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Predicting Child Outcomes from Parenting Styles of Spanish-Speaking Families

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PREDICTING CHILD OUTCOMES FROM PARENTING STYLES

OF SPANISH-SPEAKING FAMILIES

by

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ABSTRACT

Predicting Child Outcomes from Parenting Styles of

Spanish-Speaking Families

by

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The purpose of this study was to evaluate observed parenting practices among

first-generation Spanish-speaking Latinos living in Utah. Participants included 50

families with a child between the ages of 4 and 9. Parents and their child engaged in a

behavioral observational task that was coded for parenting dimensions and styles to

determine if they predict child outcomes among Latino families. Parents completed the

Child Behavior Checklist to assess for behavioral problems. Observations were coded

using the Parenting Scale, developed specifically for this study. In general, parents

received high ratings on warmth and demandingness, and lower ratings on autonomy

granting. Parenting dimensions significantly predicted internalizing problems. Findings

also suggested that autonomy granting exerted an influence on total behavioral problems.

The application of parenting style categories to Latino parents was not useful.

Implications for prevention and intervention methods for Latino families were discussed as well as directions for future research.

(109 pages)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

Parenting has been extensively researched for many years. In the literature, parenting behaviors have been described as parenting styles and parenting dimensions. Parenting styles represent a constellation of attitudes, knowledge, and emotions (Baumrind, 1966). Baumrind studied parent-child interactions of White middle-class families and developed a typology of three distinct parenting styles: authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive. Later, Lambourn, Mounts, Steinberg, and Dornbusch (1991) added a neglectful parenting style to Baumrind's typology. The four parenting styles are based on variations in levels of responsiveness, demandingness, and autonomy granting. An authoritarian parenting style is characterized by low responsiveness, high demandingness, and low levels of autonomy granting. An authoritative parenting style is characterized by high responsiveness, high demandingness, and autonomy granting. Permissive parenting is noted by high levels of responsiveness and autonomy granting and low levels of demandingness. Neglectful parenting is characterized by disengagement, low levels of responsiveness, and low levels of demandingness (Broderick & Blewitt, 2003). Other researchers have conceptualized a neglectful parenting style to encompass low levels of psychological autonomy granting, responsiveness, and demandingness (Karavasilis, Doyle, & Markiewicz, 2003).

Parenting styles have important implications for psychology because of their relation to child mental health. An authoritative parenting style has been correlated with positive child outcomes (e.g., social and cognitive functioning) in samples comprised primarily of White middle-class families (Baumrind, 1989, 1993). Parenting styles have

also been correlated with child psychopathology (Reiss et al., 1995), academic achievement (Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992), self-esteem (Carlson, Uppal & Prosser, 2000), social adjustment (Stewart et al., 1998), and social competence (Fagan, 2000). Previous research has shown that an authoritative parenting style is correlated with low rates of child psychopathology (Reiss et al.), while authoritarian and permissive parenting styles have been shown to be associated with increased rates of child psychopathology (Shelton, Frick, & Wooten, 1996).

The wealth of studies on parenting styles have significant limitations when applied to the study of parenting among ethnic minority families. The majority of studies in the literature based their findings on parenting styles that were conceptualized using majority White, middle-class families' values, cultural norms, and parental expectancies. Furthermore, the inferences made regarding child psychopathology are based on the parenting styles, which may or may not apply to other cultural groups. For example, there is evidence to suggest that cultural values and norms play a role in preferred parenting behaviors and styles. Julian, McKenry, and McKelvey (1994) found that ethnic minority parents were stricter, less warm, placed greater demands, and had more expectations for their children based on the difficulties they anticipate their children to experience in life. Although these parenting characteristics do not fit with an authoritative parenting style that is widely considered acceptable and desirable for White middle-class families, these researchers found that ethnic minority parents identify these parenting characteristics to be desirable and necessary. Similarly, Steinberg, Dornbusch and colleagues (1992) found that parenting practices affect minority children differently. In their study of White and ethnic minority youth they found differences in parenting styles and academic

achievement. For example, among the Asian American group an authoritarian parenting style was related to high academic achievement. This finding was mediated by cultural parental beliefs regarding education and the youth's peer support for academic achievement. Among African American youth, an authoritative parenting style was offset by lack of peer support for academic achievement. In White youth there was a positive association between an authoritative parenting style, peer support, and academic achievement. Among Hispanic youth, low academic achievement was associated with an authoritarian parenting style and lack of peer support for academic achievement.

As the nation becomes increasingly multicultural, the Latino population is the largest ethnic minority group. Yet the field of child psychology has not kept up with the diverse environment. Little is known about Latinos' parenting styles and their relationships to child outcomes. It is imperative that mental health professionals become knowledgeable about the universal and the unique characteristics of Latino parenting in order to provide culturally sensitive treatments and interventions for these families. The current study will contribute to the field of child psychology by examining Latino parenting styles and child outcomes.

The available literature concerning Latino parenting styles is sparse and inconsistent. Some researches have described Latinos as permissive and others as authoritarian (Hammer & Turner, 1996). Vega (1990) found that parent and child interactions were characterized by warmth and nurturing. Controversy that emerges in the existing literature regarding parenting styles and child outcomes among Latino families highlights several themes. Some researchers have concluded that an authoritative parenting style is predictive of overall positive child outcomes in Latino families

(Carlson et al., 2000; Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleight, 1987; Radziszewka, Richardson, Dent, & Flay, 1996; Steinberg, Dornbusch, et al.,1992). In contrast, other researchers contend that authoritative parenting predicts positive child outcomes in White children only, and the same association is not evident in Latino families (Lindahl & Malik, 1999; Park & Bauer, 2002). Some have argued that authoritarian parenting is adaptive and may serve as a protective factor for Latino families (Zayas, 1992). To further complicate matters, the majority of the research on Latinos' parenting has been conducted using White middle-class families as a comparison group, and has demonstrated methodological flaws that will be discussed in this thesis.

As an alternative to the predominant categorical conceptualization of parenting styles, researchers have suggested that the use of dimensions may be more useful. Researchers have identified three dimensions, or features of parental behavior, that describe the quality of parenting. Barber (1997) and Darling and Steinberg (1993) have suggested the separate parenting dimensions of warmth, demandingness, and autonomy granting are better indicators of parenting characteristics than parenting styles. Warmth implies being involved and interested in the child's activities, listening to the child, and being supportive (Broderick & Blewitt, 2003). Demandingness refers to the amount of control a parent imposes on a child (e.g., expectations for behavior), the implementation of standards and rules, and the degree to which a parent enforces the standards and rules (Broderick & Blewitt). Autonomy granting is described as allowing children autonomy and individual expression within the family (Steinberg, Mounts, Lamborn, & Dornbusch, 1991). Stewart and Bond (2002) theorized that parenting dimensions are universal and

thus are better indicators of parenting behaviors, especially in ethnic cultural groups where the culture-specific meaning of the behavior may differ.

The study sought to understand the link between parenting styles and dimensions and child adjustment in Latino families. Overall, little is known regarding Latinos' parenting styles and dimensions and their relationship to child outcomes. There is need for further investigation of parenting styles and dimensions and their relationship to child outcomes in Latino families. Gaining a better understanding of the effects of parenting styles and dimensions on child outcomes in Latino families will aid the development of culturally sensitive parent-training interventions. In addition, an improved knowledge of parenting among Latino families may aid researchers and clinicians in adapting existing psychosocial treatments to Latino families. Thus, the purpose of this study is to investigate the relationship between parenting behaviors and child emotional and behavioral symptomology in a sample of Latino children and families.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Social Interaction Learning Model

Social interaction learning theory provides a theoretical perspective that best

guides the understanding of parenting and the early socialization process of the child's

development. The social interaction learning model emerged out of the social learning

movement during the 1960s with research carried out by Bandura and Skinner (Patterson

& Forgatch, 1987). Social interaction learning theory states that individuals influence

each other in the transactions of everyday life mainly through modeling, punishments,

and rewards that comprise social interaction. Forgatch and Martinez (1999) further

describe the social interaction learning model as the process in which parents directly

influence their child's development by means of parental practices and indirectly by

contextual factors that surround the family environment. Thus, social interaction learning

theory provides an appropriate lens for examining parent-child interactions mainly

because social interaction learning theory allows an integrated and comprehensive view

of the parent-child interaction. Directly related to parenting, social interaction learning

theory asserts that parenting practices, both positive parenting practices and coercive

parenting practices, influence child outcomes such as child socioemotional development

(Patterson, 1982). Behavioral observational methodology is central to the social

interaction learning model. Research has demonstrated that as compared to parent report

and teacher report, behavioral observational methods of assessing parenting practices

provided more accurate descriptions of parenting practices and were better predictors of

child outcomes (Forgatch & DeGarmo, 2002). Therefore, the social interaction leaning model provides the framework for the current research by supporting the assumption that parenting practices are critical and the most proximal in explaining child outcomes. The social interaction learning model also supports the utilization of behavioral observations as methods to assess parenting practices.

Parenting Styles

Parenting is critical to children's early socialization. Seminal work in the field of parenting has been carried out by Baumrind (1966), who studied parent-child interactions of White middle-class families and developed a typology of three distinct parenting styles, authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive. According to Baumrind, an authoritative parenting style refers to a style of parent and child interaction that is characterized by two-way communication, parental use of reasoning and consequences, and promotion of autonomy. Authoritative parents enforce control when needed, but do not place excessive restrictions on the child. Parents are accepting of the child's interests and qualities, but set standards for appropriate conduct. In contrast an authoritarian parenting style describes parents who enforce standards that are derived from parental authority. Authoritarian parents value conformity and obedience and are likely to use forceful means to control a child's behavior. In authoritarian homes the child has a place in a structural hierarchy and autonomy is not encouraged. Authoritarian parents place high demands and promote respect for work. Order and structure are emphasized, and two-way communication is not encouraged. Finally, Baumrind described permissive parents as those who avoid giving punishment, impose few demands, and are accepting

towards the child's desires and impulses. Baumrind's theory and research have served as the foundation for most research regarding child rearing.

Decades later Lamborn and colleagues (1991) extended Baumrind's research and added a fourth parenting style, neglectful parenting. Lambourn and colleagues postulated that Baumrind's typology of parenting styles produced three types of families. The authoritative family was characterized by high responsiveness and high demandingness. The authoritarian parenting style is characterized by low responsiveness and high demandingness. The permissive parenting style is characterized by low demandingness. Lambourn and colleagues proposed that putting parents with low demandingness, who may or may not be responsive, into one category (i.e., permissive) combined distinctly different families. On the one hand, they argued, there are parents whose low demandingness reflects indulgence; they value autonomy, trust, and having a democratic relationship with their child. On the other hand, there are parents whose low demandingness reflects disengagement from the child. Lambourn and colleagues maintained the label of permissive for the former group and identified the latter parenting style as neglectful.

Authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive parenting styles have been studied at length and have been assessing via multiple methods such as parent-child observations in multiple settings (laboratory, naturalistic, and home settings) and self-report data (Lambourn et al., 1991). The use of a parenting typology to describe parenting characteristics consists of analyzing specific dimensions, such as responsiveness and demandingness, in combination with each other rather than examining their effects separately.

Parenting Dimensions

An alternative method of investigating parenting behaviors is to examine the specific components of a particular parenting style (Barber, 1997; Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Researchers have categorized parental behavior in three dimensions that describe the quality of the parent and child relationship. Warmth refers to parental behaviors that are supportive, interested, and involved (Broderick & Blewitt, 2003). Demandingness describes the amount of control a parent imposes on the child and the amount of emphasis placed on enforcing rules and standards for behavior. The third dimension, autonomy granting (Steinberg et al., 1991), describes the manner in which parents allow their children to express themselves within the family.

There has been considerable agreement on the basic parenting dimensions. Two very important and most noted parenting dimensions in the literature are demandingness and responsiveness (Baumrind, 1966; Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Investigators have used different terms for demandingness (i.e., behavioral control, discipline, monitoring, regulation), and responsiveness (i.e., warmth, interest, parental involvement, acceptance; Stewart & Bond, 2002). Steinberg added the third dimension, autonomy granting, to better classify parenting behaviors into Baumrind's parenting styles. Steinberg et al. (1991), further describe the process of autonomy granting as allowing the child an equal say in discipline, encouraging the child to express his or her opinions and concerns within the family, and the use of discipline that does not involve threats. In sum, parenting dimensions can be a helpful method of gaining a better understanding of parental behaviors.

Gender Differences in Parenting

Researchers have investigated how child gender affects parenting. On a broad
level, Holden and Miller (1999) conducted a meta-analysis on parenting and the
similarity or differences between parents' child rearing practices. The researchers point
out that a parent may modify her/his child rearing practices due to the influence of
several sources including the child's gender, developmental stage, and/or the presence of
another person. Therefore, it is possible that parents may socialize their child differently
according to the child's gender. A closer examination of parenting and gender is needed.

Different parenting strategies may be necessary to parent male and female youth.
In a study investigating parental dimensions and gender, Cookston (1999) examined
parental supervision and gender of the child in a sample of White youth and found that
high levels of parental supervision were found to be significantly related to less alcohol
and dug use among both male and female youth. However, while female youth had low
levels of alcohol and drug use even with medium (not low) levels of parental supervision,
males had negative outcomes associated with both medium and low levels of parental
supervision.

Research suggests that mothers and fathers behave differently with their children.
In a sample of White parents, Walker (1994) found that mothers value warmth more than
fathers; they were also more concerned with disruptive behavior than their male
counterparts. In contrast, research with a Latino sample found that fathers used more
discipline and mothers used more nurturing with their children (Grossman, 1995).
Similarities in parenting have been found across national samples of Latinos. In a study

of Dominican and Puerto Rican mothers (Calzada & Eyeberg, 2002) there were few reported differences in the way that mothers parented their sons versus their daughters. Calzada and Eyberg described a trend that they noticed in their sample. They noticed that Dominican mothers granted more autonomy to their sons as compared to their daughters and Puerto Rican mothers described more warmth and involvement with their daughters as compared to their sons.

Research specific to parenting styles and child gender found fathers to be more authoritarian with their sons and mothers were more authoritative with their daughters (Conrade & Ho, 2001). These findings were based on retrospective perceived reports of college students. In addition to these findings, male participants described mothers as more permissive with daughters.

In sum, the research suggests that there may be different patterns and relationships between parenting dimensions and styles and gender. Further research is needed to assist researchers and clinicians develop gender sensitive interventions for youth.

<div align="center">Applicability of Parenting Styles and

Dimensions to Latino Families</div>

There have been disparate findings in the literature regarding the applicability of the parenting style typology (i.e., authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, and neglectful) to accurately describe Latino parenting behaviors. Some have suggested that Latino parents are authoritarian based on the cultural value of respect (Darling & Steinberg,

1993), while others have disagreed (Escovar & Lazarus, 1982), and others have found Latino parents to be permissive (Julian et al., 1994).

Some researchers postulate, and have provided evidence, that an authoritative parenting style is predictive of overall positive child outcomes in Latino families. Other researchers contend that authoritative parenting predicts positive child outcomes in majority White children only, but the same parenting process is not evident in Latino families. Furthermore, some researchers indicate that an authoritarian parenting style may serve as a protective factor for Latino families (Lindahl & Malik, 1999). Further research is needed to examine parenting styles among Latino parents in an effort to determine if parenting styles can be used to characterize Latino parenting behavior and furthermore, can parenting styles be used to predict child outcomes among Latino families.

It is possible that Baumrind's (1996) parenting styles may not be sufficient to describe Latino parenting behaviors. Given that Baumrind's model for parenting was based on White middle-class cultural values it is possible that Latino parents reflect different cultural values in the way they socialize their children. Alternatively, it is possible that the aggregation of data into categories has muddied results and is masking important information about Latinos' parenting practices. Unfortunately there is no research to support or refute the usefulness of parenting dimensions in understanding Latinos' parenting practices.

Deficit Model

The majority of the previous parenting research that included Latino parents has

compared Latino parents to White parents' parenting styles, placing Latino parents' parenting practices "in contrast to" the parenting style among White families. This practice reinforces deficit perspectives (Cauce, Coronado, & Watson, 1998). Research that examines variances, similarities, and unique parenting processes among and between Latinos is strongly needed to provide an accurate picture of Latino parenting without bias implicit in the cultural deficit model (Cauce et al.).

In addition to examining Latinos' parenting practices independent of other groups, examining the meanings of existing constructs may be critical to reach a better understanding of the existing findings. Recent studies have characterized Latino parenting as authoritarian (Knight, Virdin, & Roosa, 1994). In the mainstream parenting literature "authoritarian" has a negative connotation. Such a value judgment does not take into account the sociocultural context and adaptive strategies that Latinos had to develop based on their environments. Zayas (1994) suggested that an authoritarian parenting style may be necessary for survival in the inner city where Latino families are faced with discrimination, social inequality, and higher risk of exposure to violence. Authoritative parenting may not sufficiently prepare urban Latino children from the harsh and negative influences present in the environments in which they live. An authoritarian parenting style may provide urban Latino children (especially newly immigrated families) with improved coping skills, and needed structure and control deemed necessary for living in lower socioeconomic status (SES) sectors.

In sum, there are two divergent trends that emerge in the Latino parenting literature. There are those who suggest that authoritative parenting that is highly correlated with positive child outcomes in majority White middle-class families can be

generalized to Latinos and, on the other hand, those who disagree. Past research has shown that Latinos generally are more authoritarian, while majority White families are authoritative. However, it is important to recognize that the conceptualization of parenting styles is culture bound. This leads to interpretations that may not be accurate in explaining Latino parenting or even in categorizing Latino parenting. Mixed results of available studies suggest that the current methods and conceptualizations may be problematic and lead to artificial findings.

Specific Cultural Influences

As the United States becomes increasingly culturally diverse, the need to better serve diverse cultural groups becomes critical. Forehand and Korchick (1996) described the impact of culture on parenting styles as the interaction of a person's cultural heritage and their understanding of the world and self, which directly influences behavioral expression. Specific cultural values have been tied to Latinos that may influence parenting practices. Latino families are described as collectivistic, an orientation to life which is associated with high levels of personal interdependence and a willingness to sacrifice for the well being of the in-group (Marin & Marin, 1991). The cultural value of *familismo* is central to the Latino culture and conveys a strong sense of loyalty, respect and obligation to the family and extended family (Marin & Marin). *Simpatía* (a word that roughly translates as "pleasantness") is also identified as a cultural value shared by Latinos, and emphasizes the importance of establishing harmonious and friendly interactions with others (Marin & Marin).

Zayas (1994) found distinct child-rearing beliefs that are consistent with Latino cultural values. For example, Latino parents preferred to encourage behaviors that promoted interconnectedness, family closeness, and parental authority, which are consistent with collectivism, *familismo*, and *simpatía*. Furthermore, Zayas proposed that Latino parents socialize their children in ways that are important to the Latino culture independent of whether or not it is in agreement with the norms of the dominant culture. For example, authoritarian parenting may be conceptualized as a parenting style that is adaptive to and functional to the cultural values that Latino families endorse. Among some Latino families, parents may emphasize a structural hierarchy within their family structure. Men are sometimes seen as the head of the household and they expect strict obedience to their parental authority (Escovar & Lazarus, 1982). In a classic study, LeVine and Bartz (1979) found that Latino parents did not encourage an equal role for the child in the family. More recently, Bulcroft, Carmody, and Bulcroft (1996) found that Latino parents modified their independence giving based on patriarchy and *familismo*. Thus the combination of these two cultural elements in shaping parenting behavior was exemplified in greater constraints and restrictions (increased demandingness) placed on boy's and girl's behaviors outside the home. These findings can be viewed as a way for parents to reinforce the cultural values of *familismo* and *respeto* (respect), which are suggestive of an authoritarian parenting style.

How children construe, or interpret, parenting behavior may have an influence how they respond to them. An authoritarian parenting style may be perceived by Latino children as expressing love and concern, especially when children are living in environmental circumstances where there are real dangers. Finklestein, Donenberg, and

Martinovich (2001) found that Latina girls often report finding comfort and security in the restrictive and protective child-rearing styles of their parents, which may prevent teenage pregnancy and school drop out. Therefore, there is evidence to suggest that cultural values and norms play a role in preferred parenting styles, which may influence child outcomes (Zayas, 1999).

Parenting Styles Versus Dimensions

Stewart and Bond (2002) pointed out that parenting styles characterize different combinations of parenting behaviors. The combinations of parenting behaviors are dependent on one another, so that an examination of a single dimension will miss the effect of the parenting behaviors combined. Furthermore, the use of parenting styles is thought to be more valid than the utilization of separate dimensions because parenting styles are believed to reflect the naturally occurring process of parenting behaviors. Examining parenting dimensions as discrete entities has the potential of creating sets of parenting characteristics that are not reflective of what is real (Darling & Sternberg, 1993). In addition, parenting styles are thought to be cohesive and fairly consistent across time and situations (Darling & Steinberg; Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

Regardless of the strong support for the use of parenting styles, Stewart and Bond (2002) proposed to examine the specific components that make up the typology. For example, instead of assessing the effects of an authoritarian parenting style, the authors proposed an independent examination of each dimension: warmth, demandingness, and autonomy granting. Stewart and Bond advocated for using parenting dimensions rather than parenting styles especially for studying cultures other than those where the parenting

typology was conceptualized. According to Stewart and Bond, examining each parenting dimension separately does not lead to a forced classification of parenting behaviors into parenting styles when the typology may not even exist in the new culture. In addition, they argue that parenting styles may be more problematic to interpret; when using parenting styles it becomes unclear which specific parenting dimension of the typology influenced the child outcome. Thus, the use of parenting dimensions in predicting child outcomes is more easily interpretable (Stewart & Bond). Lastly, Stewart and Bond argued that parenting dimensions are universal and are better indicators of parenting behaviors in diverse cultures. To date no studies exist that have examined whether parenting styles or parenting dimensions are more useful in gaining an improved understanding of parenting especially among Latino families.

<div align="center">

Parenting Styles and Child Outcomes

Among White Families

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Many researchers have investigated the relationship between parenting styles and child outcomes such as child psychopathology, social and cognitive development, and academic achievement. Empirical research has illustrated that parental characteristics are associated with various child outcomes among White families. Dishion (1990) found that a lack of parental monitoring and inconsistent discipline were related to peer rejection among a group of high risk boys. In a longitudinal study, Pettit, Bates, and Dodge (1997) found parental warmth, positive involvement, and inductive discipline were related to academic achievement among sixth-grade children. Furthermore, Warash and Markstrom (2001) found parental autonomy granting, parental consistency, and parental control to be

positively associated with academic self-esteem among White middle-class boys in preschool. In turn, parental temper and detachment were found to be associated with lower levels of academic self-esteem among the preschool children. Most importantly, research has consistently shown that an authoritative parenting style leads to improved social adjustment and the development of competence among White children (Baumrind, 1971, 1991; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Roopnarine, Church, & Levy, 1990). More specifically, in a recent study Baumrind (1991) found that authoritative parents had children who were exceptionally competent, mature, prosocial, and had high internal locus of control, showed lower levels of internalizing and externalizing behavioral problems, and had a lower rates of substance abuse. Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts, and Dornbusch (1994) conducted a large scale study and found that the children of authoritative parents scored best on psychosocial adjustment, school achievement, internalized distress, and problem behaviors.

Lamborn and colleagues (1991) found that children of neglectful parents scored the lowest on psychosocial adjustment, school achievement, and endorsed high levels of internalized distress, and problem behaviors. Their findings proved to be consistent after one year (Steinberg et al., 1994). Furthermore, the children of authoritative parents who were involved in their child's academic progress had higher academic achievement (Mounts & Steinberg, 1995; Steinberg et al., 1994). Thus, one can conclude that an authoritative parenting style is positively associated with optimal psychosocial child outcomes among White children.

Parenting Styles and Child Outcomes

Among Latino Families

As outlined above, authoritative parenting is associated with positive child outcomes among White children. However, do these data apply to Latino families who may have differing cultural values? A few studies have described Latino parenting as authoritarian (Knight et al., 1994), controlling, and relying on physical punishment (Gutierrez, Sameroff, & Karrer, 1988) when compared to White families. Alternatively, Escovar and Lazarus (1982) found that Latino parents expressed high levels of open verbal and physical expressions of affection and nurturance. Finkelstein and colleagues (2001) described Latino parents as more permissive than majority White middle-class and African American parents. A study suggested that Latino families were not overwhelmingly authoritarian as portrayed in past research findings and the media. Instead, Latino fathers were found to be warm and responsive and exerted minimal to low amounts of control (Staples & Miranda, 1980). Thus, although each of the previously mentioned studies contributes to our knowledge of Latino parenting, findings regarding a comprehensive characterization of Latino parenting are inconsistent and fail to reach agreement at this time.

It is not surprising, given the difficulty in reaching agreement about predominant parenting styles among Latinos, that only a handful of studies have examined the relationship between parenting styles and child outcomes among Latino families. A careful review of the literature highlights the emergence of two distinct themes in the Latino parenting literature. The first theme relates to a body of research that has found an

authoritative parenting style to be positively associated with child outcomes among Latino families. The second theme in the literature describes a separate set of research that disagrees that an authoritative parenting style is predictive of positive outcomes for Latino families.

Researchers have found evidence that an authoritative parenting style is predictive of improved child mental health outcomes in Latino families. In a recent study, Carlson and colleagues (2000) investigated the impact of parenting styles on children's self esteem. Global self-esteem in White, Latino, and African American children were examined via self-report surveys. Findings indicated that higher self-esteem was predicted by authoritative parenting style for all three groups. Separate analysis were performed by ethnicity and findings revealed that Latino girls evidenced significantly lower self-esteem compared to all other groups that were associated with lower endorsement of an authoritative parenting style. Thus, it appears that authoritative parenting is predictive of higher self-esteem among all girls, including Latina girls.

An authoritative parenting style has also been found to predict lower depressive symptomolgy in Latino children. In a recent study Radziszewka and colleagues (1996) carefully examined the impact of gender, ethnicity, and SES on the relationship between parenting style and depressive symptomology. The study included a large sample of Latino, White, Asian, and African American children living in California. Of the participants, 60% were from low SES families. Findings point out that an authoritative parenting style was associated with the most favorable outcomes (less depressive symptomology) across ethnicity, gender, and income group. In addition, no evidence was

found to suggest that an authoritarian parenting style related to better outcomes for any of the ethnic groups.

Other researchers have found that an authoritative parenting style was associated with improved child's mental health in families with a problem-drinking parent. Roosa, Tein, Groppenbacher, Michaels, and Dumka (1993) examined the relationship between maternal parenting and child mental health. The sample included over 300 families and broke down as follows: 60% European American, 20% Latino, 13% African American, 4% Native American, and 2% other; Latinos' data were analyzed separately. In-home interviews were conducted. Parenting styles were measured by child reports of parents' warmth and autonomy granting. The presence of these characteristics is indicative of an authoritative parenting style. Child mental health was based on the child's report of depressive symptoms on a self-report behavioral checklist. Findings indicated Latina mothers had a stronger impact on children's mental health than non-Latina mothers. More specifically, authoritative parenting was strongly related to improved children's mental health (less endorsement of depressive sytomology) in Latino families. In addition, there was no correlation in both samples between parent problem-drinking and child mental health. The only influence of parent problem-drinking on child mental health was weak and indirect. Therefore, based on the model that was tested in this study, it becomes apparent that parenting styles may serve as a moderator of the stress that families with a problem-drinker might experience. Furthermore, the moderator role of the Latina mothers' authoritative parenting was more salient for the Latino families as compared to White families among this sample.

Consistent with previous findings, Fagan (2000) found that mainland Puerto Rican parents who were authoritative had children who were rated by their Head Start teachers as socially competent. Parenting styles were measured using a self-report inventory that was slightly different than traditional parenting behaviors, both mother and father completed questionnaires that rated their preferred parenting behaviors on the scales including nurturance (parental support), responsiveness, nonrestrictive attitude, type of control, amount of control, maturity demands, consistency, and organization. These subscales were used to create an authoritative, authoritarian, or permissive parenting style composite score. Parental involvement was assessed using a self- report inventory aimed at measuring the degree to which mothers and fathers share the responsibilities of child care. Social competence was rated by Head Start teachers via a teacher version of the Social Skills Rating System, which assesses perceived frequency of behaviors influencing the child's development of social competence and adaptive functioning. Overall, findings indicated that mainland Puerto Rican parents were more "nurturing" indicating that parents reported more parental support than African American parents. Moreover, in Puerto Rican families, authoritative parenting was significantly related to child behavior (increased adaptive functioning and improved social competence). There was no significant association between authoritative parenting style and child behavior for African American families. Thus, "less nurturing parenting did not have a negative impact on child outcomes among African American families. Overall, these findings suggest that parenting styles may vary by ethnicity: Puerto Ricans were found to be more nurturing and authoritative as compared to African American families.

This finding also supports the notion that the same parenting practices can lead to different outcomes in children depending on their ethnic and cultural group.

In addition to findings supporting the link between authoritative parenting and positive child mental health across Latino families, research has found that authoritative parenting style is predictive of school achievement among Latino children. Steinberg, Dornbusch, and Brown (1992) examined parenting styles, peer support, and familial values about education and their influence on school achievement. School achievement was evaluated by measures of school performance, school engagement, time spent on school activities, and educational expectations and aspirations. The sample consisted of Latino, Asian American, White, and African American children from diverse SES and household compositions. Findings suggested that students from authoritative homes were found to have an advantage when compared to students from nonauthoritative homes in all-ethnic groups. When school performance was evaluated, findings indicated that White and Latino students from authoritative homes were more likely to have higher academic achievement as opposed to Asian Americans and African Americans. The findings illustrated a relationship between authoritative parenting and academic achievement.

Authoritative parenting has also been found to have a positive relationship to student grades in Latino samples. Dornbusch and colleagues (1987) investigated parenting styles and student grades across an ethnically diverse sample. The sample consisted of Asian, Latino, White, and African American students. Parenting styles were measured using self-report data. Students' grades were reported via student self-report and validation by current grade point averages provided by the school district. Findings indicated that authoritative parenting was positively correlated with students' grades

across all ethnic groups and, authoritarian and permissive parenting was associated with lower grades. Overall, parenting styles generally showed the same expected relationship across ethnic groups except for Asian Americans. Among Asian Americans there was also a positive relationship between authoritarian parenting and grades.

The findings mentioned above reflect a strong relationship between authoritative parenting and positive outcomes for Latino youth; however these findings have been challenged. The following studies present data that challenge the notion that authoritative parenting style is predictive of positive outcomes among Latino families. Finkelstein and colleagues (2001) conducted a research study that included a large number of Latina, African American, and White urban girls seeking mental health services in the Midwest. Parenting styles were measured by self-report data from girls' perceptions of their mothers' parenting styles. The measure utilized to describe parenting styles consisted of a subscale derived from five questions. Depressive symptomology was measured using a self-report measure that included 112 behavioral items, to be assessed for the past 6 months. Both African American and Latina girls reported more authoritarian parenting styles and use of control by their mothers than White girls. However, only in the African American group was authoritarian parenting and control predictive of depression. Interestingly, these results suggested that even though Latina girls reported a higher frequency of authoritarian parenting and increased use of maternal control, these parenting processes were not associated or predictive of depression symptoms in Latina girls. Furthermore, this study alludes to the integral role of ethnicity, cultural values, and norms in parenting styles and in how girls experience these patterns.

Further, an authoritative parenting style has not been found to predict a decrease in male Latino externalizing behavioral disorders. In fact, an authoritarian parenting style may serve as a protective factor for Latino males. A noteworthy contribution to the field of Latino parenting was conducted by Lindahl and Malik (1999). The researchers examined parenting styles, marital conflict, family processes, and child adjustment. The sample included 50 mother-father-child triads in three ethnic categories, White, Mexican American, and biethnic families (White and Latino). Correlational methodology was utilized to determine the relationship between parenting style and child externalizing behavioral disorder. Parenting styles were measured via observational methodology thus eliminating the bias of social desirability of self-report data. Parenting styles were coded by two coders into the following categories: democratic, hierarchical, and lax or inconsistent. These terms were operationalized using Baumrind's (1966) parenting constructs: authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive, respectively. Child outcomes were measured by parental report. Findings indicated more similarities than differences between White and Mexican American families. However, a hierarchical (authoritarian) parenting style rather than an authoritative parenting style was associated with externalizing behavioral disorders in White and biethnic families but not for Mexican American families (Lindahl & Malik). This finding suggests that different parenting styles may influence children differently based on the cultural context in which they are embedded.

The link between authoritative parenting and academic achievement has also been challenged for Latino children. Park and Bauer (2002) conducted a study that focused on parenting styles and children's academic achievement. The study included a large sample

of Asian American, Latino, African American, and White children. Parenting styles were measured by the following constructs: supervision, strictness, support, and involvement. These constructs were used to form four parenting styles (i.e., authoritative, authoritarian, neglectful, and permissive). Results indicated authoritative parenting predicted academic achievement in the European American group only. There were no significant relationships for the other families.

In summation, in spite of apparent mixed findings in the research literature outlined above, some agreement is evident. Along the same lines, all studies included in this review acknowledged the unique role of cultural influence on parenting styles. The mixed findings in the review of literature also provided evidence of cultural influences impacting parenting styles by the evidenced differences found regarding parenting styles and child outcomes among and across ethnic groups. Moreover, all studies agreed to some degree that important differences exist in parenting styles between ethnic groups. The studies included in this review also supported the hypothesis that the relationship between specific parenting styles and child outcomes is not uniform for all ethnic groups. Additionally, the studies included in this review have all found that Baumrind's (1996) typology of parenting styles, originally developed to explain social and cognitive development among children, can also be successfully applied to various child outcomes (e.g., school achievement, psychopathology, self-esteem, and externalizing behavioral disorders).

A further examination of the two groups of research findings (e.g., those who agree that an authoritative parenting style is associated with positive child outcomes among Latino families and those who disagree) reveals that there are a greater amount of

studies (*n* = 6) that agree as compared to those who disagree (*n* = 3). All studies, except one concluded that an authoritative parenting style is associated with positive child outcomes among Latino families, included self-report data from the perspective of the child with no outside validation. All studies in this group also utilitized correlational methodology. On the other hand, among the other group of research findings that disagree, one study utilized an observational method to assess parenting styles. This may call into question the observer's ability to code the behaviors. Given the mixed findings and conclusions from previous research, many questions remain unanswered regarding Latino parenting styles. Further research is necessary to help clarify and promote our understanding of parenting among Latino families.

Parenting Dimensions in White Families

As mentioned earlier, there is agreement among researchers that warmth, demandingness, and autonomy granting are qualities that are characteristic of a parent's relationship with their child within a socialization context. There is evidence to suggest that higher endorsement of the parenting dimension of demandingness leads to better child outcomes among White families. Research has been conducted examining the association between the parenting dimensions of demandingness and responsiveness and child outcomes. Broderick and Blewitt (2003) pointed out that responsiveness is most closely related to psychosocial abilities and skills among White families, while demandingness seems associated with positive behaviors and the ability to limit impulsivity. Further, research by Mounts and Steinberg (1995) examined specific parenting dimensions among White families and found that parental monitoring, which is

considered to be a part of demandingness, and parental encouragement of academic success, which is recognized as a part of parental responsiveness, were associated with higher achieving children who preferred to have friends who were also high achieving. Walker-Barnes and Mason (2001) conducted a study with urban White families and discovered that high levels of monitoring, which is considered a part of demandingness, and involvement, which is conceptualized as part of responsiveness, served as a protective factor for White urban children thus limiting gang association or involvement and delinquent behavior. Along those same lines, there has been a considerable amount of empirical evidence that has found parental monitoring to be associated with lower risks of problem behaviors in children (Gorman-Smith, Tolan, Zeli, & Huesmann, 1996; Lamborn, Dornbusch, & Steinberg, 1996; Patterson & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1984, Smith & Krohn, 1995; Walker-Barnes & Mason, 2001). In conclusion, higher levels of parental responsiveness and demandingness are favorably correlated with child outcomes among White families. Moreover, parental monitoring is strongly associated with reduced levels of delinquency and problem behaviors.

Parenting Dimensions in Latino Families

Few studies have examined parenting dimensions among ethnically diverse families and even fewer research studies have been carried out that have examined parenting dimensions among Latino families. Among the research with Latinos all studies but one has investigated varying degrees of parenting dimensions across other ethnic groups.

The parental dimension of autonomy granting has been investigated across ethnic groups. Research carried out by Strage (2000) found that Latino and White students reported that their parents were more supportive and endorsed higher degrees of autonomy granting than did Asian American students. Parental warmth and demandingness have also been examined across ethnic groups. Shakib, Moutappa, and Johnson (2003) found that Latino adolescents reported higher rates of parental demandingness and increased parental warmth as compared to Asian, White, and multiethnic adolescents. Further, Hofferth (2003) found that Latino fathers were less demanding and displayed more warmth, as compared to African American fathers, and both groups expressed increased responsibility for child-rearing in comparison with White fathers. The researcher concluded that intergenerational transmission of fathering practices, fathering, and adherence to traditional gender roles contributed to the difference in demandingness of ethnic minority fathers as compared to White fathers. In a study examining a diverse group of adolescents, researchers have found that across ethnic groups, adolescent boys report less parental demandingness. Further, Asian and African American adolescents reported minimally higher rates of parental demandingness as compared to Whites and Latinos (Freeman & Newland, 2002).

Research has also suggested that gender differences were apparent when both White and Latino parents were compared. In a study, Tacon and Caldera (2001) found that Latina mothers were rated as more warm as compared to fathers and Latino fathers were rated as ambivalent and cold. Both Latino and White adolescent children reported to be more engaged in school activities, experienced more warmth, and were in conflict less often and generally felt more accepted by their mothers as compared to their fathers.

In conclusion, the above-mentioned body of research has contributed to our understanding of parental dimensions within the Latino family. Although presently researchers have failed to reach agreement, some general points can be highlighted. Overall it seems that parental dimensions and their relation with other factors vary according to ethnic group, gender differences have been pointed out between and within groups, and parental dimensions have been found to be linked to a variety of psychosocial factors across ethnic groups. However, a significant limitation to this body of literature is that only one of the studies examined parenting dimensions and their relation to child outcomes among Latino families. No studies have examined parenting dimensions and child outcomes among younger Latino children. Further research is needed to understand the relationship of parental dimensions to child outcomes among Latino children.

Limitations to the Current Research

The research mentioned above is noteworthy and illustrates the unique cultural values specific to Latinos that may play a role in parenting styles that influence the socialization of Latino children. However, limitations exist among all studies included in this review, especially regarding the validity of the research findings. Many researchers did not take into account other mediating factors such as the differing impact of the school environment (peers and parental involvement) on ethnically diverse students. Also, the data presented were predominantly or solely based on child ratings and thus, may be inconsistent or invalid. Parenting styles were measured by the use of a single self-report question in some studies. All but one of the studies mentioned in this review

of literature used self-report data of parenting practices. Only one study utilized behavioral observational methodology. The Latino sample included in some research studies was small and findings should be treated as preliminary. Replication is strongly suggested.

Parenting practices among Latino families may be impacted by the process of acculturation. Acculturation is the process in which immigrant groups acquire values, norms, and attitudes of the majority culture. It seems likely that acculturation status may indirectly affect parenting styles. Calzada and Eyberg (2002) found that among Puerto Rican mothers included in their sample higher acculturation was related to increased parental warmth and involvement with their children. All but two studies included in this review failed to document acculturation status among the Latino sample included in the research. In the study by Roosa and colleagues (1993), the Latino group included in the study was relatively acculturated (fluent in English); it is possible that research with less acculturated Latino groups may produce different results. Measures used in a few studies did not have norms for culturally diverse families (e.g., low-income Puerto Rican and African American families). Also, while Puerto Rican families are included in the large umbrella of Latinos, caution should be taken in generalizing these findings to all Latinos. In one study results should be cautioned due to threats to the internal validity of the study (Finkelstein et al., 2001). This sample included a group of urban, clinically referred girls that may be associated with unique environmental factors that may predispose this particular sample to certain responses. Furthermore, one study only included boys ranging from 7 to 10 years of age, and findings are reflective of mothers' perspective only (Lindahl & Malik, 1999).

A significant weakness in the current literature regarding parenting dimensions is that the majority of the research focuses on comparing parenting dimensions across ethnic groups, only one study examined the association between parenting dimensions and their relationship to adolescent outcomes within ethnic minority families, and none of the studies examined parenting dimensions and child outcomes among young Latino children.

How This Study Will Address These Limitations

The current research project contributes to the literature concerning Latino parenting by addressing the limitations that have been mentioned in the review of literature. The research presented here used behavioral observational methodology in an effort to guard against the possible bias of self-report. Cardona, Nicholson, and Fox, (2000) have pointed out that self-report of parenting practices may be potentially biased by social desirability. Furthermore, there is a lack of research that has utilized behavioral observational methods with Spanish-speaking Latino families. This study utilized observational methods to examine Latino parenting styles and dimensions.

The current study accounted for acculturation status by administering the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican-Americans (ARSMA). Measures presented in this research project with the exception of the Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL) and the ARSMA followed the "back translation" method (Marin & Marin, 1991). Study measures were translated into Spanish, back-translated into English and a bilingual committee resolved differences. Equivalence was examined and modifications were made. The research presented here examines parenting dimensions among a Latino

Spanish-speaking sample and examined the relationship between parenting dimensions

and child outcomes. The examination of parenting dimensions and child outcomes among

Spanish-speaking Latino families has been neglected in the literature. The current study

carefully investigated parenting and two levels of specificity among a group of Latino

parents thus eliminating the assumption of the deficit model by comparing Latinos to

other cultural groups. In addition, the sample included in this research has a wide range

of variability in child outcomes, and, therefore, we will be more likely to detect

differences.

Summary and Hypotheses

In sum, there are two divergent trends that emerge in the Latino parenting

literature. There are those who suggest findings that authoritative parenting is highly

correlated with positive child outcomes in majority White middle-class families can be

generalized to Latinos and, on the other hand, those who disagree. Past research has

shown that Latinos generally are more authoritarian, while majority White families are

authoritative. This cultural difference model often is criticized for its implication that

minority groups are deficient. Instead, some researchers suggest that an authoritarian

parenting style may be more adaptive for Latino families. Overall, as evidenced by the

mixed results in the literature review presented, it seems likely that different parenting

styles may work best for different ethnic groups and cultures.

Recent research has shown that parenting dimensions are a useful alternative

method for examining parenting behavior. The majority of past research has been

conducted with White families and has found that high levels of demandingness and

responsiveness are associated with improved psychosocial outcomes in children. To make things difficult, research has not provided a clear picture of how parenting dimensions influence child outcomes among Latino families. Furthermore, the research has not been able to answer whether parenting styles are evident among Spanish-speaking Latino families and do they predict child outcomes? Or are parenting dimensions better predictors of child outcomes among Latino children? Given the lack of agreement among researchers regarding Latino parenting styles and dimensions and their influence on child outcomes, further research is urgently needed. This research will contribute to meaningful interventions by facilitating an understanding of parenting styles and dimensions and their association to child outcomes among Latino families that may further assist in developing culturally sensitive preventive interventions.

It is hypothesized that Baumrind's (1966) parenting styles may not be sufficient to describe Latino parenting behaviors. For example, it is possible that participant responses reflect high discipline/control scores and high warmth/responsiveness scores, yet low autonomy granting/inductive reasoning scores. This response profile does not fit into Baumrind's parenting styles. The use of parenting dimensions is hypothesized to be a better indicator of parenting among Spanish-speaking Latino families. Further, it is hypothesized that parenting dimensions will be used to predict child outcomes. Regarding parenting and gender, it is hypothesized that parenting styles and dimensions will vary by gender, with parents' gender explaining a significant amount of the variance.

CHAPTER III

PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVE

The purpose of this study is to examine parenting styles in a Spanish-speaking sample of Latino parents in an effort to determine if parenting styles (i.e., authoritarian, authoritative, permissive, and neglectful) can be effectively used to describe Latino parenting or whether the use of parenting dimensions (i.e., warmth, demandingness, and autonomy granting) is more useful in predicting child outcomes. Or do both parenting styles and parenting dimensions predict child outcomes? Specifically, does the utilization of parenting styles provide an accurate description of Latino parenting and predict child outcomes, or does the use of parenting dimensions provide a clearer description of Latino parenting and is IT a better predictor of child outcomes? Or can Latino parenting be predicted by both parenting styles and parenting dimensions?

The first purpose of the study concerns whether parenting styles, which were originally conceptualized, based on White middle-class families' cultural values and beliefs by Baumrind (1966) and modified by Darling and Steinberg (1993), can also be used to describe Latino parenting behaviors. This initial question is essential because there is theoretical debate whether a conceptualization that is based on one cultural belief system can be applied to other cultural groups that have different beliefs and values. Some researchers suggest that differences in cultural values and beliefs warrant the adaptation of previously existing theoretical models, while other researchers suggest a universal approach and other researchers suggest starting from the beginning and creating new theoretical explanations (Canino & Guarnaccia, 1997).

There has been disagreement among researchers who have sought to examine the applicability of using parenting styles to accurately describe Latino parenting behaviors. Some researchers have suggested that Latino parents are authoritarian based on the cultural value of respect (Darling & Steinberg, 1993), while other researchers have claim that Latino parents are best characterized by an authoritative parenting style (Cardona et al., 2000) and some have found Latino parents to be permissive (Julian et al., 1994).

This study's purpose is of great interest, because there is a lack of empirical research that has investigated parenting styles and dimensions and their effect on child behavior among Spanish-speaking Latino families. Parenting styles and child outcomes have been extensively researched among White middle-class families. Findings have been quite consistent and indicate that an authoritative parenting style is predictive of positive child outcomes in White middle-class families (Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Steinberg, Elmen, & Mounts, 1989; Steinberg, Lambourn, Dornbusch, & Darling, 1992). However, the research mentioned earlier was based on an authoritative parenting style that was conceptualized using majority White, middle-class families' values, cultural norms and parental expectancies. Therefore, limitations may exist in generalizing these findings to other cultural groups further research is needed to identify the relationship between parenting styles and dimensions and their relation to child outcomes among Spanish-speaking Latino families.

Five major research questions will be examined in the current study.

1. Are parenting dimensions (i.e., warmth, demandingness, and autonomy granting) evident in parent-child observations?

2. Can the parenting style of Latino parents be categorized into Baumrind's (YEAR) categories (e.g. authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, and neglectful)?

3. Do parenting styles and parenting dimensions predict child outcomes?

4. Do parenting styles and dimensions differ by gender of the parent?

5. Do parenting styles and dimensions differ by gender of the child?

CHAPTER IV

PROCEDURES

Design

The research study employed a correlational research design. Participants

completed self-report questionnaires and then participated in a behavioral observational

task that involved parent and child interactions while being videotaped. Parent-child

interactions were coded using a global coding system assessing parenting dimensions:

warmth/responsiveness, demandingness/control, and autonomy granting. The parenting

dimensions were used to construct the parenting styles for categories.

Participants

Data were gathered from Spanish-speaking Latino families. Intact families (two

biological parents), single parent, and stepparent families with one child between 4 and 9

years of age were included in the study. Fifty families were recruited from the Cache

Valley area in Utah. Of the total sample, 44 families (88%) were two-parent intact

families, two (4%) were two-parent stepfamilies, and four (8%) were single parents with

three single mothers and one single father. There were a total of 47 fathers and 49

mothers. The average age of children who participated in the study was 7 years of age.

Thirty (60%) of the children were female. All families that participated in the study were

first-generation Latinos. Eighty of the participants (83%) of the families were of

Mexican origin and 16 participants (17 %) reported other Latino origins. Most families

(63%) reported a yearly income of $20,000-$35,000, and (33%) reported to make less

than $20,000. One family reported earning $35,000 to $50,000.For more information on sample demographics see Tables 1 and 2.

There are over 91,000 residents in Cache County (Census, 2000). Findings from the 2000 Census indicate that the majority of people residing in Cache County, Utah are White, representing 93% of the total population. Latinos represent 6.3% of the total population in Cache County and are the largest minority group in the area. However, this is likely an underestimate given the likely proportion of undocumented immigrants (Sue & Sue, 2003). Other minority groups in the area include 2% Asian, 0.6% Native American, 0.3% African American and 0.2% Native Hawaiian. Fifteen percent of Latinos residing in Cache County report speaking English "not at all" (U.S. Census, 2001). Generalizability of research findings is limited to first-generation recent immigrant Spanish-speaking Latino families.

The sample was recruited through local Catholic churches and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) churches, announcements at schools and community parent support groups, flyers placed throughout the community, personal face-to face recruitment by research assistants, and word of mouth by participants. Visiting Latino neighborhoods, visiting door to door, and utilization of personal networks have proven to be successful in recruiting Latino families into research studies (Harachi, Catalano, & Hawkins, 1997). Media outreach was also utilized, including a radio advertisement on a local station during Spanish-language programming and a web posting. For the present study, word of mouth was the most effective recruitment tool (Domenech Rodriguez, Rodriguez, & Davis, 2006).

Table 1

Child Participants

Characteristics of child participants	n	%
Number of children (total families)	50	100
Gender of child		
Male	20	40
Female	30	60
Clinical status of child		
Internalizing problems	22	44
Externalizing problems	13	26
Age of children		
4 years	3	6
5 years	11	22
6 years	8	16
7 years	11	22
8 years	13	26
9 years	4	8
Child lives with		
Biological parents (intact family)	44	88
Step parent and biological parent	2	4
Single parent: mother only	3	6
Single parent: father only	1	2

Procedures

Potential participants made initial contact with the researcher via telephone. The participants were asked if they were Spanish-speaking and had a child between the ages of 5 and 9. Participants that met the above-mentioned criteria were scheduled. Appointments were arranged at the convenience of the family members including evening and weekend appointments. Once the appointment was scheduled the participant was given detailed and concise directions to Utah State University and reminder calls

Table 2

Parent Participants

Characteristics of parent participants	*n*	%
Parent respondent		
Mother	49	51
Father	47	49
Highest level of education		
High school education or less	80	83
Some college	7	7
College graduate	6	6
Completed education in country of origin	93	97
Completed education in USA	3	3
Ethnicity of family		
Mexican	80	83
Other Latino	16	17
Generation Status: First generation	96	100
Acculturation		
Separated or traditional	77	80
Bicultural	17	18
Assimilated	1	1
Marginalized	1	1
Income		
< $20K - 30K	94	98
$30K - 75K	2	2

were made a day prior to their scheduled appointment. Data collection took place in one

visit lasting about 2 1/2 hours. Completion of self-report questionnaires took place in the

research laboratory; behavioral observations took place in a room located in the

Psychology Community Clinic. The child and/or children were in a separate room also

located in the Psychology Community Clinic, while the parents completed study

questionnaires. During the behavioral observations the child and the parent and/or

parents were present in a room located in the Psychology Community Clinic. Childcare was provided for families and, in certain cases, transportation was also provided.

Self-report measures were completed in the research laboratory where two researchers were present to assist with the needs of the family and to answer any questions regarding the questionnaires or research protocol. Behavioral observational data were collected in a separate room where there was a television and video recorder present as well as three video cameras placed throughout the room. The behavioral observation room had two couches for families to sit comfortably during the parent and child interactions. During the behavioral observations, parents and their child were asked to participate in tasks that were intended to elicit parental behaviors that are important in families. The interaction and dialogue between parents and the child was coded and used as data in the current study.

Once participants arrived they were welcomed by the researcher (see Appendix A for complete study protocol procedures). A brief introduction of the protocol set up was explained showing parents the rooms in which data were to be collected. Informed consent was read to participants if they desired, otherwise participants were given time to read through the informed consent and ask any questions regarding the informed consent. Special emphasis was made to ensure participants that all information provided by participants would be kept confidential including their legal status. Once informed consent was obtained, parents completed the study questionnaires. Included in the self-report measures both parents and child completed a questionnaire that identified areas of potential conflict within the family. The parents were instructed, "We are interested in what topics parents and their children discuss and how difficult it is to talk about them.

Please read the following list of topics that other families have identified for us and rate how hot this topic is for you and the child participating in this study." The child was instructed separately, "We want to know what things kids and their parents talk about and how hard it is to talk about them. I'll tell you about some things that other families have told us about. Listen; tell me if any of these things bother you or your parents." This questionnaire was used to select "hot topics" that were discussed during the problem-solving tasks. A Latin squares randomized grid dictated the order in which parents participated in assigned tasks and the order in which selected issues were discussed. This ensured that findings were not influenced by order of participation.

Parents then participated in a "fun family activity" (a cooperation task) while being videotaped in the behavioral observational room. This task included both parents (or one parent, if single parent family) and the child. The family was instructed, "For the next 5 minutes plan a fun family activity that can be completed this coming week. The activity does not have to cost any money; it should be something that is fun." The family was then given 5 minutes to participate in the cooperation task.

After the cooperative task, one parent was asked to return to the research laboratory to finish completing study questionnaires. The remaining parent and the child participated in two problem-solving tasks while being videotaped in the observational room. Each problem-solving task consisted of 5 minutes of observed interactions. One problem-solving task was child selected and the other problem-solving task was parent selected. Problem solving instructions were given as follows, "For this activity, please sit in these seats. We are interested in seeing how families talk about different problems. First you will discuss the problem that (target child; TC) selected, then you will discuss

the problem that (parent's name) selected. For the next 5 minutes talk about the problem that (TC) selected, which is (child-selected problem). Talk about this problem and try to find a solution to the problem. If you finish talking about the problem, you may talk about anything else, but please stay seated and do not talk about other problems that you have selected. You may begin."

After the problem-solving task, participants (parent and child) engaged in a skills-building task. This task included the use of academic schoolwork that was one grade level above the child's grade level to create a challenge for the child, thus requiring the assistance of the parent. The parent and child were given a packet of English-language worksheets that included reading, math, and grammar. The parent was given a clipboard and two pencils to complete the worksheets. The parent was then instructed, "For the next 8 minutes, please work with (TC) using the materials in this folder. These materials are the same kind of school work that (TC) would bring home from school. The instructions are on the homework sheets and the pencils are on the desk. Begin." This task included 8 minutes of parent-child observed behavior. At the conclusion of the skills-building task a short break was given. Snacks and refreshments were provided. Following the break, the same procedures (two problem-solving tasks: parent selected, child selected, and one skills-building task) were completed with the other parent present if an intact or stepfamily.

When the second segment of the study was completed, a debriefing with parents took place. Any questions, comments, or suggestions that parents had regarding their experience in the research environment were discussed. Parents completed a short self-report questionnaire regarding their experience in the behavioral observation and families

were paid for their participation as follows: $50 for intact and stepfamilies and a small

gift for the child, $25 for single parents and a small gift for the child. In addition, parents

were encouraged to recommend and inform other families whether acquaintances,

friends, or neighbors that may want to participate in the research study. Participants were

informed that for each successive referral the family would receive a check for $10.

Measures

The dependent variables were externalizing and internalizing symptomology and

total behavioral problems as assessed by the CBCL (Achenbach & Rescorla, 2000). This

self-report measure was completed by both parents of the child, or one parent or

caregiver if single parent family. The independent variable was parenting style and was

measured through behavioral observations and then coded using a global coding system,

the Parenting Scale. The Parenting Scale was developed specifically for the present study

and was based on conceptualizations of authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, and

neglectful parenting styles (Baumrind, 1971) as well as parenting dimensions; warmth,

demandingness, and autonomy granting (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Additional items

were drawn form the current literature. For example, some items included in the measure

were cited and discussed in the current literature as essential to the conceptualization and

assessment of parenting styles and dimensions. Parents also completed a demographic

information sheet that included SES, and an acculturation measure.

Child Behavior Checklist

Childhood behavioral problems were assessed using Achenbach and Rescorla's (2000) Child Behavior Checklist. The CBCL has two forms, one for children ages 1½ to 5 years old and another for children ages 6 to18 years old. This is a self-report measure that is completed by parents or caregivers that assesses behavioral, emotional, and social functioning (for children 1½ to 5 years old) and competence (for children 6 to18 years old). The CBCL is available in English and Spanish. The Spanish version was administered to participants.

The CBCL generates scores representing two broad groupings of syndromes, the internalizing and the externalizing problems. Internalizing problems include symptoms of anxiety, depression, somatic complaints, and withdrawal. Emotional reactivity is also assessed for children 1½ to 5 years old. Externalizing problems consists of attention problems and aggressive behavior. Total problem score is calculated as an indication of the total sum of scores on the 99 specific problem items of the CBCL. Scores range from 0 to 200. The CBCL for ages 1½ to 5 years old shows excellent reliabilities. Test-retest reliabilities were high for the internalizing (Pearson correlations .90), externalizing (.87) and total problems (.90) scales (Achenbach & Rescorla, 2000). Achenbach and Rescorla report that the CBCL for children ages 6- to 18-years old also have good test-retest reliabilities. Scales were .91, .92, and .94, respectively, for the internalizing scale, externalizing, and total problems. The CBCL has been standardized and normed utilizing a sample that included Latino children. The CBCL also possesses adequate construct, content and criterion-related validity (Achenbach & Rescorla). Because different

subscales exists for the 1½- to 5- and the 6- to 18-year-old versions of the CBCL, T scores were used in the data analysis for the current study.

<div align="center">Parenting Scale</div>

The Parenting Scale was developed with conceptualizations of authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, and neglectful parenting styles (Baumrind, 1971) as well as parenting dimensions; warmth, demandingness, and autonomy granting (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). The items in the scale contained many items on parenting practices that were taken or adapted from existing measures (e.g., Bradley & Caldwell, 1984; Hasan & Power, 2002; Jackson, Henricksen & Vangie, 1998; Park & Bauer, 2002; Stewart & Bond, 2002).

In order to feel confident about using the Parenting Scale as an assessment tool, a concurrent validation study was undertaken. Individuals with expertise in parenting research were identified and asked to provide information about the suitability of the items within the individual scales (i.e., warmth, demandingness, autonomy granting), and the overall scale (see Expert Rater Questionnaire in Appendix B). Parenting experts were given the following instructions, "As an expert, you are asked to complete the form below as part of establishing validity for the use of the Parenting Scale. The form contains the items that are included on the Parenting Scale. Please indicate if the following items are valid items to assess/measure the following dimensions (warmth, demandingness, autonomy granting) by marking 'disagree strongly, disagree, agree, agree strongly.' For items that are reverse scored (RS = reverse score), please rate on the same continuum as the other items. For example, if you think the reverse of 'argues with

child' measures warmth, please mark 'agree strongly.'" Expert rates were excluded from participation in the validity study if they had no prior research or clinical experience with child psychology.

In order to seek a broad sample of parenting experts, a three-pronged approach was used to identify parenting experts. The first was to send an e-mail to two APA listservs--Division 45 (Ethnic Minorities) and New Psychologists--asking for participants. This resulted in seven participants. Then we contacted known experts from the Oregon Social Learning Center. This resulted in two more surveys being returned. Finally we asked local experts, including graduate students and faculty with specialization in parenting research and/or clinical practice. This last effort resulted in three expert participants. Overall, 12 people responded with interest. Of the 12 interested respondents, 10 returned surveys.

The expert rater sample reported 10.89 mean number of years involved in parenting research (range 3-30). Expert rater participants were productive in the child psychology area with eight individuals reporting having completed a thesis or dissertation, seven reported having published one or more peer-reviewed articles, four reported having published one or more book chapters, and two individuals reported having published one or more books.

Expert raters had the highest degree of agreement on item suitability for the warmth scale. In the global rating, 80% of the expert raters reported that this scale measured warmth "very well," with the remaining 20% reporting that the scale measured warmth "somewhat well." When the 80% agreement rule was applied, 18 of the 20 items were selected for inclusion into the final parenting scale. Two items were removed:

"Parent argues with child" and "Parent talks to the child during session." Almost all (90%) expert raters agreed that the Autonomy Granting scale measured the construct "very well" or "somewhat well." When examining the individual items, 12 items were eliminated based on low agreement (less than 80%) from the expert raters on the suitability for measuring the construct of Autonomy Granting. Eight items remained in the final scale. Finally, demandingness, was the most problematic scale. Only two items were selected by at least 80% of the raters as measuring demandingness: "Parent is strict," and "Parent has high expectations of child's behavior."

This author examined the expert raters' open-ended responses for feedback and suggestions. One respondent wrote that the scale seemed to be tapping two separate dimensions of demandingness, a "high expectations/supportive" and a "high expectations/nonsupportive or coercive." A second rater expressed a similar sentiment. A third rater also expressed her dissatisfaction with the scale as measuring separate constructs although she conceptualized the separate dimensions of demandingness as "coercion," "structure," and "chaos." This third rater's conceptualization of coercion is not consistent with the Social Interaction Learning Theory, which is the guiding theory behind this thesis project. As such, her feedback was used only to support the notion that the scale is multidimensional. As a result, almost all items were retained and divided into two scales--supportive and nonsupportive. Items 9, 10, and 12 were eliminated because some reviewers noted that they are more in line with the construct of warmth. Two items were added to the "nonsupportive demandingness" scale as recommended by one of the raters. Following the conceptualizations of authoritarian, authoritative, permissive, and neglectful parenting in the literature, the demandingness scale used here to categorize

was the "high expectations/supportive scale" (i.e., authoritative parents are characterized by high demandingness and high warmth). In conclusion, based on the expert raters results outlined above, the Parenting Scale was modified. The Parenting Scale is located in Appendix C.

<div align="center">Parenting Scale–A Measure of Parenting Styles

and Dimensions (Observational Measure)</div>

Parenting styles and dimensions were assessed using an observationally based measure: the Parenting Scale. Existing parent-child interactions were coded using the Parenting Scale, which is a global coding system that was based on parenting styles and dimensions as conceptualized in the current parenting literature.

Coding

Two coders, the primary investigator and an undergraduate research assistant, coded all tapes. Because coders of different ethnicity tend to code differently (Gonzales, Cauce, & Mason, 1996), a Latino undergraduate student assisted the primary investigator and coded the behavioral observation tapes. Coders received training in the use of the Parenting Scale by first reviewing the conceptualized parenting constructs in the measure through discussion and exercise during several training sessions. Next, the coders viewed videotapes and each coded the videotapes until reliability was reached between the two coders. The videos coded for training purposes were not the study videos. Reliability was assessed at the completion of the training. Following the coding of 15% of the tapes, the intraclass correlations (ICC) between the principal investigator (PI) and research assistant

(RA) ranged from .74 to .87. The PI coded 50% of the tapes and the RA coded the remainder of the tapes. In order to safeguard against coder drift, reliability was assessed at random. The Parenting Scale assessed for parenting dimensions (i.e., warmth, demandingness, and autonomy granting). The dimensions were used to form authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, and neglectful parenting categories. For this study, the dimension subscales were calculated and a mean split was performed. Scores above 3.01 were considered high and scores of below were considered low.

Warmth

The warmth scale is a 17-item Likert scale (1-5) with low scores indicating low levels of observed parental warmth. Parental warmth was calculated separately for each of the seven observations activities (e.g., one fun family activity, four problem solving, and two skills-building tasks). The final warmth scale is the mean of the seven warmth scores combined. Cronbach alphas reported here are standardized alphas because all items were equally weighted. The warmth scales showed good reliability (α.= .76; Mean = 3.81, *SD* = .30).

Demandingness

The demandingness supportive scale is a 9-item Likert scale (1-5) with low scores indicating low levels of observed demandingness. Demandingness was calculated separately for each of the seven observations activities (e.g., one fun family activity, four problem-solving tasks, and two skills-building tasks). The final demandingness scale is the mean of the seven demandingness scores combined. Cronbach alphas reported here

are standardized because all items were equally weighted. The demandingness scale showed good reliability (α.= .75; Mean = 3.63, *SD* = .38).

Autonomy Granting

The autonomy granting scale is an 8-item Likert scale (1-5) with low scores indicating low levels of observed autonomy granting. Autonomy granting was calculated separately for each of the seven observations activities (e.g., one fun family activity, four problem-solving tasks, and two skills-building tasks). The final autonomy granting scale is the mean of the seven autonomy granting scores combined. Cronbach alphas reported here are standardized because all items were equally weighted. The autonomy granting scale showed excellent reliability (α. = .92; Mean = 2.65, *SD* = .84).

Socioeconomic Status

Socioeconomic-demographic information and general background information was obtained from a self-report questionnaire. The inventory assessed household annual income, marital status, postal code, educational status, and number of persons and children currently living in the household. Lower SES and poverty consistently correlate with higher incidence rates of child abuse and more authoritarian, controlling, punitive, and restrictive parenting styles (Hoff-Ginsberg & Tardif, 1995). These findings are for majority White families, but if these findings generalize, SES may partially explain parenting behaviors among Latinos.

Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican-Americans

Level of acculturation was assessed using Cuellar, Arnold, and Maldonado's (1995) Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II (ARSMA-II). This 30-item, self-report, 5-point Likert scale assesses for level of acculturation status with scores indicating two orientation scores, Mexican and Anglo, which are then used to determine acculturation status: integrated, separated, assimilated, and marginalized. The level of assimilated acculturation level describes individuals that have completely adapted mainstream cultural values and endorse low levels of Latino cultural values (Cuellar et al.). Integrated individuals are bicultural; they have adapted mainstream European American values, while maintaining their Latino cultural values. These individuals can identify with both cultures; the European American majority culture and the Latino culture (Cuellar et al.). Marginalized individuals have no identification with the mainstream culture and do not identify with their Latino culture. Separated individuals have high identification with Latino culture and low identification with European American culture.

The ARSMA is available in English and Spanish. Participants were given a choice to complete either the Spanish version or the English version. The ARSMA-II has good internal reliabilities for both the Mexican scale (Cronbach alpha = .88) and the Anglo (Cronbach alpha = .86). The ARSMA-II also shows good test-retest reliability (.96) and good concurrent validity with the original ARSMA (.89; Cuellar et al., 1995).

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

Socioeconomic Status

Socioeconomic status among Spanish-speaking Latino families was examined by analyzing frequencies for income and educational attainment. For the current sample, 92% ($n = 79$) of Latino parents reported earning less than \$35,000, and 8% ($n = 7$) reported earning more than \$35,000. Given the lack of variability in SES, these variables were dropped from further analyses. Educational attainment was generally low with 83% ($n = 80$) of participants having a high school diploma or less, 7% ($n = 7$) had some college education, and 6% ($n = 6$) were college graduates. Because, the majority of parents fell into one category, the educational status variable was dropped from further analyses.

Acculturation

Acculturation status was examined by analyzing the frequencies of categorical constructs. For the current sample, 79.8% ($n = 75$) of parents were categorized as traditional/separated, 18.1% ($n = 17$) were classified as bicultural, 1.1% ($n = 1$) was classified as assimilated, and 1.1 % ($n = 1$) was categorized as marginalized. Given that the assimilated and marginalized categories only included one parent, the acculturation variable was dropped from further analyses.

Parenting Dimensions

Research question 1 asked whether parenting dimensions are evident among Spanish-speaking Latino parents. Parenting dimensions among Spanish-speaking Latino parents were examined by analyzing means and standard deviations of individual parenting dimensions (i.e., warmth, demandingness, and autonomy granting). For the current sample Latino parents scored high on warmth (M = 3.81 SD = .30, range 3.0 - 4.4), high on demandingness (M = 3.63, SD = 3.8, range 3.3 - 4.4), and medium to low on the autonomy granting dimension (M = 2.65, SD = .84, range 1.3 - 4.1) see Table 3. Thus, parenting dimensions were evident in parent child-interactions of Spanish-speaking Latino parents. The scales were used to the full range, however, warmth resulted in a skewed distribution with the majority of ratings indicating high warmth scores. Table 4 provides correlations between the parenting dimensions.

Table 3

Scale Characteristics

Scales	M	SD	Range
Parenting dimensions			
Warmth	3.8	.30	3.0 - 4.4
Demandingness	3.6	.38	3.3 - 4.4
Autonomy granting	2.6	.84	1.3 - 4.1
CBCL T scores			
Internalizing problems	56.6	9.6	33 - 80
Extrnalizing problems	54.4	9.4	33 - 85
Total problems	55.5	9.3	34 - 78

Table 4

Correlations Between Parenting Dimensions (N = 95)

Parenting dimensions	Warmth	Demandingness	Autonomy granting
Warmth	--	.283**	.359**
Demandingness	.283**	--	.085
Autonomy granting	.359**	.085	--

**$p < 0.01$.

Parenting Styles

Research question 2 asked whether Baumrind's (1966) parenting styles are evident among Spanish-speaking Latino families. Parenting style categories were based on each of the three parenting dimensions. In line with previous work by Steinberg, Dornbusch, et al. (1992), and Schaefer (1965) and Baumrind (1991), a measure of parenting style was constructed as follows; parents scoring above the sample mean were considered to have scored "high," and those who scored at the mean or below were considered to be "low" on a given dimension. Consistent with the theoretical model of Baumrind (1991) and the work carried out by Steinberg and colleagues the following categories were created: authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, and neglectful. The use of high and low scores across these dimensions resulted in eight possible parenting categories; the ones set forth in the literature and those parents who scored high on warmth, high on demandingness, and low on autonomy granting, which was labeled "protective," and parents who scored high on warmth, low on demandingness, and low on autonomy granting, which was labeled "conditional permissive." Additionally, there were those categories with no parents in them such as low on warmth, low on demandingness, and high on autonomy granting, and low on warmth, high on

demandingness, and high on autonomy granting. The majority of the current sample, 60% of parents were categorized as "protective," followed by 35% classified as authoritative (see Table 3 for complete results). These findings suggest that, the use of Baumrind's (YEAR) existing categories to describe Latinos' parenting styles is not particularly useful. In fact, the application of parenting styles yielded new categories not discussed in Baumrind's theoretical parenting styles. See Table 5.

Predicting Child Outcomes

Research question 3 sought to examine the predictive relationship between parenting practices and child outcomes. Correlations were calculated between the parenting dimensions and CBCL scores. The correlations for CBCL total problems scale and warmth (-.132) and demandingness supportive (-.195) were in the expected direction but not statistically significant. Autonomy granting showed a positive although not statistical significant relationship to total behavioral problems (.163), indicating that as parents increased autonomy granting they were more likely to report higher scores on the total problems on the CBCL. See Table 6 for results.

Table 5

Parenting Styles Among Latino Parents ($N = 95$)

Parenting style	%	N	Warmth	Demandingness	Autonomy granting
Authoritative	35	33	High	High	High
Authoritarian	-	0	Low	High	Low
Permissive	1	1	High	Low	High
Neglectful	1	1	Low	Low	Low
Protective	60	57	High	High	Low
Conditional permissive	3	3	High	Low	Low

Table 6

Correlations Between Parenting Dimensions and CBCL Scores (N = 95)

Parenting dimensions	Externalizing	Internalizing	Total behavioral problems
Warmth	-.110	-.097	-.132
Demandingness	-.090	-.227*	-.195
Autonomony granting	.186	.152	.163

*p < .05.

The correlations for the CBCL externalizing problems scale were also in the expected direction but none were statistically significant. Autonomy granting showed a nonsignificant positive relationship to externalizing problems; this is the opposite of what would be expected in theory. The correlations for the CBCL internalizing scale were in the expected direction for warmth and demandingness. Demandingness was significantly correlated with the internalizing scale, $R = -.23$, $p < .05$. Caution must be taken when interpreting this finding's clinical implications given the low correlation coefficient. However, this statistical significant finding may have important theoretical implications. The statistically significant correlation between parental demandingness and the internalizing scale may indicate that as demandingness increases, internalizing behavioral problems may have a tendency to decrease. Autonomy granting showed a positive but nonsignificant, relation to internalizing behavioral problems. Parental demandingness and child internalizing behavior problems had a statistically significant correlation that may indicate that parents who engaged in increased demandingness tended to report having children with fewer internalizing behavioral problems.

Regression analyses were performed to determine if parenting dimensions and/or styles would predict child internalizing, externalizing, and total behavioral problems. However, after parenting styles were categorized results revealed that the parenting styles classification did not yield sufficient variability among some of the parenting styles (e.g., one parent was classified as permissive, one parent was classified as neglectful) to undergo statistical analyses. While this categorization yielded meaningful descriptive information, for the purposes of statistical analyses those parenting styles with limited variability will not be used.

However, authoritative and "protective" parenting styles were used in an independent samples t test to examine the relationship between parenting styles and child behavioral problems. The independent sample t-test analyses included authoritative and protective parenting styles as the independent variables. The outcome variables were internalizing, externalizing, and total behavioral problems on the CBCL. Results revealed that parenting styles did not statistically significantly differ by internalizing, externalizing, and total behavioral problems.

Regression analyses were performed to further examine whether parenting dimensions predicted child behavioral problems. The regression analyses included warmth, demandingness, and autonomy granting. The outcome variables were internalizing, externalizing, and total behavioral problems on the CBCL. Results indicated that parenting dimensions significantly predicted total behavioral problems and internalizing behavioral problems on the CBCL. However, the regression model did not statistically significantly predict externalizing behavior problems.

In the model for predicting total behavioral problems, warmth, demandingness, and autonomy granting were included. These variables accounted for a small but statistically significant amount of the variance ($R^2 = .094$). The model was significant with autonomy granting driving the model. Table 7 summarizes the statistics for the model.

In the model for predicting internalizing behavioral problems, warmth, demandingness, and autonomy granting were included. The model accounted for $R^2 = .091$) of the variance, and it was statistically significant. This model was statistically significant with demandingness and autonomy granting driving the model. Table 8 summarizes the statistics.

Gender and Parenting

Research questions 4 and 5 asked whether parenting styles and dimensions differ by gender of the parent and/or gender of the child. The parenting style categorical variables that resulted in limited variability within individual categorical levels were not used for this analysis. However, authoritative and protective parenting styles were used in these analyses. A series of chi-square tests were performed to examine if parenting styles (authoritative and protective) are impacted by child's gender and/or parent's gender. In our sample of parents, a protective parenting style was related to child gender. Specifically, parents were more likely to engage in protective parenting with their daughters, $\chi^2 (1, N = 95) = 8.45, p < .005$. Also, authoritative parenting is related to child gender. Specifically, parents were less likely to engage in authoritative parenting with

Table 7

Summary of Simultaneous Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Total

Behavioral Problems on the CBCL (N = 95)

Variable	B	SE B	β	t	Sig.
Warmth	-5.395	3.504	-0.171	-1.540	.127
Demandingness	-4.122	2.580	-0.166	-1.598	.114
Autonomy granting	-2.646	1.187	0.239	2.230	.028

Note. R^2 = .094.

Table 8

Summary of Simultaneous Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Internalizing

Behavioral Problems on the CBCL (N = 95)

Variable	B	SE B	β	t	Sig.
Warmth	-3.625	3.621	-0.111	-1.001	.319
Demandingness	-5.464	2.666	-0.214	-2.050	.043
Autonomy granting	2.401	1.226	0.210	1.959	.053

Note. R^2 = .091.

daughters as compared to their sons, χ^2 (1, N = 95) = 6.50, p < .005. There were no

statistical significant differences between parents' gender and parenting styles.

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed to test for significant

differences across the three parenting dimensions and to examine whether child's gender

and/or parent's gender significantly impacted differences among parenting dimensions. A

2 (parent gender) x 2 (child gender) ANOVA was performed with warmth,

demandingness, and autonomy granting as the dependent variables. Parents engaged in

higher levels of demandingness with their daughters as compared to their sons,

$F(1, 95) = 6.35, p < .05$. There was no significant interaction between the variables. Parents engaged in less autonomy granting with their daughters as compared to their sons, $F(1, 95) = 10.53, p < .01$. There was no significant interaction between the variables. Table 9 displays the descriptive information for parenting dimensions, child gender, and parent gender.

Table 9

Descriptive Statistics for Parenting Dimensions

		Warmth		Demandingness		Autonomy granting	
Child's gender	Parent's gender	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Male	Male	3.72	.306	3.54	.390	2.96	.856
	Female	3.81	.285	3.48	.422	2.99	.846
	Total	3.77	.294	3.51	.403	2.98	.840
Female	Male	3.93	.285	3.77	.322	2.45	.807
	Female	3.95	.311	3.64	.351	2.41	.756
	Total	3.94	.296	3.71	.340	2.43	.775
Total	Male	3.79	.295	3.68	.364	2.65	.856
	Female	3.83	.299	3.58	.386	2.65	.837
	Total	3.81	.296	3.63	.377	2.65	.842

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

This study investigated parenting among Latino families at two levels of specificity, parenting styles (authoritarian, authoritative, permissive, and neglectful) and parenting dimensions (warmth, demandingness, and autonomy granting) and their relation to child behavioral problems. This study is important because it is one of the few studies to utilize observational behavioral methodology with Spanish-speaking Latino families in an effort to observe parenting among Latino families and their relation to child behavioral outcomes. Also this study is one of only a few studies that have examined Latino parenting within a total sample of first-generation Spanish-speaking families. Given the lack of available research and the failure to provide consistent research findings concerning Latino parenting the investigation of parenting at two levels of specificity is needed.

Results show that parents were observed to engage in high levels of warmth, high levels of demandingness, and moderate to mildly low levels of autonomy granting. Considering the parental dimensions separately, our findings regarding high levels of warmth are consistent with previous research (Calzada & Eyberg, 2002; Escovar & Lazarus, 1982; Hofferth, 2003; Shakib et al., 2003; Staples & Miranda, 1980; Vega, 1990). Interestingly, previous studies utilized self-report data while the present study included observational methods, indicating that both observed and self-reported data indicate Latino parents engage in warm interactions with their children. From a cultural

perspective Latino parents observed practicing high levels of warmth during the parent child observation may reflect the cultural value of *familismo* (Calzada & Eyberg).

The Latino parents included in the sample were observed to engage in high levels of demandingnes. This finding is also consistent with previous research (Carlson & Harwood, 2003; Shakib et al., 2003). However, the high levels of parental demandingness that we observed are apparently in contrast to research findings that indicated that Latino parents of adolescent youth were permissive (Finkelstein et al., 2001). However, this finding together may suggest that Latino parents may utilize different amounts of demandingness according to the child's developmental stage. From a cultural perspective, the observed high levels of demandingness may be in line with previous theoretical work. Zayas (1992) indicated that Latino parents use increased directives and physical control that may be characteristic of a traditional structured approach to parenting which may be beneficial within the Latino family context where children are expected to be obedient and respectful to the superior authority of the parent. Thus, it may be likely that our findings of high levels of appropriate demandingness are likely important to the Latino cultural value of *respeto,* respect and conformity to parental authority given the ages of the children included in the sample. Overall, Latino families may express unique cultural values that are reflected in their parenting of their children.

Latino parents in the sample were observed to engage in moderate to mildly low levels of autonomy granting. This finding is interesting because very few studies have examined autonomy granting among Latino parents of young children. Among the few studies, there is evidence to suggest that immigrant parents from Mexico do not value

autonomous behavior and instead express value in conformity in the school classroom, while Mexican-American and White parents valued autonomous behavior over conformity (Okagaki & Sternberg, 1993). From a cultural perspective, Zayas (1994) points out that the use of autonomy granting assumes a democratic atmosphere where parent and child have an equal say in matters. This type of atmosphere may be inconsistent with the impact of culture on child socialization among some traditional Latino families. Newly immigrated parents might find a democratic relationship with their child insulting and it may be perceived by parents and children as undermining their parental authority. Lindahl and Malik (1999) discussed the cultural values of *familismo* may be conceptualized as opposite of the White cultural value of autonomy. If this conceptualization is accurate, then perhaps Latino families socialize their children in ways that are consistent with Latino cultural values, thus supporting our finding that Latino parents endorsed moderate levels of autonomy granting. However, given our small sample, further investigation is needed to gain a clearer picture of autonomy granting among Latino families.

When parenting style categories were applied to Latino families, results revealed that the parenting categories based on Baumrind (1966) and Steinberg's (1990) theoretical model did not accurately describe the observed parenting behaviors among Latino parents. In fact, two additional parental constellations of behaviors emerged. For the purposes of this research study we have defined the following new constellation of parenting behaviors as protective (high warmth, high demandingness, and low autonomy granting) and conditional permissive (high warmth, low demandingness, and low autonomy granting). Therefore, parenting dimensions rather than parenting styles were

more useful for describing and characterizing Latino parenting. Findings support Stewart and Bond's (2002) assertion that use of parenting dimensions are a more universal approach, while parenting styles are culturally bound. The fact that the original parenting styles were not useful for describing parenting behavior in the current sample highlights the possibility that researchers and mental health professionals might find it useful to investigate whether Baumrind's original parenting styles remain as an accurate method of characterizing current White families into the original parenting styles (e.g., authoritative, authoritarian, neglectful, permissive) or will new constellations of parenting behavior emerge as in the current Latino sample?

The majority of Latino families (60%) were categorized as protective. The constellation of a protective parenting style indicated high levels of warmth, high levels of demandingness, and slightly lower levels of autonomy granting. This constellation does not fit into the parenting categories defined by Baumrind (1966) and Steinberg. Lamborn, et al. (1992). In an attempt to better understand the parenting category "protective" we initially wondered if there was a significant difference in the child's age between the parents in protective parenting style and the parents in the authoritative group. It seemed likely that a parent would grant a younger child less autonomy, whereas older children may be permitted increased autonomy. A cross-tabs function did not indicate that there were significant differences between the two groups based on the child's age. Given that there were no significant differences in the child's age between the groups, it may be possible that "protective parenting style" may be a new unique parenting style category among Latino families. Or, that perhaps the findings show that autonomy granting should not be used in the categorization of parenting styles. Perhaps

this finding is best explained by a measurement issue. The Parenting Scale, an observational measure intended to assess parenting dimensions during a parent-child interaction, showed minimal variation in parental warmth among the current sample. Almost all parents scored high on this dimension. It may be possible that the Parenting Scale needs more items to capture variability in warmth among Latino families. The items in the Parenting Scale used in the current study were derived from the mainstream literature and, therefore, may not be sensitive enough to capture parental warmth within the context of the Latino parent-child interaction. Carlson and Harwood (2003) stated that there may not be a universal meaning of parental warmth; it may be dependent on the culture of the family. They advocate for culturally specific definitions of sensitive care giving. If Carlson and Harwood's ideas are correct, then development of a culturally specific measure of Latino parenting dimensions is warranted.

With regards to the high prevalence of protective parenting among our sample of first-generation Latino families this constellation of parenting behaviors can be thought of as similar to an authoritarian parenting style with high levels of warmth. This profile of parenting has been observed in other ethnic cultural groups such as Asian American (Jones & Rao, 1998) and African-American families (Brody & Flor, 1998). In fact, Deater-Deckard and Dodge (1997) found that the authoritarian parenting profile along with high levels of warmth (not consistent with the traditional authoritarian parenting style) did not predict behavioral problems among African American youth as compared to White youth. This finding suggests that different parenting styles may have different relationships to child outcomes based on the cultural context. Our findings indicated that over half of the Latino parents fell into the protective parenting profile. This finding was

consistent with a study in the Latino parenting literature where Hammer and Turner (1996) reported that Latino parents are warm and nurturing within the patriarchal authoritarian family.

As an alternative, "conditional permissive parenting" can be viewed as being similar to an authoritative parenting style with the exception of slightly lower levels of autonomy granting. It may be that Latino families were observed to engage in moderate to slightly low levels of autonomy granting behaviors mainly due to a measurement issue. The Parenting Scale was derived from parenting constructs in the mainstream literature and, as a result, may reflect White cultural values that may not be present among first-generation Latino families. The autonomy granting scale may be missing key elements in order to capture the way that autonomy granting is expressed among Latino families. Or, it may be that the autonomy granting scale in the Parenting Scale may be inconsistent with the Latino cultural value of *respeto*, thus explaining why our sample engaged in low levels of autonomy granting. Granting autonomy to a child in some ways allows a semiequal relationship between parent and child. Perhaps some traditional Latino families may not feel comfortable with this type of parent-child relationship and feel that it is not consistent with respect for your elders (parents). Zayas and Solari (1994) found that Latina mothers in a focus group considered respect for adult authority and for values related to family closeness and religion to be of great importance among their child-rearing beliefs. Further, Zayas (1994) reported that Latino parents favor child behaviors that encourage family closeness, parental authority, and interpersonal connectedness.

In the present sample, 35% of parents were classified as authoritative. This finding is interesting because there has been controversy in the literature pertaining to the applicability of parenting styles to Latino families. Some researchers postulated that Latino parents are authoritarian or permissive. Our findings are in the mid-range for the literature. Researchers studying Latino families have found that anywhere between 10% (Steinberg et al., 1994) and 40% (Lindahl & Malik, 1999) of Latino parents are authoritative. These disparate findings may be the result of a measurement issue, difference in conceptualization of the constructs, and the heterogeneity within Latino groups. An authoritative parenting style may not capture the nature of the parent-child relationship among Latino families.

Only 1% of Latino parents were categorized permissive and 1% as authoritarian. The small percentages of authoritarian and permissive parents among our sample of first-generation Spanish-speaking Latino parents is in contrast to previous research. Varela and colleagues' (2004) research found that more Mexican American and Mexican immigrant parents were classified as authoritarian as compared to Mexican parents. Given that our sample consisted of first-generation Mexican immigrant parents, one would expect a similar pattern of high prevalence of authoritarian parenting, but this pattern was not supported in the our data. Our findings did not support previous research that described Latino parents as authoritarian (Knight et al., 1994). It may be that the authoritarian parenting style is more evident among Latino parents who are living in urban environments. The authoritarian parenting style that incorporates high levels of demandingness and low levels of autonomy granting might be adaptive to deter children from harmful influences more likely to occur in urban environments (Zayas, 1994).

Parenting dimensions and child outcomes among first-generation Spanish-speaking families has been somewhat overlooked in the literature. We hope our findings will contribute to the literature and provide an improved conceptualization of parenting among Latino families. A significant correlation was found for demandingness and internalizing behavioral problems, $R = -.23$, $p < .05$. This significant correlation indicates an inverse relationship between demandingness and internalizing behavioral problems. However, caution must be taken when interpreting this result due to its low correlation coefficient. Statistical significance may create statistical artifacts that have no clinical significance. Interestingly, this finding has been supported in the literature. In a cross-cultural study, Barber and Harmon (2002) found that medium to high levels of limit setting and demandingness were related to child well being across several different cultures. Muris, Meesters, Schouten, and Hoge (2004) found that parental control and the use of demands and limit setting was significantly related to lower levels of anxiety among a sample of White youth. Our finding may suggest that there are similarities across cultures regarding the way in which the parenting dimension of demandingness is associated with child outcomes.

A fascinating trend in autonomy granting and child outcomes was evident in the current sample. Although none of the correlations between autonomy granting and CBCL scores were significant. The data showed a consistent positive relationship to CBCL internalizing, externalizing, and total behavioral problems. This trend indicates that as Latino parents engaged in increased autonomy granting they also reported more child behavioral problems as well.

Autonomy granting was measured in the current study and conceptualized utilizing a theoretical orientation consistent with Steinberg and colleagues' (1991) definition of autonomy granting. The Parenting Scale autonomy granting subscale items tapped the extent to which parents encourage their child to express their opinions, encourage their child to attend to, accept and value genuine preferences and opinions, the degree to which parents value and use techniques that encourage independent problem solving, choice, and participation in decision making. Previous research regarding autonomy granting and child outcomes suggest that autonomy granting is generally associated with positive child outcomes. Fei-Yin Ng, Kenny-Benson, and Pomerantz (2004) conducted an observational study with a sample of White mothers and children between 7 and 10 years of age. These researchers found that mothers who engaged in higher levels of autonomy granting had children who exhibited enhanced performance during a challenging homework task in a 14-minute structured parent-child observation. In a slightly diverse sample, Valentini and Rudisill (2004) examined a sample of nine White, 10 African American, and one Asian kindergarten students. The researchers found that increased levels of autonomy granting were associated with higher perceived physical competence. Thus, it is striking that the results of our data do not support previous findings in the literature. It may be that autonomy granting among Latino families operates differently when associated with child outcomes. Perhaps there are aspects of autonomy granting that are not consistent with Latino cultural values especially given the ages of the children in our study. Or, this may be an issue of measurement where important aspects of autonomy granting among Latinos were not

captured by the current observational scale. Further investigation is needed to understand autonomy granting among Latino families.

When predicting child outcomes significant findings emerged. First, for first-generation Spanish-speaking Latino parents, parenting dimensions predicted internalizing behavioral problems on the CBCL. Demandingnss emerged as a significant influence. Thus, as Latino parents engage in increased levels of demandingness behaviors the less likely they were to report having children with internalizing behavioral problems. This finding supports previous research with White families (Barber & Harmon, 2002; Muris et al., 2004), therefore suggesting that similarities may exist cross culturally. Second, parenting dimensions predicted total behavioral problems with autonomy granting driving the model. This finding suggests that as autonomy granting was exerting an influence on total behavioral problems on the CBCL. Results may suggest that as parents were observed to engage in higher levels of autonomy granting they were more likely to report higher scores on total behavioral problems on the CBCL. This finding has not been reported previously in the research. It is possible that higher scores of autonomy granting actually reflect a disengagement from the parents. Further research is needed to provide a clear picture of autonomy granting and child outcomes.

In fact the majority of research has pointed out that autonomy granting is associated with positive child outcomes. Barber, Olsen, and Shagle (1994) discussed that White children who had parents that engaged in low autonomy granting were more likely to have children who turned inward and withdrew in stressful social interactions. Maccoby (1980) reported that children from high autonomy granting families tended to be competent, independent, cheerful, and socially responsible and had higher self-esteem.

In addition, Gray and Steinberg (1999) found that greater autonomy granting predicted self-reliance and academic competence. Research has demonstrated that children of parents who reported engaging in higher levels of autonomy granting showed increased reports of positive affect while engaging in a new task and these children also showed higher self-regulation (Jaussement, Koestner, Lekes, & Houlfort, 2004). Our findings might suggest the opposite. It may be that cultural differences exist among Latino families as compared to other cultural groups that significantly impact autonomy granting and child outcomes among Latino families. No studies have specifically examined autonomy granting and child outcomes among Latino families and children. Roer-Strier and Rivlis (1998) conducted a cross-cultural study with children and families from Israel and Russia. They found that autonomy granting emerged as the most salient factor which was most strongly affected by culture. Thus, it may be possible that Latino cultural values may play an important role in the relationship between autonomy granting and child outcomes. However, this issue deserves further investigation before conclusions can be drawn.

With respect to gender and parenting, no significant differences were found between parent's gender and parenting dimensions. Our finding is consistent with previous research in the literature. In a cross-cultural study, Roer-Strier and Rivlis (1998) also found no differences in parenting dimensions between fathers and mothers, regardless of culture

However, our sample revealed two significant differences among the parenting dimensions based on the child's gender. For example, Latino parents engaged in increased demandingness with their daughters as compared to their sons. Consistent with

the previous research, Varela and colleagues (2004) pointed out that Latino parents treat sons differently than daughters and socialize them according to specific gender cultural roles. Along the same lines, in a classic crosscultural study, Lambert, Hamers, and Frasure-Smith (1979) found that crosscultural parents reported to be more permissive with sons as compared to daughters. In the same study, American middle-class parents reported to parent daughters slightly more harshly than sons. In a study with adolescent youth, researchers found that gender differences emerged. As girls grew older parents were more likely to set limits and monitor daughters as opposed to sons. This finding was found across Hispanic, African American, and White students (Bulcroft et al., 1996).

Parental autonomy granting differed by child gender, Latino parents were more likely to engage in lower levels of autonomy granting with their daughters as compared to their sons. In a study conducted with a diverse sample of adolescent youth, researchers found that independence giving (conceptualized as similar to autonomy granting) among Latina youth was restricted as compared to White and African American youth (Bulcroft et al., 1996). This finding was based on adolescent youth; however, our data showed a similar pattern suggesting that it may be possible that Latino parents engage in less autonomy granting with their daughters earlier than adolescence. Calzada and Eyberg (2002) found that Dominican mothers reported more democratic parenting (a construct that is similar to autonomy granting) with their daughters as compared to their sons. Thus, although our sample was relatively small, results suggest that the expression of parenting dimensions vary by gender of the child. Based on our sample, Latino parents engaged in increased demandingness and less autonomy granting with daughters as

compared to sons. This combination may be a reflection of Latino parents' desire to protect their daughters, which may be consistent with specific cultural gender roles.

Our research findings should be regarded in light of the study's limitations. First, although observational methodology eliminates the tendency for socially desirable biases in self-reported parenting, observational methodology has the potential for artificial findings due to a laboratory setting and the nature of the structured activities that comprised the parent-child interaction. Second, observed ratings should be considered with caution because observed behavior may not reflect the actual parenting relationship due to the artificial laboratory setting. Third, there may be important parenting elements that were not included in the observational measure (the parenting scale) that are significant to Latino children's well-being or mental health. Fourth, the Parenting Scale was based on the current literature and reflected White cultural values of parenting, therefore, caution must be taken when generalizing these findings. Fifth, the current study utilized a relatively small sample of convenience.

In summary, our study is one of a few studies who have attempted to examine parenting among first-generation Spanish-speaking Latino families using behavioral observation. We found that parents were observed to express high warmth, high demandingness, and slightly less autonomy granting. Our findings may suggest that Latino parents socialize their children in ways that are consistent with Latino cultural values. Previous research points out that high level of demandingness and warmth may be closely linked to *familismo* and *respeto*. Latino parents in our sample exhibited less autonomy granting and this finding has been hypothesized by previous researchers based on the Latino cultural value of *respeto*. A small but statistically significant correlation

between demandingness and internalizing behavioral problems among Latino parents was found. In addition, a unique trend involving autonomy granting and CBCL scores emerged suggesting that as autonomy granting increases, CBCL behavioral problems also increased. This trend, although not statistically significant, is in direct contrast with the previous literature on White families. It may be that autonomy granting among Latino families is more directly impacted by culture. Or the observational methodology used in this project is not sensitive enough to capture the unique ways in which Latino parents express autonomy granting. Nevertheless, future research is needed to provide a clearer picture. Latino parenting significantly predicted internalizing problems with demandingness making a significant contribution and total problems with autonomy granting exerting a large influence. It is important to note that given the current study's small correlation coefficients, the statistical significant findings discussed may not have any application to clinical significance.

The application of parenting style categories to Latino parents as conceptualized in the mainstream literature was not useful; they did not provide a useful way to conceptualize Latino parenting. However, interestingly, two additional patterns of parenting emerged suggesting that further research is needed to accurately measure parenting among Latino families or that Baumrind's (YEAR) parenting styles do not provide an accurate framework in which to view Latino parenting. In regards to Latino parenting and gender, significant differences were found between the parenting dimensions and child's gender. Specifically, Latino parents used increased levels of demandingnes with their daughters as compared to their sons. Also, Latino parents engaged in lower levels of autonomy granting with daughters as compared to sons. These

findings are suggestive of slight variations in parenting dimensions according to a child's gender. However, no differences were found between the parenting dimensions and gender of the parent.

Despite the limitations of the current research, the results presented here have potential implications and suggestions for intervention and prevention efforts. For example, developing and implementing parent behavioral management programs that emphasize and encourage demandingness may be helpful in preventing and decreasing child internalizing behavioral problems among Latino families. The application of parenting style categories did not adequately provide a description of Latino parenting. It may be that we need a culturally sensitive observational tool to capture the unique culturally specific behaviors that best represent Latino parenting. Further research is needed to understand if parenting styles have the same meaning in different cultures. However, some useful information may be applied. Based on our descriptive findings regarding the parenting style categories, clinicians and mental health providers should not assume that first-generation Spanish-speaking Latino families utilize an authoritarian parenting style as past research has attempted to point out. For research purposes, the development of a culturally sensitive observational method may be helpful and thus provide a clearer picture of the parent-child relationship among Latino families. Qualitative studies may be more useful at taping the unique cultural values among Latino families. Further investigation at attempting to examine potential Latino parental cultural values that may be significantly impacting Latino parenting behavior is needed to identify some critical features of Latino parents' child-rearing attitudes and beliefs, which may be similar or different across ethnic groups, would be fruitful. Overall, future

research efforts are strongly encouraged to further understand Latino parenting and child outcomes so that research may inform mental health providers, school personnel, and community leaders to provide meaningful and useful psychological services for the Latino community.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A:

Study Protocol

Data Collection:

Prior to Data Collection:
- *Reserve an observation room; preferably the Child Therapy Room (Rm 403) with one of the adjoining observation rooms (401 or 405).*
- *Reserve a room, near the observation room but not adjacent if possible, for the child care provider and the child.*
- *Set up childcare arrangements (see Child Care Provider List).*
- *Prepare clipboards with questionnaires in order of administration.*

Welcome the family:
Show everyone where they will be:
- *Start in Room 407*
  - **Vamos a empezar el estudio aquí. Mamá y Papá van a estar aquí llenando cuestionarios, mientras que los niños van a estar en otro cuarto con (Child Care Provider). Vamos ahora a ver el cuarto donde van a estar los niños.** [We are going to start the study here. The parents will be here filling out the questionnaires while the children will be in another room with the child care provider (provide name). Let's go and see the other room where the children will be during the study.]
- *Go to Child Care Room ___ (reserved therapy room)*
  - **Los niños van a estar aquí con _____ (Child Care Provider). Antes de seguir adelante, tenemos unas películas aquí para los niños y queremos asegurarnos de que está bien con los papás que los niños vean estas películas.** [The children will be here with _____ child care provider). Before we continue we have some videos for the children and we want to make sure that you approve of the videos.] *Show parents all the movies and ask them if they want us to remove any of them – this is a good time to make parents feel comfortable, and to drive the message home that we are deferring to their judgment of how to care for their children.*
  - *If there is more than one child, leave the children in the room, except for the Participating Child.*
- *Go to Observation Room ___ (reserved therapy room)*
  - **Cuando mamá y papá acaben de llenar los cuestionarios, vamos todos a venir aquí. Estas son las cámaras y el equipo de grabación, por favor no lo toquen durante la grabación. Una vez empecemos las observaciones (Child) estará en este cuarto el tiempo completo. Para la primera parte de la observación le pediremos a (Parent #1)**

que esté en el cuarto con (Child). Luego tomaremos un descanso corto y le pediremos a (Parent #2) que entre en el cuatro con (Child). Es importante que permanezcan sentados en estas sillas mientras están en este cuarto para poder verlos bien en la grabación. [When the parents finish completing the questionnaires we will all come into this room. These are the cameras and the video recording equipment. Please do not touch the equipment during the video recording. When we begin the observations, the child will remain in this room throughout the observation. For the first part of the observation we ask that (parent #1) stay in the room with (target child). Then we will take a break and ask that (parent #2) enter the room with the (target child). It is important that you stay seated in these seats during the observation, so that we can see you well in the video recording.]

   o *Get assent from child at this time. (Briefly discuss with child, the research study procedures and ask the child if he/she wants to participate.)*

- *Drop child off with childcare provider. Go back to 407 with Mom and Dad.*

Introduction to Data Collection:

1. *Give each parent a clipboard with all the questionnaires already in order of administration.*
2. *Explain that the first item is the consent form.* **Lo primero que tienen en su paquete es la hoja de consentimiento. Es importante que sepan todo lo que dice ahí para que puedan saber lo que vamos a hacer aquí hoy y asegurar que estén de acuerdo con participar en el estudio. Si gustan les puedo leer el contenido, o pueden tomar unos minutos para leerlo ustedes.** [The first questionnaire included in your packet is the consent form. It is important that you read and understand all the information presented in the consent form so that you will be aware of what we will be doing here today and to make sure that you agree to participate. If you would like I could read the form to you, or you can take some time and read the form yourself.]
3. *CBCL:* **Para este próximo cuestionario, van a contestar solo las preguntas que estén marcadas en amarillo. [For this next questionnaire, you are going to respond to only the questions marked in yellow.]***Observe the parents to make sure when they are finished with the cover page they turn the pages to continue answering the questions. Once they have finished the highlighted items, offer to read the sentences. Have Response Category Sheet available for parents.* **Si quieren les puedo leer las oraciones en este cuestionario. Algunos padres nos han dicho que es más rápido y fácil así.** [If you would like, I can read the questions to you. Some parents have told us that it is much faster and easier this way.] *If they say yes,* Aunque voy a leer las oraciones, no quiero que me digan las respuestas o que las chequeen con su esposo. [Before I read the questions, I don't want you to tell me your

responses or check your responses with your spouse.] *Read instructions and start reading items.*

4. *Administer Hot Issues Checklist. Again, remind parents they cannot work on their answers together. Once they have finished answering the items, ask the parents to rank the top four things --preferably on the "hot" end of the continuum-- that they would be willing to talk to their children about.* **Por favor, ahora quisiéramos que enumeren, del uno al cuatro, las cosas que estarían dispuestos a hablar con su hijo(a) durante el estudio.** [Now we want you to number from 1 to 4 the things that you would like to discuss with your child during the study.] *When selecting the hot topics for the lab tasks, if child and parent picked the same topic, give Mom and then Dad the preference for discussing the issue.*

   a. *** Researcher #2 will meet with child briefly to fill out hot topics questionnaire. Let parent know this is where the researcher is going. Use the same procedures as for the parents. ***

2. *Once they are done, let parents know that there are more questionnaires and they can fill them out as the other parent in participating in the observation.*

Take both Parents and Child to observation room for Activity #1.
Behavioral Observation Activities

ACTIVITY #1: Fun Family Activity

Por favor usen estos 5 minutos para planear una actividad familiar. Planeen algo que sea divertido y que puedan hacer en esta semana que viene. No tiene que costar nada; tiene que ser algo que puedan hacer de veras. Comiencen. [For the next five minutes plan a fun family activity that can be completed this coming week. The activity does not have to cost any money; it should be something that is fun]

START STOP WATCH^H – 5 minutes

Come back in. **Ahora le vamos a pedir a (Parent #2) que venga con nosotros a terminar unos cuestionarios.** [Now we aske that parent #2 come with us to finish filling out some questionnaires.]*(Melissa takes Parent #2 into Room 407 to finish questionnaires). Administer Background Questionnaire, Acculturation Rating Scale, and Parenting Questionnaire.*

Go to instructions for Activity #2. Parent #2 can finish questionnaires. After Parent #2 is done, he or she may choose to spend time with Child and the childcare provider.

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* Begin stopwatch as soon as the door closes behind the researcher.

ACTIVITY #2: Problem Solving Task: Child Selected Issue

Be aware that Activity #2 and #3 are counterbalanced. Check on the appropriate order

Para esta actividad, siéntense en estas sillas *(show parent and child where to sit; shift cameras around as needed to get facial expressions)).* **Nos interesa ver como las familias hablan acerca de diferentes asuntos. Primero van a hablar de un asunto que tú (Child) escogiste. Luego hablarán de un problema o asunto que usted (Parent) escogió.** [For this activity, please sit in these seats. We are interested in seeing how families talk about different problems. First you will discuss the problem that (child's name) selected then you will discuss the problem that (parent's name) selected.] **Por los próximos 5 minutos van a hablar de el asunto que escogiste (Child), que es (Issue). Hablen acerca de este problema y traten de encontrar una manera de solucionarlo. Si acaban de hablar del asunto, pueden hablar de lo que ustedes quieran, pero por favor manténganse sentados en estas sillas y no hablen de otros problemas que hayan escogido. Acuérdense, quédense en estas sillas hasta que yo regrese.** [For the next 5 minutes talk about the problem that (child's name) selected which is (child selected problem). Talk about this problem and try to find a solution to the problem. If you finish talking about the problem, you may talk about anything else, but please stay seated and do not talk about other problems that you have selected.]

Regresaré en 5 minutos. ¿Tienen alguna pregunta? [I will return in 5 minutes. Do you have any questions?]

Comiencen. [You may begin]

START STOP WATCH – 5 minutes

ACTIVITY #3: Problem Solving Task: Parent Selected Issue

Ahora, por los próximos 5 minutos, van a hablar acerca de un asunto o problema que escogió usted (Mother), que es (Issue). Hablen acerca de este problema y traten de encontrar una manera de solucionarlo. Si acaban de hablar del asunto, pueden hablar de lo que ustedes quieran, pero no hablen de otros problemas que hayan escogido. [Now, for the next 5 minutes, you are going to talk about a problem that (mother's name) selected, which is (issue). Talk about this problem and try to find a way to solve the problem. If you finish talking abou the problem you may talk about whatever you would like but please do not talk about other problems that you have selected.]

Comiencen.[You may begin.]

START STOP WATCH – 5 minutes

ACTIVITY #4: Skills-building

Materials: Folder with School Task materials appropriate to child's grade
2 pencils with erasers

Say to parent: **Por los próximos 8 minutos, por favor trabaje con (Child's Name) usando los materiales en este fólder. Estos materiales son el tipo de tarea escolar que (Child's Name) traería de la escuela. Las instrucciones están en las hojas de trabajo. Los lápices están en el escritorio.** [For the next 8 minutes, please work with (child's name) using the materials in this folder. These materials are the same kind of schoolwork that (child's name) would bring home from school. The instructions are on the homework sheets and the pencils are on the desk.]

If parent asks where they should do this task, tell them they need to stay where the cameras can capture their image. Try to give as little direction as possible. As you're walking out of the room, tell them to begin. **Comiencen.** [Begin]

START STOPWATCH – 8 minutes.

Once the task is finished, remove folder from the room and remove the task from the folder. Mark them with "mom" or "dad" at the top of the page to indicate which parent worked with the child on the completed task.

BREAK

When the task is completed, the family will take a short break (10 minutes) in the Child Care Room.

ACTIVITY #5: Problem Solving Task: Child Selected Issue

Be aware that Activity #5 and #6 are counterbalanced. Check on the appropriate order

Para esta actividad, siéntense en estas sillas *(show parent and child where to sit; shift cameras around as needed to get facial expressions)).* **Nos interesa ver como las familias hablan acerca de diferentes asuntos. Primero van a hablar de un asunto que tú (Child) escogiste. Luego hablarán de un problema o asunto que usted (Parent) escogió.** [For this activity, please sit in these seats. We are interested in seeing how families talk about different problems. First you will discuss the problem that (child's name) selected then you will discuss the problem that (parent's name) selected.]

Por los próximos 5 minutos van a hablar de el asunto que escogiste (Child), que es (Issue). Hablen acerca de este problema y traten de encontrar una manera de solucionarlo. Si acaban de hablar del asunto, pueden hablar de lo que ustedes quieran, pero por favor manténganse sentados en estas sillas y no hablen de otros problemas que hayan escogido. Acuérdense, quédense en estas sillas hasta que yo regrese. [For the next 5 minutes talk about the problem that (child's name) selected which is (child selected problem). Talk about this problem and try to find a solution to the problem. If you finish talking about the problem, you may talk about anything else, but please stay seated and do not talk about other problems that you have selected.]

Regresaré en 5 minutos. ¿Tienen alguna pregunta? [I will return in 5 minutes. Do you have any questions?]

Comiencen. [You may begin]

START STOP WATCH – 5 minutes

ACTIVITY #6: Problem Solving Task: Parent Selected Issue

Ahora, por los próximos 5 minutos, van a hablar acerca de un asunto o problema que escogió usted (Parent), que es (Issue). Hablen acerca de este problema y traten de encontrar una manera de solucionarlo. Si acaban de hablar del asunto, pueden hablar de lo que ustedes quieran, pero no hablen de otros problemas que hayan escogido. [Now, for the next 5 minutes, you are going to talk about a problem that (mother's name) selected, which is (issue). Talk about this problem and try to find a way to solve the problem. If you finish talking about the problem you may talk about whatever you would like but please do not talk about other problems that you have selected.]

Comiencen. [You may begin]

ACTIVITY #7: Skills-building

Materials: Folder with School Task materials appropriate to child's grade
2 pencils with erasers

Say to parent: **Por los próximos 8 minutos, por favor trabaje con (Child's Name) usando los materiales en este fólder. Estos materiales son el tipo de tarea escolar que (Child's Name) traería de la escuela. Las instrucciones están en las hojas de trabajo. Los lápices están en el escritorio.** For the next 8 minutes, please work with (child's

name) using the materials in this folder. These materials are the same kind of schoolwork that (child's name) would bring home from school. The instructions are on the homework sheets and the pencils are on the desk.]

If parent asks where they should do this task, tell them they need to stay where the cameras can capture their image. Try to give as little direction as possible. As you're walking out of the room, tell them to begin **Comiencen.** [You may begin]

START STOPWATCH – 8 minutes.

DEBRIEFING

MATERIALS: Observational Procedures Questionnaire
Parent Receipts
Envelope with copy of consent form, PI business card, $50
Referral form, and flyers
Child's grab bag

Bring both parents into the room, take child to child care provider. Give last questionnaire to fill out to parents. Once they are done, say, **¿Cómo se sienten después de haber participado en la investigación? ¿Tienen alguna pregunta o comentario para nosotros? Les agradecemos mucho su participación. Nos queda llenar los recibos para confirmar que les pagamos por su participación.** [How do you feel after you have participated in the research study? We will now fill out the reciepts to confirm that we have paid you for your participation.]*Fill out receipts, and give one copy to parent, along with envelope that contains copy of consent form, PI business card, and $50 payment.*

Por último, si tienen vecinos o familia que ustedes crean que pueden estar interesados en este estudio, déjenles saber que todavía estamos buscando participantes. Si ellos nos dicen que ustedes los refirieron al estudio, les enviaremos a ustedes $10 como agradecimiento por su recomendación. Si les interesa referir a otros al estudio, por favor dénnos su nombre y dirección en esta hoja para poder enviarles el cheque de agradecimiento. Por favor queden tranquilos que esta información será usada solamente para pagarles; no se les enviará ninguna otra correspondencia que ustedes no hayan pedido. [Lastly, if you have neighbors or family that you think migh be interested in this research study, please let them know that we are still looking for families to participate in the research study. If they tell us that you reffered them to our study, we will send you a check for $10 to thank you for your recommendation. If you would like to referr others to our study please give us your name and adress on this sheet of paper so that we may send you a thank you check. Please, don't worry this information will only be used to pay you; we will not give it to anyone else.].

On the way out, stop in the child care room, give the child a grab bag, and thank the child for participating in the study. **(Ex.: ¡Muchas gracias (Child) por ayudarnos con nuestro estudio!)** [Thank you (child's name) for helping us with our study!]

Appendix B:

Expert Rater Questionnaire

The Observational Parenting Measure (OPM)

Introduction:

Purpose: This observational measure is intended to code for parental dimensions: warmth, demandingness, and autonomy granting.

Study: Participants (parents and child) engaged in four structured observational tasks while being video taped. For example, Task1-plan a fun family activity, Task 2- problem solving (parent selected issue), Task 3- problem solving (child selected issue), Task 4- skills building task. Observed family interactions will then be reviewed and coded by two coders using the (OPM).

The (OPM) measure:

This measure is a new form intended to code for parental dimensions with questions derived from the current literature pertaining to parenting and child development. Response categories range from 1 (very untrue) to 5 (very true) with 3 = not clear. Coders will watch video taped family interactions and code the tapes using the OPM. The PI and a RA will code the tapes until reliability is met. Once reliability is met the PI will code 15% of the tapes, while the RA completes the coding. Random reliability checks will be completed.

This form:

As an expert, you are asked to complete the form below as part of establishing validity for the use of the OPM. The form below contains the items that are included on the OPM. Please indicate if the following items are valid items to assess/measure the following dimensions (warmth, demandingness, autonomy granting) by marking "disagree strongly, disagree, agree, agree strongly." For items that are reverse scored (RS = reverse score), please rate on the same continuum as the other items. For example if you think the **reverse** of "Argues with child" measures warmth, please mark "agree strongly."

Part 1: Warmth: The following items are intended to measure parental warmth. Please rate whether or not the following items measure parental warmth.

		Disagree strongly	Disagree	Agree	Agree strongly
1	Parent makes the child feel better when something is wrong				
2	Parent listens when child has something to say				
3	Parent shows interest in child				
4	Parent praises child				
5	Parent and child have warm moments together				
6	Parent uses terms of endearment with their child				
7	Parent's voice conveys positive feeling when speaking of the child or to the child				
8	Parent talks to child during the session				
9	Parent is responsive to the child during session				
10	Parent gives comfort and understanding when child is upset				
11	Parent physically expresses affection (e.g., hugging, kissing, holding)				
12	Parent encourages the child to talk about the child's troubles				
13	Parent is responsive to child's feelings or needs				
14	Parent is easy going and is relaxed with the child				
15	Parent shows patience with the child				
16	Parent argues with child (RS)				
17	Parent explodes with anger towards child (RS)				
18	Parent expresses disagreement with child in harsh/rough manner (RS)				
19	Parent yells or shouts when child misbehaves (RS)				
20	Parent shows with actions that he/she loves the child				

In the space below please write any recommendations you might have for adding items or rewording existing items.

Part 2: Demandingness: The following items are intended to measure parental demandingness. Please rate whether or not the following items measure parental demandingness.

		Disagree strongly	Disagree	Agree	Agree strongly
1	Parent states rules that must be followed				
2	Parent limits privileges as punishment for misbehavior				
3	Parent seems to care about having their child obey them				
4	Parent sets and enforce rules				
5	Parent seems to influence or control their child's choice of what they are like				
6	Parent seems to influence or control their child's choice of what they wear (clothes)				
7	Parent is strict				
8	Parent is controlling of the child				
9	Parent often gets angry with the child				
10	Parent is critical of child				
11	Parent expresses withdrawal of love if child does not live up to parent's expectation				
12	Parent provided encouragement/positive reinforcement for good behavior				
13	Parent provided instructions to the child for appropriate behavior				
14	Parent gave commands to the child in session				
15	Parent monitors (is attentive) to child's behavior in session				
16	Parent seems in good control of child in session				
17	Parent does NOT allow or tolerate behavior that is immature or problematic				
18	Parent has high expectations of child's behavior				

In the space below please write any recommendations you might have for adding items or rewording existing items.

Part 3: Autonomy Granting: The following items are intended to measure autonomy granting. Please rate whether or not the following items measure autonomy granting.. **In the space below please write any recommendations you might have for adding items or rewording existing items.**

		Disagree strongly	Disagree	Agree	Agree strongly
1	Parent courages the child to book at bothsides of the issue				
2	Parent explains why she/he wants the child to do something				
3	Parent asks child's opinion about decisions that will affect the child				
4	When parent disapproves of the child's behavior, parent reasons with the child about it				
5	Parent listens to the child's point of view even when parent disagrees with the child				
6	Parent emphasizes the reason for the rules				
7	Parent explains the consequences of the child's behavior				
8	Parent gives child reasons why rules should be obeyed				
9	Parent explains to the child how they feel about his/her good and bad behavior				
10	Parent helps child understand impact of their behavior by encouraging talking about the consequences				
11	Parent talks it over and reasons with the child when the child misbehaves				
12	Parent tells child his/er expectations regarding behavior before the child engages in an activity				
13	Parent takes into account child's preferences when making family plans				
14	Parent allows child to five input into family rules				
15	Parent encourages child to freely express himself/herself even when disagreeing with parents				
16	Parent takes child desires into account before asking the child to do something				
17	Parent punishes child by taking away privileges without explanation (RS)				
18	Parent uses threats as punishment with little or no justification (RS)				
19	Parent appears to be more concerned with their own feelings than the child's feelings (RS)				
20	Parent states: "because I said so" or "I am your parent and I want you to" (RS)				

In the space below please write any recommendations you might have for adding items or rewording existing items.

Global impressions:

1. Overall, how does the OPM measure the following dimensions?

    a. Warmth

Very poorly	Somewhat poorly	Neutral	Somewhat well	Very well
1	2	3	4	5

    b. Demandingness

Very poorly	Somewhat poorly	Neutral	Somewhat well	Very well
1	2	3	4	5

    c. Autonomy granting

Very poorly	Somewhat poorly	Neutral	Somewhat well	Very well
1	2	3	4	5

2. Overall, the OPM contains items that are relevant and consistent with the conceptualization of the following parenting dimensions: warmth, demandingness, and autonomy granting.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5

Please write any additional comments or suggestions here:

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR IMPUT!!!

Appendix C:

The Parenting Scale

This scale was rated from 1 (very untrue) to 5 (very true) with a mid-point of 3 (unclear). Items marked (RS) are reverse scored.

WARMTH
1. Parent makes the child feel better when something is wrong
2. Parent listens when child has something to say
3. Parent shows interest in child
4. Parent praises child
5. Parent and child have warm moments together
6. Parent uses terms of endearment with their child
7. Parent's voice conveys positive feeling when speaking of the child or to the child
8. Parent is responsive to the child during session
9. Parent gives comfort and understanding when child is upset
10. Parent physically expresses affection (e.g., bugging, kissing, holding)
11. Parent encourages the child to talk about the child's troubles
12. Parent is easy going and is relaxed with the child
13. Parent shows patience with the child
14. Parent explodes in anger towards child (RS)
15. Parent expresses disagreement with child in harsh/rough manner (RS)
16. Parent yells or shouts when child misbehaves (RS)
AUTONOMY GRANTING
1. Parent encourages the child to look at both sides of the issue
2. Parent asks child's opinion about decisions that will affect the child
3. Parent listens to the child's point of view even when parent disagrees with the child
4. Parent helps child understand impact of their behavior by encouraging talking about the consequences.
5. Parent takes into account child's pereferences when making family plans.
6. Parent allows child to give input into family rules
7. Parent encourages child to freely express himself/herself wven when disagreeing with parents
8. Parent takes child's desires into account before asking the child to do something
DEMANDINGNESS-SUPPORTIVE
1. Parent clearly states rules to be followed
2. Parent removes privileges as punishment for misbehavior
3. Parent sets and enforces rules
4. Parent provides instructions to the child for appropriate behavior
5. Parent gives clear commands to the child in session
6. Parent monitors (is attentive) to child's behavior in session
7. Parent seems in good control of child in session
8. Parent does not allow or tolerate behavior that is immature or problematic
9. Parent has high expectations of child's behavior
DEMANGINGNESS-NONSUPPORTIVE
1. Parent seems to care about having their child obey them
2. Parent seems to control their child's choice of what they are like
3. Parent seems to control their child's choice of what they wear (clothes)
4. Parent is overly strict
5. Parent is controlling of the child
6. Parent expresses withdrawal of love if child does not live up to parent's expectation
7. Parent is overly rigid regarding the following of rules.
8. Parent has the attitude that all rules are non-negotiable.