes has been ignored.

Still, another issue is related to the sample used in parenting research. Examinations of effect of parenting have tended to focus on White, middle-class families, or diverse samples in general, but not ethnic minority groups in particular. The majority of studies that have examined the role of ethnicity in parenting effects have focused on comparing the white families with minority families. Likewise, the investigation of the role of gender in parenting effects has rarely focused on ethnic minority groups.

In addition, few studies have examined the function of child gender in the relation between parenting and child outcomes. Within the limited number of studies, findings are inconsistent. In addition, the studies that examined gender differences tend to be cross-sectional, rather than longitudinal.

The current study will examine the long-term effects of parenting styles on child psychological outcomes among a sample of low-income, ethnic minority families. Data from parents' report of their parenting, rather than children will be used. Also the construct of parenting style will be measured as a continuous variable, rather than categorical one.

Objectives of Study

The objectives of the current study are to investigate both the concurrent and long-term impact of parenting practices (i.e., parenting styles) on adolescent psychological well-being in socioeconomically disadvantaged adolescents as a function of gender and ethnicity. Specifically, the study will examine the moderating role of ethnicity and child gender in the relationship between parenting styles and adolescent psychological outcomes. Due to the inconsistent findings of literature, it is important to address the following research questions in the study.

Question 1: Is parenting style related to concurrent and prospective psychological outcomes among ethnic minority adolescents in the United States?

Question 2: Does ethnicity moderate the associations between parenting style and adolescent psychological outcomes?

Question 3: Does the gender of the child moderate the association between parenting styles and child psychological outcomes?

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

Sample

The data for the current study were derived from the first two waves of the longitudinal study of Welfare, Children, and Families: A Three City Study (Cherlin, 1999), which aimed to assess the well-being of low-income children and families in the post-welfare reform era. Participants were recruited from three cities: Boston, Chicago, and San Antonio. In 1999 Time 1 of the study, investigators conducted a house-based, stratified random sampling of children and their caregivers in low-income neighborhoods. Eligible participants were households which were either female or couple headed, with children ranging in age from 0 to 4 years or 10 to 14 years, and with incomes below 200 percent of the federal poverty line. From those households, the researchers randomly selected one child from each family and conducted in-person interviews with both the child and the female primary caregiver first in 1999 and then again at an average of 16 months later. The study collected extensive information from caregivers on their employment, income, housing, family process, parenting, home environment, and mental well-being. Researchers also collected data from children on the health and cognitive, behavioral, and emotional development of children and on their relationship with their caregivers.

The major caregiver respondents in the whole sample were Hispanic (53%, any race), followed by African-American (41%). Only 5% of the mothers identify as non-Hispanic

white, with the rest of them American Indian and other races. The study design and methods are described elsewhere (Chase-Lansdale, Coley, Lohman, & Pittman, 2002).

The present study sample consisted of caregivers and teenage children aged 10 to 14 who participated in Time 1 and continued participation through Time 2 of the study. The sample for the current study included 1025 pairs of mothers and their adolescent children. Based on children's report of their ethnicity, the sample size of non-Hispanic white, American Indian, and other ethnic groups were too small for comparison purposes, thus only African American and Hispanic respondents were included in this study, resulting the final sample size of 915 pairs of adolescent and mothers.

Measures

Demographics. Demographic variables were obtained in Time 1. Because the overwhelming majority (90%) of the caregivers reported that they were the child's natural mother, in this study the term 'mother' is used to refer to the caregivers. Mothers were interviewed about theirs and their child's gender, age, ethnicity, employment status, mother's education level, employment status, and family income. Age was measured in years for both mother and child. All mothers classified themselves and their children as either Hispanic of any race, non-Hispanic white, African-American, or other on their ethnicity, and reported whether they were married. Mothers indicated their highest grade completed and the highest degree/certificate obtained. Mother's employment status was denoted by whether they worked in the last week. Child ethnicity and gender were dummy coded, as 0 = African American and 1 = Hispanic American, and 0 = male and 1

= female for gender.

Parenting Style. The data of parenting styles were obtained at Time 1 of the study.

Mothers rated whether they agreed with the 28 statements regarding how they reared their children. Items were set on a 4-point Likert scale: 1 = definitely true, 2 = sort of true, 3 = sort of false, and 4 = definitely false. For example, “*I say something positive to my child when he/she does something I like*”. Based on both theoretical and statistical relevance, a principle component analysis with promax rotation revealed four clustered parenting styles: authoritative, harsh, permissive, and disengaged. Because there was agreement in theoretical relevance of the items and the factor analysis, subscales were created based on the four-factor solution. The subscale of authoritative, permissive, and disengaged parenting consisted of 5 items each and harsh parenting subscale consisted of 2 items. Each scale is scored using the mean score of the items on the particular subscale. For example, the score for the subscale harsh parenting was derived from the mean score of mother’s attitude of spanking and use of spanking. The scales showed moderate to good reliability, with the coefficient alpha of .50 for authoritative parenting, .77 for harsh parenting, .60 for permissive parenting, and .60 for disengaged parenting, respectively.

Internalized Distress. Adolescents psychological outcomes were reported by adolescents both at Time 1 and Time 2 of the study. The Brief Symptom Inventory, which has been shown to be a reliable and valid measure of psychological well-being (Derogatis, 2000) was used as a measure of internalized distress. Adolescents indicated on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 = *not at all* to 5 = *extremely* to what extent the stated problem

distressed or bothered them during the past 7 days. The 18 items are divided into 3 subscales: depression ($\alpha = .75$), anxiety ($\alpha = .78$), and somatization ($\alpha = .70$). Because the primary interest of this study is to examine the relationship between parenting and child psychological outcomes as a whole, the entire 18 items were used to generate a Global Severity Index (GSI); higher scores indicate more internalized distress ($\alpha = .92$ at both Time 1 and Time 2).

Analyses

Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to analyze the data. Descriptive statistics were run to determine children's age, gender, mothers' education level, marital status, and household income. The dependent variables (i.e., internalized distress at two times) were assessed to determine whether it met the assumption for normality on the basis of skewness and kurtosis. This was done to determine the appropriate statistical regression analysis (General Linear Model –GLM versus Generalized Linear Model-GZLM) for the data. The GLM requires normality of scores on the dependent variable. The GZLM, on the other hand, is appropriate for non-normal distributions. A test of Kurtosis showed that the scores on internalized distress both at Time 1 and Time 2 were highly clustered (Kurtosis = 8.50 at Time 1, 5.21 at Time 2). Additionally, the Shapiro-Wilk test indicated that the distribution was also positive skewed (Shapiro-Wilk = .71, $p = .000$ at Time 1, Shapiro-Wilk = .74, $p = .000$ at Time 2). As is often done in research, logarithmic transformations were used to attempt to convert the raw data into normal distribution; however, the distribution remained skewed

even after logarithmic transformations Shapiro-Wilk = .95, $p = .000$ at Time 1, Shapiro-Wilk = .95, $p = .000$ at Time 2). Therefore the GZLM was chosen as the appropriate statistical model for the analysis.

The GZLM extends the linear regression model and can be used with both continuous and non-continuous variables. It is especially effective when the distribution of the dependent variable is non-normal. A specific model of GZLM, the gamma with log link is appropriate when the continuous dependent variable is positively skewed. For this study, this particular model, gamma with log link, was used to investigate the research questions. The likelihood ratio chi-square will be reported to test the null hypothesis that all of the slopes equal 0. The Wald chi-square will also be reported to test the null hypothesis that a particular slope equals.

Point biserial correlation and Pearson correlation were used to examine the intercorrelations among child ethnicity, child gender, parenting styles and internalized distress at both Time 1 and Time 2. Regression analyses were then run to examine the main effects of parenting on adolescent internalized distress and whether adolescent internalized distress varied as a function of parenting style, ethnicity, and gender.

The first research question was to examine the main effects of parenting styles on adolescent internalized distress, to test the concurrent effects of parenting styles, adolescent internalized distress at Time 1 were regressed on gender, ethnicity, and parenting styles at Time 1. To examine the long-term effects of parenting, adolescents' internalized distress score at Time 2 was regressed on their gender, ethnicity and Time 1 parenting styles.

The second research question referred to the moderating role of ethnicity in the relationship between concurrent parenting and internalized distress. The significance of any interaction between each of the four parenting style with ethnicity, respectively, were tested to determine whether they predict adolescent internalized distress both at Time 1 and Time 2.

Lastly, to answer the question regarding the moderating effects of gender, the significance of any interaction between each of the four parenting style with gender, respectively, were tested to determine whether they predict adolescent internalized distress both at Time 1 and Time 2.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Demographic data were obtained on Time 1 of the study. The analysis for this study included data from households in three cities: Boston (34.9%), Chicago (33.3%), and San Antonio (31.8%). Across ethnic groups, the average number of people in each household is 4.33, and the majority (78.8%) of the households was headed by a mother only. Overall, most (74.8%) of households reported incomes that placed them below the poverty line at the time of interview. Consistent with the overall sample in The Three City Study, the majority of mothers indicated that they were the focal child's natural parent (90.0%), not married (82.7%), and unemployed (55.6%). Mothers reported a mean educational level of the tenth grade of high school. As shown, the adolescent sample included slightly more girls than boys (52.5% vs. 47.5%). The youth ranged in age from 10 to 14 years old ($M = 12$ years) with slightly more than half of them (52.3%) reporting their ethnicity as Hispanic.

Descriptive statistics for the two ethnic groups are presented in Table 1.

Bivariate Associations between Variables

Correlations among parenting styles, gender, ethnicity and internalized distress are summarized in Table 2. As indicated, none of the four parenting styles was significantly related to youth internalized distress score at Time 1 or Time 2. However, adolescent

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for Demographics, Parenting, and Adolescent Internalized Distress (N = 915)

Variable	African American N = 436			Hispanic N = 479		
	%	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	%	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Child Gender (female)	52.1					
Child Age		11.90	1.42		11.99	1.45
Child's Employed	20.4			14.2		
Mother's Age		38.94	9.36		37.57	7.27
Mother's Highest Grade Completed		11.46	2.02		9.66	5.28
Mother's Marital Status (married)	13.1			16.5		
Mother's Employed	43.6			45.1		
Household Below Poverty Line	74.1			75.4		
Parenting						
Authoritative		3.70	.35		3.67	.36
Harsh		2.52	1.12		2.17	1.08
Permissive		1.74	.58		2.12	.64
Disengaged		1.29	.43		1.38	.47
Child Internalized Distress Time 1		7.70	10.37		6.67	8.68
Child Internalized Distress Time 2		7.32	9.30		7.38	10.00

Table 2

Correlations between Gender, Ethnicity, Parenting, and Internalized Distress (N = 915)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Child's Sex	-						
2. Child's Race/Ethnicity	.01	-					
3. Authoritative Parenting	-.02	-.03	-				
4. Harsh Parenting	-.03	-.15**	.02	-			
5. Permissive Parenting	.04	.30**	-.11**	.01	-		
6. Disengaged Parenting	-.07*	.09**	-.31*	.08*	.34**	-	
7. Internalized Distress, Time 1	.09**	-.05	.01	.00	-.01	.06	-
8. Internalized Distress, Time 2	.16**	.00	.03	-.03	.02	.03	.55*

Note. * $p < .05$, two tailed. ** $p < .01$, two tailed.

gender was significantly associated with adolescent internalized distress at both Time 1 ($r = .09, p = .00$) and Time 2 ($r = .16, p = .00$), with girls showing greater distress symptoms than boys. Adolescent gender was also related to disengaged parenting ($r = -.07, p = .04$), indicating that mothers tended to use more disengaged parenting with boys than girls. Ethnicity was not significantly related to internalized distress. However, ethnicity was associated with three styles of parenting: harsh, permissive, and disengaged. Specifically, Hispanic mothers reported lower levels of harsh parenting ($r = -.15, p = .00$), but higher levels of permissive ($r = .30, p = .00$) and disengaged parenting ($r = .09, p = .00$) than African American mothers. Adolescents' internalized distress scores at Time 1 and Time 2 were significantly correlated ($r = .55, p = .00$).

Gender and Race/Ethnicity Variations in Internalized Distress

Table 3 presents the regression coefficients of internalized distress on child gender and ethnicity. Internalized distress was 24.7% higher for girls at Time 1 and 45.9% higher at Time 2. Internalized distress was 13% lower for Hispanic adolescents at Time 1, but there was not a statistically significant difference between Hispanic and African American adolescents at Time 2.

Parenting Styles and Concurrent Adolescent Internalized Distress

The next series of analyses were carried out to determine if reported parenting styles were associated with youth's concurrent internalized distress at Time 1 of the study. Also,

Table 3

Summary of Generalized Linear Model (Log with Gamma Link) With Gender and Ethnicity Predicting Adolescent Internalized Distress (N = 915)

Variable	B	<i>Exp(B)</i>	<i>SE</i>	Wald Statistic
Gender				
Time 1	.22	1.25	.07	10.75*
Time 2	.28	1.46	.07	31.73**
Race/Ethnicity				
Time 1	-.14	.87	.07	4.28*
Time 2	-.02	.98	.07	.14

Note. * $p < .05$, two tailed. ** $p < .01$, two tailed.

the two-way interactions of parenting by child gender and child ethnicity respectively were examined at Time 1.

Main Effects of Parenting Styles to Predict Concurrent Adolescent Internalized Distress

Adolescent internalized distress at Time 1 was regressed on the four parenting styles (authoritative parenting, harsh parenting, permissive parenting, and disengaged parenting) at Time 1. Using the GZLM (gamma with log link), the four parenting styles were entered into the regression model as a group of covariates. Parenting styles as a group were not significantly related to adolescent internalized distress, $\chi^2 = 5.86(4)$, $p = .21$. However, controlling for the effects of other parenting styles, disengaged parenting significantly predicted adolescent internalized distress; increased levels of disengaged parenting was related to higher degrees of adolescent internalized distress, $\chi^2 = 5.65$, $p = .02$. As indicated in Table 4, a one-point increase in disengaged parenting score was associated with a 22.7% increase in adolescent distress symptoms. Table 4 presents the analysis results.

Interactions of Parenting Styles with Ethnicity to Predict Adolescent Concurrent

Internalized Distress

To investigate whether ethnicity moderates the effects of parenting style on concurrent internalized distress, the score on each parenting style was centered (i.e., deducting the mean from raw score) and used for analysis. Ethnicity by parenting style cross-product variables were computed and used to test interaction effects. Separate analyses were conducted for each parenting style.

Tables 5-8 show the results of the analyses. As indicated, no significant interaction effect between parenting styles and ethnicity was indicated. This suggests that at least for this sample, ethnicity does not appear to moderate the relationship between parenting style and adolescent internalized distress.

Table 4
Summary of Generalized Linear Model with Parenting Styles Predicting Concurrent Adolescent Internalized Distress

Variable	B	<i>Exp(B)</i>	<i>SE</i>	Wald Statistic
Authoritative Parenting	.10	1.11	.10	1.16
Harsh Parenting	-.00	.99	.03	.00
Permissive Parenting	-.04	.96	.06	.53
Disengaged Parenting	.20	1.23	.09	5.46*

Note. * $p < .05$, two tailed. ** $p < .01$, two tailed.

Table 5

Summary of Generalized Linear Model with Authoritative Parenting and Child Ethnicity Predicting Concurrent Internalized Distress

Variable	B	<i>Exp(B)</i>	<i>SE</i>	Wald Statistic
Child Race/Ethnicity	-.13	.88	.07	3.50
Authoritative Parenting	.03	1.03	.13	.00
Ethnicity*Authoritative Parenting	.06	1.06	.18	.10

Note. * $p < .05$, two tailed. ** $p < .01$, two tailed.

Table 6

Summary of Generalized Linear Model with Harsh Parenting and Child Ethnicity Predicting Concurrent Internalized Distress

Variable	B	<i>Exp(B)</i>	<i>SE</i>	Wald Statistic
Child Race/Ethnicity	-.13	.88	.07	3.52
Harsh Parenting	.03	1.03	.04	.47
Ethnicity*Harsh Parenting	-.07	.93	.06	1.36

Note. * $p < .05$, two tailed. ** $p < .01$, two tailed.

Table 7

Summary of Generalized Linear Model with Permissive Parenting and Child Ethnicity Predicting Concurrent Internalized Distress

Variable	B	<i>Exp(B)</i>	<i>SE</i>	Wald Statistic
Child Race/Ethnicity	-.14	.87	.07	3.75
Permissive Parenting	.07	1.08	.09	.74
Ethnicity*Permissive Parenting	-.09	.91	.11	.69

Note. * $p < .05$, two tailed. ** $p < .01$, two tailed.

Table 8

Summary of Generalized Linear Model with Disengaged Parenting and Child Ethnicity Predicting Concurrent Internalized Distress

Variable	B	<i>Exp(B)</i>	<i>SE</i>	Wald Statistic
Child Race/Ethnicity	-.13	.88	.07	3.78
Disengaged Parenting	.34	1.40	.13	7.02**
Ethnicity*Disengaged Parenting	-.29	.75	.16	3.22

Note. * $p < .05$, two tailed. ** $p < .01$, two tailed.

Interactions of Parenting Styles with Gender to Predict Adolescent Concurrent

Internalized Distress

The same procedure described above for ethnicity was used to investigate the moderating role of gender in the relationship between parenting and internalized distress, except that gender was entered into the analysis rather than ethnicity.

Tables 9-12 show the regression coefficients for the analyses. As indicated, gender moderated the link between harsh parenting and adolescent internalized distress, $\chi^2 = 4.37(1)$, $p = .04$. Specifically, for adolescent boys, mothers' use of harsh parenting was associated with higher levels of adolescents' internalized distress. The opposite is indicated for girls. For girls, maternal harsh parenting was related to lower levels of internalized distress. No other interaction between parenting styles and child gender was indicated (see Table 10 and Figure 1).

Table 9

Summary of Generalized Linear Model with Authoritative Parenting and Child Gender Predicting Concurrent Internalized Distress

Variable	B	<i>Exp(B)</i>	<i>SE</i>	Wald Statistic
Child Gender	.21	1.24	.07	10.05**
Authoritative Parenting	-.04	.96	.15	.07
Gender*Authoritative Parenting	.12	1.13	.19	.40

Note. * $p < .05$, two tailed. ** $p < .01$, two tailed.

Table 10

Summary of Generalized Linear Model with Harsh Parenting and Child Gender
Predicting Concurrent Internalized Distress

Variable	B	<i>Exp(B)</i>	<i>SE</i>	Wald Statistic
Child Gender	.22	1.24	.07	10.31**
Harsh Parenting	.08	1.09	.05	3.27
Gender*Harsh Parenting	-.13	.88	.06	4.36*

Note. * $p < .05$, two tailed. ** $p < .01$, two tailed.

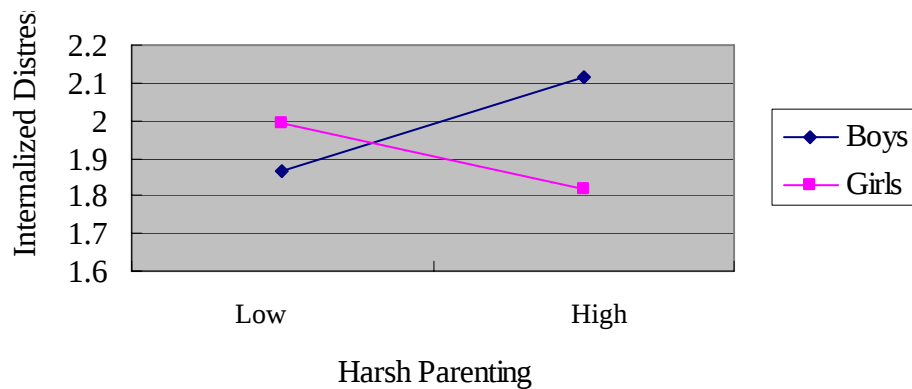


Figure 1

Adolescent Internalized Distress at Time 1 by Harsh Parenting and Child Gender

Table 11

Summary of Generalized Linear Model with Permissive Parenting and Child Gender
Predicting Concurrent Internalized Distress

Variable	B	<i>Exp(B)</i>	<i>SE</i>	Wald Statistic
Child Gender	.21	1.24	.07	10.11**
Permissive Parenting	-.01	.99	.08	.03
Gender*Permissive Parenting	-.01	.99	.11	.00

Note. * $p < .05$, two tailed. ** $p < .01$, two tailed.

Table 12

Summary of Generalized Linear Model with Disengaged Parenting and Child Gender Predicting Concurrent Internalized Distress

Variable	B	<i>Exp(B)</i>	<i>SE</i>	Wald Statistic
Child Gender	.23	1.25	.07	11.27**
Disengaged Parenting	.14	1.15	.11	1.63
Gender*Disengaged Parenting	.06	1.06	.16	.15

Note. * $p < .05$, two tailed. ** $p < .01$, two tailed.

Long-Term Association between Parenting Styles and Adolescent Internalized Distress

The next series of analyses was undertaken to determine the long-term effect of mothers' parenting style on adolescents' internalized distress. Also, the interactions of parenting style by gender of child and ethnicity of child at Time 1 were used to predict the adolescents' internalized distress at Time 2.

Main Effects of Parenting Styles on Prospective Adolescent Internalized Distress

Adolescent internalized distress at Time 2 was regressed on the four parenting styles at Time 1. Using the GZLM (gamma with log link), the four parenting styles were entered into the regression model as a group of covariates. Parenting styles as a group were not significantly related to adolescent internalized distress, $\chi^2 = 5.31(4)$, $p = .26$. Table 13 shows the analysis results.

Table 13

Summary of Generalized Linear Model with Parenting Styles Predicting Prospective Internalized Distress

Variable	B	<i>Exp(B)</i>	<i>SE</i>	Wald Statistic
Authoritative Parenting	.18	1.20	.10	3.12
Harsh Parenting	-.04	.96	.03	1.53
Permissive Parenting	.01	1.13	.06	.02
Disengaged Parenting	.13	1.01	.09	1.53

Note. * $p < .05$, two tailed. ** $p < .01$, two tailed.

Interactions of Parenting Styles with Ethnicity to Predict Adolescent Prospective

Internalized Distress

The same procedure described above was used to investigate whether ethnicity moderates the effect of parenting style on prospective internalized distress. Centered parenting style scores at Time 1 were computed and used for the analyses. Ethnicity by parenting style cross-product variables were computed and used to test interaction effects. Separate analyses were conducted for each parenting style.

Tables 14-17 show the results of these analyses. As indicated, results showed no significant interaction between parenting styles and ethnicity, therefore, ethnicity does not appear to moderate the relationship between parenting style and adolescent internalized distress.

Table 14

Summary of Generalized Linear Model with Authoritative Parenting and Child Ethnicity Predicting Prospective Internalized Distress

Variable	B	<i>Exp(B)</i>	<i>SE</i>	Wald Statistic
Child Race/Ethnicity	.01	1.01	.07	.02
Authoritative Parenting	-.03	.98	.14	.03
Ethnicity*Authoritative Parenting	.27	1.31	.19	1.95

Note. * $p < .05$, two tailed. ** $p < .01$, two tailed.

Table 15

Summary of Generalized Linear Model with Harsh Parenting and Child Ethnicity Predicting Prospective Internalized Distress

Variable	B	<i>Exp(B)</i>	<i>SE</i>	Wald Statistic
Child Race/Ethnicity	-.00	1.00	.07	.00
Harsh Parenting	-.01	.99	.04	.05
Ethnicity*Harsh Parenting	-.05	.96	.06	.56

Note. * $p < .05$, two tailed. ** $p < .01$, two tailed.

Table 16

Summary of Generalized Linear Model with Permissive Parenting and Child Ethnicity Predicting Prospective Internalized Distress

Variable	B	<i>Exp(B)</i>	<i>SE</i>	Wald Statistic
Child Race/Ethnicity	-.00	1.00	.07	.00
Permissive Parenting	.07	1.08	.08	.74
Ethnicity*Permissive Parenting	-.08	.92	.11	.51

Note. * $p < .05$, two tailed. ** $p < .01$, two tailed.

Table 17

Summary of Generalized Linear Model with Disengaged Parenting and Child Ethnicity Predicting Prospective Internalized Distress

Variable	B	<i>Exp(B)</i>	<i>SE</i>	Wald Statistic
Child Race/Ethnicity	.01	1.01	.07	.02
Disengaged Parenting	.12	1.12	.12	.90
Ethnicity*Disengaged Parenting	-.08	.93	.16	.25

Note. * $p < .05$, two tailed. ** $p < .01$, two tailed.

Interactions of Parenting Styles with Gender to Predict Adolescent Prospective

Internalized Distress

The same procedure described for ethnicity was used to investigate the moderating role of child gender in the relationship between parenting and prospective internalized distress, except that child gender was entered into the analysis rather than ethnicity.

Tables 18-21 show the regression coefficients for the interaction analyses. Similar as Time 1 results, gender moderated the link between harsh parenting and adolescent internalized distress, $\chi^2 = 5.46(1)$, $p = .02$. Specifically, for adolescent boys, mothers' use of harsh parenting was associated with higher levels of adolescents' internalized distress. The opposite is indicated for girls. For girls, maternal harsh parenting is related to lower levels of internalized distress, No other interaction between parenting styles and child gender was indicated (see Table 19 and Figure 2).

Table 18

Summary of Generalized Linear Model with Authoritative Parenting and Child Gender Predicting Prospective Internalized Distress

Variable	B	Exp(B)	SE	Wald Statistic
Child Gender	.37	1.45	.07	31.25**
Authoritative Parenting	-.00	1.00	.15	.00
Gender*Authoritative Parenting	.18	1.20	.20	.87

Note. * $p < .05$, two tailed. ** $p < .01$, two tailed.

Table 19

Summary of Generalized Linear Model with Harsh Parenting and Child Gender
Predicting Prospective Internalized Distress

Variable	B	<i>Exp(B)</i>	<i>SE</i>	Wald Statistic
Child Gender	.37	1.45	.07	30.74**
Harsh Parenting	.06	1.06	.05	1.78
Gender*Harsh Parenting	-.14	.87	.06	5.46*

Note. * $p < .05$, two tailed. ** $p < .01$, two tailed.

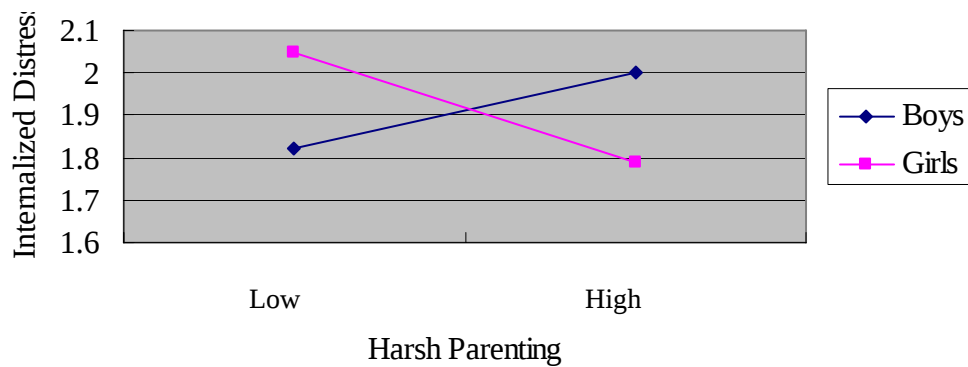


Figure 2

Adolescent Internalized Distress by Harsh Parenting and Child Gender at Time 2

Table 20

Summary of Generalized Linear Model with Permissive Parenting and Child Gender
Predicting Prospective Internalized Distress

Variable	B	<i>Exp(B)</i>	<i>SE</i>	Wald Statistic
Child Gender	.37	1.45	.07	31.21**
Permissive Parenting	.06	1.07	.08	.68
Gender*Permissive Parenting	-.08	.93	.11	.53

Note. * $p < .05$, two tailed. ** $p < .01$, two tailed.

Table 21

Summary of Generalized Linear Model with Disengaged Parenting and Child Gender
Predicting Prospective Internalized Distress

Variable	B	<i>Exp(B)</i>	<i>SE</i>	Wald Statistic
Child Gender	.39	1.48	.07	33.82**
Disengaged Parenting	.10	1.11	.11	.89
Gender*Disengaged Parenting	-.01	.99	.15	.00

Note. * $p < .05$, two tailed. ** $p < .01$, two tailed.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The principal objectives of the study were to examine the concurrent and long-term effect of parenting style and its interaction with ethnicity and gender on adolescent internalized distress in low income families. The results of the study indicated that disengaged and harsh parenting were significantly associated with adolescent concurrent internalized distress; however, authoritative and permissive parenting styles were not significantly associated with adolescent concurrent internalized distress. Except for harsh parenting, prior parenting style failed to predict adolescent internalized distress. There was no significant interaction between parenting styles and ethnicity; however, the interaction between child gender and harsh parenting was a significant predictor of children's psychological outcomes, such that gender moderated the association between harsh parenting and adolescent internalized distress.

The finding that disengaged parenting was related to adolescents' higher levels of internalized distress is consistent with previous literature that has shown parental rejection to be related to various internalizing problems, such as low self-esteem, depression (Milevsky et al., 2007; Rohner & Britner, 2002) and problem behaviors such as substance abuse and delinquency (Hoeve et al., 2008; Rohner & Britner, 2002). In Rohner and Britner's study, the relationship between parental rejection and negative child outcomes held across gender, ethnicity, language and culture.

It is rather surprising that in this study the relationship between parenting and child

outcomes did not fully support past studies. Of the four parenting styles, only disengaged parenting and harsh parenting showed any significant association with adolescent internalizing problems and that association was true only at Time 1. Both the theoretical and empirical literature have indicated that authoritative parenting is beneficial to children's developmental outcomes (Baumrind, 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994, 2005) and harsh parenting and disengaged parenting predict adverse child outcomes (Hoeve et al., 2008; Rohner & Britner, 2002). Past research has also shown that child outcomes associated with permissive parenting are mixed (Milevsky et al., 2007). However, in this study, authoritative parenting and permissive parenting were not related with adolescent psychological symptoms.

However, there are a number of plausible explanations for this finding. One possibility is the measurement of parenting styles. Past studies typically have used the child's perception of the parent's behavior (Hoeve et al., 2008). In the current study, parents reported their own parenting behavior. Previous studies have shown a discrepancy between parent report and child report on the same construct (Feinberg et al., 2001; Schwarz, Barton-Henry, & Pruzinsky, 1985). For example, in one study (Tein, Roosa & Michaels, 1994) reported an especially low degree of agreement ($r = .13$) between mothers and children in their reports of parental rejection. The researchers speculated that this might be due to the fact that parents and children do "...not share the same definitions of, experiences of, or sensitivity to, parenting behaviors" (p. 350). Moreover, children's outcomes (e.g., internalizing problems) may be more influenced by their perceptions of their parent's behaviors than the parents' reports of their behaviors (Demo

et al., 1987). Wood et al. (2003) reviewed the literature on parenting and child anxiety. They reported a greater likelihood of finding significance relationship between parenting and child outcomes when using children's report of parent than when using parents' report of their own parenting behavior. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the lack of significant relationships between authoritative and permissive style of parenting and adolescent internalizing symptoms in this study may be due to the use of parents' report.

In addition, it should be noted that the reliability coefficients for the measurement of authoritative, harsh, permissive and neglectful parenting ($r = .50, .77, .60$, and $.60$ respectively) in this study were lower than regression analyses require. Therefore, the reliability level may have diminished the statistical power of the analysis and yielded nonsignificant relationships.

The results indicated that the relationship between neglectful parenting and adolescent internalizing symptoms was significant at Time 1 but not at Time 2. However, this finding is consistent with other studies. For example, Shumow et al. (1998) found concurrent associations between parenting and children's academic performance and behavioral adjustment, but the relationship did not hold prospectively. A possible reason for the lack of significant relationships at Time 2 may be due to the fact that adolescents were older. Studies have shown that when children transition from childhood to adolescence, parental influence on their developmental adjustment decreases while children's social networks expand and exert more influence on them (Ostrander & Herman, 2006).

The effects of parenting did not vary among the two ethnic groups. The lack of ethnic

difference found in the present study may due to the fact that the comparison groups in this study were African- and Hispanic-American families. Prior studies have typically compared the dominant families with the minority families. According to previous studies, those two ethnic groups share a lot in their cultural values and norms. For example, both groups place great importance exercising self-control, getting along with others, and obey parental authority (Tein, Roosa, & Michaels, 1994; Gershoff, 2002); they also place a greater emphasis on family relationships and connectedness than European-American parents (Dearing, 2004). Thus, parenting patterns and their consequences are similar among those two ethnic groups (Steinberg et al., 1994, 2006).

Gender moderated the relationship between harsh parenting and children's psychological distress. Specifically, as the use of harsh parenting increased, girls showed fewer symptoms of internalized distress, whereas boys showed higher levels of internalized distress. This finding is contrary to the findings of several previous studies (e.g., Hale et al., 2005; Helsen et al., 2000; Jacobvitz et al. 2004) which have indicated that negative parent behavior have greater adverse psychological outcomes for girls than for boys. The difference in this study may be attributable to ethnicity and the cultural values of African American and Hispanic families. Previous studies have typically examined the role of gender in parenting consequences in white, middle class samples. This study employed a sample of low-income, ethnic minority families. Therefore, the distinctive findings of gender differences may due to the cultural differences of those two ethnic groups. Studies have shown that African Americans and Hispanics have different cultural values and norm from European Americans (Tein, Roosa, & Michaels, 1994;

Gershoff, 2002). For example, parents tend to physically discipline boys more than girls among African American families, but not Caucasian families (Hill & Sprague, 1999). Thus, it is arguably to speculate that ethnic minority parents have different expectations for boys and girls regarding discipline strategy. This may cause the different direction of effects of harsh parenting among the ethnic minority families from the dominant families. It is also possible because all the participants in this study lived in poor communities, which is normally disorganized, dangerous, it is reasonable to speculate that in this broad context, the meaning of harsh parenting is different for boys and girls, compared to rich and safe neighborhoods. However, future research should pay special attention to the gender specific parenting and socialization strategies to examine how child gender moderates the consequences of parenting in poor community contexts.

Another explanation of girls' increased internalized distress when they encounter harsh parenting may be that parents show more warmth to girls than boys (Scaramella, et al., 1999; Varela, Vernberg, Sanchez-Sosa, Riveros, Mitchell, & Mashunkashey, 2004), thus for girls the harsh parenting may be tempered by warmth, nurturance and support from parents, thereby resulting in less adverse outcomes. McLoyd and Smith (2002) reported a robust positive association between physical discipline and child behavioral problems only when there is low parental warmth. Controlling for the genetic influences, Deater-Deckard, Ivy, and Petrill (2006) also found that harsh disciplined (conceptualized as physical discipline) was related to the most serious externalizing behaviors of children when the mother-child relationship lacked warmth. Thus, in this current study, girls' lower levels of internalized distress associated with harsh parenting may be because of the

moderating role of parental warmth. Future studies are needed to focus on how parents employ parenting strategies differently to boys and girls to address this issue.

Contributions to the Body of Literature

Despite some limitations, there are several contributions of this study. One strength is that parenting style was assessed as a continuous variable. As noted earlier, the majority of previous studies have used categorical classifications of parenting styles, which resulted in sample specific findings and incomplete analysis of data. The utilization of continuous measure of parenting styles in this study gave a more detailed description of parenting style of the full range. In addition, it is also more accurate to capture the continuous dynamics of the relationship between parenting and child development.

Another strength of the study is that the present study differentiated ethnicity from the community context, which allowed for successful examination of the role of ethnicity. In previous studies, the effect of ethnicity is often confounded with neighborhood dynamics. For example, in those studies minority and low-income families are compared with white families from affluent neighborhood so it is not clear whether significant effects are due to context or ethnicity. In this study, both ethnic groups lived in the same context (e.g., low-income neighborhoods); therefore, the moderating role of ethnicity is thus clarified by separating the two variables. Another contribution of the study is the examination of the interaction of gender and parenting among ethnic minority groups. Investigating the differential influence of parenting for boys and girls has been generally ignored. Within the limited studies that have examined the moderating role of gender, the

majority have employed white, middle class sample, and thus it is not clear whether there are differential parenting effect as a function of gender. The present study has shown that across African- and Hispanic- American families, when mothers use harsher parenting, adolescent girls showed less internalize distress while boys showed higher internalized distress. The study extended earlier work to ethnic minority samples; the findings are different from previous findings.

Limitations and Implication for Future Study

An obvious limitation of this study is the use of a broad construct of parenting style. Each parenting style constitutes a broad spectrum of parenting practices and some parenting behavior within any one style might be related to specific child outcomes (Knutson et al., 2005). Therefore, the broad measure used here lacks the specificity needed to discriminate specific relationships between parenting behavior and outcome. Future studies should use more refined assessment of parenting behaviors to examine their specific association to particular child developmental outcomes.

Another limitation of the study is that the data of parenting styles were only provided by mothers, fathers were excluded, and as such, it may not be a complete indicator of parenting style. Studies have shown that mothers and fathers may employ distinct parenting patterns to their children and thus have different impacts on children's development (Rohner & Veneziano, 2001). Including only mothers may have biased the research results. Future studies should incorporate fathers into study to obtain more complete assessment of parenting and its association with child outcomes.

Last but not least, this study only explored the two-way interactions of parenting styles with ethnicity and gender, respectively. There might be more complex three-way interactions between the three variables related to child outcomes. The effects of parenting may also depend on its interaction with both gender and ethnicity. Further studies are needed to investigate the more complex moderators between parenting and child outcomes.

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APPENDIX

Parenting Style

Authoritative Parenting

- I say something positive to [CHILD] when [he/she] does something I like.
- I try to make rules which take [CHILD]'s individual needs into consideration.
- I make sure I am strict with [CHILD] when it comes to punishment.
- I try to show that I understand [CHILD]'s feelings when I punish [him/her] for misbehaving.
- I try to explain the reasons for the rules I make.

Harsh Parenting

- I think that a good spanking is sometimes needed to make [CHILD] understand.
- I spank [CHILD] when [he/she] has done something really wrong.

Permissive Parenting

- I let [CHILD] decide what [his/her] daily schedule will be.
- I let [CHILD] eat whatever [he/she] feels like eating.
- I avoid giving [CHILD] chores to do.
- I avoid having rules that [CHILD] must follow.
- I drop a rule if [CHILD] objects to it.

Disengaged Parenting

- I avoid dealing with [CHILD].
- I have so much on my mind, I don't have much time for [CHILD].
- I generally know what [CHILD] is doing even when I'm not there.
- I don't talk with [CHILD] very much.
- I feel very involved in [CHILD]'s life.

VITA

Tao Liu was born in Dingzhou, China on October 26, 1983. She was raised in a village in the northern part of rural China. She went to Lanzhou University in Lanzhou, China from 2002 to 2006. Upon completing her Bachelor of Art degree in education, she came to the University of Tennessee to pursue the M.S. in Child and Family Studies. After graduation, she will pursue a M.A. in Counseling at Boston College. She then plans to pursue a PhD in psychology in order to teach and practice.