

WILLIAMS-WHEELER, MEESHAY. Ph.D. Relations among Promotive Parenting Behaviors and Resourcefulness among African American Children. (2006)
Directed by Dr. Anne C. Fletcher. 74 pp.

The purpose of the current study was to examine three promotive parenting behaviors (communication/reasoning, behavioral control, and trust) as predictors of resourcefulness among African American children. Child gender was also examined as a potential moderator of the relations between African American mothers' parenting behaviors and child well being. Using data from a larger longitudinal project ($N = 404$) examining the social relationships among parents and behavioral outcomes among children, the participants in the current study were 136 African American mothers and children ($n = 76$ girls; 60 boys). The focal children were in the 4th grade and part of the second wave of data collection. Both mothers and children completed questionnaires in home interviews conducted by trained graduate and undergraduate students. Multiple regression analyses were conducted to examine the contribution of all predictor parenting variables (communication/reasoning, behavioral control, and trust) to child resourcefulness. Socioeconomic status, child gender and family structure (i.e., single-versus two-parent families) were control variables. Results of the current project indicate that African American mothers of boys versus mothers of girls did not vary in mean levels of parenting strategies for boys versus girls. Only communication/reasoning was associated with levels of resourcefulness among African American children. Child gender did not moderate associations between promotive parenting behaviors and child resourcefulness.

RELATIONS AMONG PROMOTIVE PARENTING BEHAVIORS AND
RESOURCEFULNESS AMONG AFRICAN AMERICAN CHILDREN

by

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A Dissertation Submitted to
The Faculty of The Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Greensboro
2006

Approved by

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This dissertation is dedicated to three very special people in my life. First, to my husband and best friend, Daniel Maurice Wheeler. Throughout my doctoral program, you have been very patient and understanding of the road trips to Greensboro with day classes, night classes, group meetings, study sessions, research in the library and the daily, nightly, and weekly writing!! You believed in me from the beginning and I will always love you for your thoughtfulness and for “picking up the slack” when I did not have the time or energy!! And last, but certainly not least, to my wonderful and loving parents James and Miriam Williams. Words could never express how thankful and grateful I am for your constant support and encouragement during my educational journey. Your endless prayers, faith, and words of wisdom have prevailed throughout my doctoral studies and now I truly know that

“I can do all things through Christ which strengthens me” (Philippians 4:13).

APPROVAL PAGE

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Date of Acceptance by Committee

Date of Final Oral Examination

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Several individuals were instrumental and supportive throughout my dissertation process. First, I would like to thank my advisor and Committee Chair, Dr. Anne C. Fletcher for her consistent guidance and nurturance since my first day in the doctoral program. The countless re-writes and edits have made me a more conscious writer. You have been a great advisor and an awesome teacher. Second, I would like to extend my sincere appreciation and gratitude to my Co-Chair, Dr. Andrea G. Hunter for her commitment to my doctoral experience. I admire your wealth of knowledge and sense of determination to the study of black families. Continue to be strong, steadfast and unmovable – You are the “light” of many young researchers. Lastly, Drs. Marion O’Brien and George E. Cliette your expertise and encouragement during this endeavor have been invaluable and certainly will not be forgotten.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In race-comparative studies, parenting differences are typically viewed as deficiencies, and African American families are characterized as weak, disorganized, and vulnerable (Frazier, 1932; Moynihan, 1965) and their parenting behaviors as harsh, punitive, and problematic (Durrett, O'Bryant, & Pennebaker, 1975; Radin, & Kamii, 1965; Young, 1974). Unfortunately in the social science this is a problem because it directs attention away from any unique and supportive aspects of parenting in African American families and positive developmental outcomes of African American children (McLoyd, 1990; Wyche, 1993).

Recognition of cultural and ecological contexts of parenting and developmental processes is important and necessary. According to Garcia Coll, Crnic, Lamberty, Wasik, Jenkins, Garcia, & McAdoo (1996) it is essential to consider the “processes and consequences that social class, ethnicity and race engender for a children’s development” (p.1892). Unfortunately, much of the research on African American children’s development excludes and limits attention to the critical aspects of contextual and cultural influences, thus “undermining the empirical knowledge of children (McKinney, Abrams, Terry, & Lerner, 1994). Further, in the literature often a disregard is evident for the diversity and variations that is characteristic in some minority groups, e.g. parenting

practices, which are reflective of culture, tradition and history which should not be ignored.

In light of the stated concerns influencing the developmental competencies among African American children, the present study incorporates a strengths-based approach to recognize the function and position of African American mothers' gendered and racial socialization goals as examining the link between promotive parenting behaviors and child well being. In addition, the following issues are addressed: (a) acknowledgement of variations of African American mothers' involved parenting practices and behaviors, (b) recognition of social competence and resourcefulness among African American children and (c) identification of the moderational role of child gender in linking promotive parenting behaviors to resourcefulness among African American children.

First, children's psychosocial development is a reflection of involved and supportive parenting behaviors (Brody, Dorsey, Forehand, & Armistead, 2002; Hill, 2001). African American mothers who practice adaptive socialization strategies are more likely to rear children who are socially competent and well adjusted. For example, Brody, Kim, Murry and Brown (1998) found that supportive parenting resulted in successful developmental outcomes among African American children. Accordingly, African American mothers are cognizant of and concerned about the societal challenges their children may encounter and tend to employ positive supportive parenting practices that may serve to buffer against prejudice and discrimination. Nevertheless, only limited discussions of positive and promotive parenting practices among African American families are available. The present study will build on previous research by Brody and

Flor (1998); Brody, Flor and Gibson (1998); Brody, Kim, Murry and Brown (2004) and focus on three specific promotive parenting behaviors (communication/reasoning, behavioral control, and trust). Although this area is well-developed, much of the research on these parenting behaviors has been conducted with adolescents and European-American families with limited reports on middle childhood. This may be due to the belief that children's views are less important than those of adults (Amato, 1990). Researchers have found children's report of parenting practices to be related to their academic and social development (Pelegrina, Garcia-Linares, & Casanova, 2003; Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch, & Darling, 1992). The present study used reports of African American children to assess the promotive aspects of parental socialization practices.

Secondly, the media and a majority of developmental research suggest that children from African American families are at risk for detrimental outcomes (O'Hare, Pollard, Mann & Kent, 1991). An emphasis in the literature is on negative behaviors such as aggression, delinquency, attention-deficits, and hyperactivity among African American children, particularly among male children. For example, African American boys aged 5 –11 are at greater risk compared with their European-American counterparts for socioemotional problems as well as diagnoses of attention deficit-hyperactivity disorder (Barbarin & Soler, 1993).

Albeit not widely reported in the media and the social science literature, many African American children are highly capable of acquiring the necessary resources at home, school and community (Caldwell & Koski, 1997; McAdoo, 1995; Mendez, Fantuzzo, & Cinchetti, 2002; Taylor, Roberts, & Jacobson, 1997) developing into

socially competent and emotionally well-adjusted adults (Barbarin & Soler, 1993). Overall, the majority of African American children perform very well at home and in school (Randolph, 1995), yet acknowledgement and understanding is necessary about the various aspects of parenting and the cultural-ecological factors that result in competence and resourcefulness among African American children. Particularly during the middle childhood period children must build a sense of competence that will sustain them during the various transitions leading into adolescence and adulthood (Brody et al., 1999). The present study concentrates on problem solving as one aspect of resourcefulness. This is based on the premise that African Americans often encounter and are indirectly affected by discrimination and prejudice, even during middle childhood. Therefore, the ability to problem solve at this age within various discriminatory situations demonstrates a more competent and skilled way of dealing with societal barriers and may lead to the ability to handle similar situation as one reaches adolescence and adulthood.

Race is considered an important backdrop against which parents socialize their children. Although African American parents may desire a better world indicating racial equity and equality, they understand that to raise children to survive in a racist-oriented society is an extraordinary challenge (Peters, 1988). Similarly, gender is a marker for social location and ethnicity and reflects both cultural proscriptions about maleness and femaleness and the position of males and females within the social structure. The intersection of race and gender creates distinctive experiences and social risks for African American boys and girls. Some studies support the notion of gender neutrality in parenting in African American families (Lewis, 1975; Peters, 1988); others suggest

African American mothers parent sons differently than do with daughters (Jackson, 1993; Rosser & Randolph, 1991). By and large, a special concern within African American communities on behalf of African American males is evident because of their victimization by racism and discrimination and the prohibition from achieving socioeconomic success, prestige, and power – qualities of the adult male role (Hill & Zimmerman, 1995). This concern has fueled a lively dialogue about how parenting may differ by child gender in African American families. However, limited research is available that examines potential gender differences in the association between parenting behaviors and developmental outcomes. Therefore, we need to know more about African American mothers' parenting behaviors as considered within a cultural ecological context that explores gendered and racial socialization goals of parenting and how they may be connected to positive developmental outcomes among African American children.

Research Aims and Questions

The present study will examine the linkages among three promotive parenting behaviors (communication/reasoning, behavioral control and trust) as predictors of resourcefulness among African American children and if levels of resourcefulness will vary for boys and girls. The specific aims are: to determine if child gender elicits different parenting behaviors from African American mothers, to identify the relation between African American mothers' parenting behaviors and child resourcefulness and to determine if child gender will moderate the relation between parenting behaviors and child resourcefulness. The following research questions will guide the present study:

1. Do African American mothers' parental socialization behaviors differ by child gender?
2. Is there a relation between the promotive parenting behaviors of African American mothers and child resourcefulness?
3. Is the relation between parenting behaviors and child resourcefulness moderated by child gender?

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Conceptual Framework

The primary goal of all parents is to socialize children to function successfully in society in preparation for adult roles and responsibilities. Earlier research on parental socialization focused on the practical problems of how to rear children and the interactive processes by which individuals acquire the values, attitudes, and skills of the society in which they belong (Baldwin, 1980; Oliver, 1984). Parke and Buriel (1998) described socialization as the process through which individual attitudes and behaviors change to conform to those that are desirable and appropriate. Parental socialization practices are recognized as a “highly influential context for socialization in families” (Parke & Buriel, 1998) and are used to guide children’s behavioral and academic competence, based on the characteristics of the child (Dawber & Kuczynski, 1999; Kelley, Power, & Wimbush, 1992).

Encouraged by a review of studies on African American mothers’ parenting socialization practices and children’s psychosocial outcomes (Cain & Combs-Orme, 2005; Jagers, Bingham, & Hans, 1996), this study uses the integrative model for the study of developmental competencies in minority children developed by Garcia Coll et al. (1996; see for complete model) as the overarching framework. This chapter reviews the theoretical and empirical literature on the psychosocial development and social

competences of African American children and the relation of parental socialization and children's well-being. In addition, the intersection of child gender and race will be explored as these factors relate to African American mothers' parenting practices.

Cultural Ecological Model and Developmental Competencies in African American Children

Research on African American children's developmental outcomes often disregard the inherent diversity among African American families as well as minimizes the effect of economic deprivation, racism and social stratification on processes and functioning within African American families (Garcia Coll et al., 1996). A cultural-deficit framework is often used in race-comparative studies of parenting, where middle-class European American values and norms are the standard and differences in African American values and practices are viewed as abnormal, deficient, or as indicators of incompetence (Barbarin, 1993).

Garcia Coll et al. (1996) proposed a cultural and contextual model for understanding the developmental competencies of minority children. In schematic form, the integrative model is divided into two sections: the macro (distal) and micro (proximal) components. The distal components of the model include social class, race, ethnicity, racism, prejudice, discrimination, and promotive/inhibiting environments as indirect influences on the developmental competencies of minority children. This portion of the model highlights that developmental outcomes are influenced by children's position in society, which creates a social environment within which the child must adapt. Furthermore, the proximal components of the model address other aspects of the

environment that influence minority children's development such as culture, the family, and characteristics of the child. With respect to the family, the model highlights the interaction of family values, roles and structure on children's development that is embedded in racial/ethnic culture and are important for negotiating minority status.

According to McAdoo (1995), childrearing values and beliefs in African American families are distinct and variant and are rooted in cultural traditions. It is the lack of attention to race, ethnicity and culture in the developmental sciences that has resulted the view that African American children lack social competencies (McLoyd, 1990). Competency is multifaceted and diverse, and an examination of the developmental competencies of African American children should focus not only on cognitive and emotional functioning but also on the ability to cope and problem solve. The present study is framed within the cultural-ecological integrative model developed by Garcia Coll et al. (1996) to acknowledge (a) the diverse factors that influence minority children's development, (b) the importance of race and culture in parenting socialization practices, and (c) the management of societal risks among minority children.

Development of Children's Social Competence in African American Families

The interplay between the social stratification variables (e.g., social position, racism, and segregation), parenting, and the home environment create distinctive pathways to African American children's social, cognitive and emotional development (Garcia Coll et al., 1996; Johnson, Jaeger, Randolph, Cauce, Ward and National Institute of Child Health and Human Development Early Child Care Research Network, 2003). These "nonshared" experiences with European American children are reflected in

adaptive strategies that are distinctive to African American children and their families. However, behavioral and developmental outcomes among African American children are typically described as negative and focus on externalizing antisocial behaviors (e.g., truancy and poor grades) (Ardelt & Eccles, 2001; Takeuchi, 1991). Nevertheless, the interconnectedness of positive and supportive parenting involvement and behaviors of African American families and child well-being, particularly, social competencies that may help African American children negotiate ecological risks associated with race and gender must be considered.

Drawing on the cultural-ecological model described, I will examine promotive and positive parenting behaviors of African American mothers as a potential link to child resourcefulness (see Figure 1.). The concept of resourcefulness was developed in the clinical and social psychology literature by Rosenbaum (1983) and has been defined as an “acquired repertoire of behaviors and skills by which a person self-regulates internal responses that interfere with the smooth execution of a target behavior” (Rosenbaum & Jafee, 1983; p. 216). Resourcefulness has been noted as including four essential components: (a) the ability to use self-statements to control emotional responses, (b) the application of problem-solving strategies, (c) the tendency to delay immediate gratification, and (d) perceiving oneself as efficacious (Akgun, 2004; Ginter, West, & Zarski, 2001). Within the context of racism and discrimination, African American children’s ability to exhibit problem-solving strategies in various settings, in spite of their social milieu, is a vital component of their psychosocial development. The study of resourcefulness among African Americans is sparse in the developmental literature, thus,

the current project is designed to fill a gap in the parenting and developmental literature and examine resourcefulness as a potential “problem solving” strategy or competency for African American children.

The Influence of Parenting and Parent-Child Relationships

Parenting is a socialization process that is formulated over time in the midst of a system of changing relationships. Parent-child relations have also been recognized as an important context for children’s development and well-being (Collins, Maccoby, Steinberg, Hetherington, & Bornstein, 2000). Despite the lack of emphasis on positive research on parenting and parenting behaviors in African American families, a number of researchers have examined the importance of individual and cultural variations in parenting and parent-child relations in African American families (Brody et al., 1999; McAdoo, 2000; Peters, 1985). Preventative strategies, also labeled protective strategies, refer to processes that limit children’s involvement in costly behaviors or exposure to dangerous or risky situations (Murry & Brody, 1999). Parents whose children and families are affected by home or community risk factors (e.g., low socioeconomic status or single parent households) typically utilize preventative parenting strategies. On the other hand, it has been noted that some parenting behaviors may serve to promote developing skills in children (Brody & Flore, 1998), while other parenting behaviors may take on a more preventative role. The section that follows distinguishes preventative and promotive parenting and its relation to children’s developmental outcomes.

Promotive Parenting and Child Well-Being

Promotive parenting has been distinguished from preventative parenting such that the latter prevents children from experiencing risks and risk factors while promotive parenting fosters or encourages children's social competence and cultivates children's skills and talents (Ardelt & Eccles, 2001). In an ethnographic study, Furstenberg, Cook, Eccles, Elder and Sameroff (1999) explored promotive and preventative parenting strategies of European American and African American mothers. The authors concluded that promotive parenting strategies had a positive effect on children's academic success and were associated with more enriched learning environments than preventative parenting strategies. Ardel and Eccles (2001) also described promotive parenting as parenting strategies that support children's abilities and interests. Promotive parenting was found to be essential for children's well-being and included such parental behaviors as parents working with their children on certain skills, enrolling children in before- and after-school programs, and involving children in positive activities and organizations. In addition, it was noted that African American mothers' parenting behaviors emphasized the importance of hard work and education as well as self-pride. In sum, promotive parenting encourages competent behaviors in children, guarding them against the development of conduct and emotional problems (Brody et al., 2004; McCord, 1998).

The current study focuses on communication/reasoning, maternal behavioral control and parent-child trusting relationships as indicators of promotive parenting behaviors. As discussed, each of these parenting constructs is an indicator of positive, supportive and involved parenting behaviors. What follows is a brief overview of the

extant research that investigates the associations between positive parenting and children's developmental outcomes.

Empirical Relations between Promotive Parenting and Child Well-Being

It has been noted that positive parent-child relationships contribute to children's positive sense of self; decreasing the likelihood that children will develop problems with self-control and externalizing behaviors (Brody et al., 1999). Contextual and cultural contributions are key influences on parenting behaviors and have been associated with children's competence and adjustment (Ardelt & Eccles, 2001; Brody et al., 2004; Collins et al. 2000). For example, results of an investigation of correlates of childhood depression in an African American sample found that uninvolved parenting was associated with depressive symptoms among children (Simmons, Murry, McLoyd, & Lin, 2002). Associations between positive parenting behaviors and psychosocial well-being indicate that parental involvement promotes child competence and protects against the development of behavioral and emotional problems. Specifically, involved and supportive parenting among African American families has been found to promote effective coping strategies in children and youth. Brody et al. (1999), in a longitudinal study, described the relation among several family factors including parenting practices, and child competence in academic and psychosocial areas. Among African American single-parent families of rural Georgia, supportive parenting and quality parent-child relationships were associated with higher levels of children's competence. This study was extended and supported by Kim, Brody, and Murry (2003) who found that high levels of emotional and instrumental support and parental knowledge of youth's activities

was associated with successful youth outcomes. Consistent with research on predominately middle class samples of European Americans, Conger and Conger (1997) found nurturant and involved parenting was linked to adolescent adjustment among African Americans. Petit, Bates, and Dodge (1997) also found in a longitudinal study of both European American and African American children that positive and supportive parenting were predictors of children's adjustment and well being. The next section will investigate three constructs of promotive parenting behaviors that are considered adaptive socialization strategies.

Practices, Style, and Relationship Quality

Several ways can be used to discuss the context of parenting and its relation to children's development. Some researchers focus on the stylistic types of parenting (e.g., authoritative, authoritarian) that account for children's development while others may use parents to rate their own parenting strategies or styles (Baumrind, 1991). Darling and Steinberg (1993) conceptually distinguished parenting styles and parenting practices "in order to understand the processes through which parents influence children's development" (p. 492). Parenting practices refer to specific behaviors through which parents perform their parental duties practices are also generally carried out to achieve socialization goals. On the other hand, parenting styles reflect the emotional climate or interaction style of the parent-child relationship and are considered attitudes and behaviors that "create an emotional climate in which the parent's behaviors are expressed" (p. 488). In this study, the parenting variables focused upon are communication/reasoning (a parenting practice); behavioral control (a stylistic aspect of

parenting); and trusting relationship (-a quality of parent-child relationships). Although not widely examined within African American families, the aforementioned parenting variables were selected to investigate because such studies suggest that they are aspects of promotive parenting and to build on existing parenting research. These parenting variables are also assessed from the child's perspective; an approach that is rare in studies regarding parenting that most often rely on parental reports.

Communication/reasoning

It is important for children's psychosocial development to perceive they can communicate and reason with parents. This reasoning strategy has been linked with lower rates of delinquency and substance use (Guilamo-Ramos, Jaccard, Turrisi, & Johansson, 2005). Nevertheless, little literature investigates the parent-child communication practices in middle childhood and especially in African American families. Despite the fact that work in this area is dominated by adolescent research with middle-class European-American families, it should be noted that cultural values and beliefs can inform the maternal parenting practices (i.e., communication/reasoning) of African American mothers (Garcia Coll et al., 1996).

Substantial research indicates that delinquency, sexual involvement, and other high-risk behaviors in adolescence are influenced by parental communication and reasoning (Grych & Fincham, 1992; Whitaker & Miller, 2000). For example, Klein, Forehand, and Long (1997) found parent-child communication predicted adult behaviors and concluded that low maternal communication and negative family variables (i.e., maternal depression) were associated with higher rates of delinquent behavior six years

later whereas positive and supportive family variables were associated with lower rates of delinquency. In addition, Burke, Loeber, and Lahey (2001) examined the relationship between dimensions of attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder and substance use in a longitudinal sample of clinic referred European-American and African American boys. Amongst other parenting constructs, parental communication was assessed from both the parents' and children's perspectives. The conclusion revealed that poor parental communication in childhood was significantly associated with tobacco use in early adolescence.

Behavioral control

Although limited discussion of behavioral control within an African American family context is available, the physical and material contexts that surround families and children greatly impact parental socialization suggesting contextual differences between European American and African American families exist. The present research will acknowledge these differences and build upon existing research to inform the cultural and contextual parental influences of behavioral control on well-being among African American children.

To understand the nature of parental control and its role in the socialization process, it is necessary to distinguish between behavioral and psychological control. Psychological control tends to have opposite effects and adverse consequences on children whereas behavioral control yields positive influences on children's development. Psychological control refers to "control attempts that intrude into the psychological and emotional development of children" (Barber, 1996; p. 3296); it inhibits psychological

development through manipulation of the parent-child bond. Psychological control has been described as intrusive, control through guilt, with its effect on internalization problems (e.g., depression) (Schaefer, 1965).

Although psychological control is viewed as the absence of psychological autonomy, behavioral control is considered facilitative because of its positive influence on children's behavioral outcomes (Smetana & Daddis, 2002). Also known as firm control, behavioral control refers to a parenting style that attempts to control or manage children's behavior (Schludermann & Schludermann, 1970). Lack of or inadequate behavioral regulation, often labeled lax control, is associated with externalizing problems such as impulsivity, aggression, and drug use (Baumrind, 1991; McCord, 1990), while greater regulation of children's behaviors is associated with better behavioral outcomes, such as lower school truancy and delinquency (Baumrind, 1991; Shek, 2005).

An in-depth empirical examination of psychological and behavioral control with adolescent problem behaviors was conducted by Barber (1996). The author conducted three separate studies to measure psychological and behavioral control in cross-sectional and longitudinal analyses. Each study varied according to ethnicity, social class, and child gender. It was found that perceived psychological control by adolescents was predictive of internalizing problems whereas behavioral control was largely related to externalizing problems. The findings complemented past research that found children at risk for externalizing behavior problems experienced inadequate behavioral regulation by parents.

Trust

Trusting relationships have been defined as the willingness of children to self-disclose information to their parents (Rotenberg, 1995; Schneider & Younger, 1996). In a sample of Swedish adolescents, Kerr, Stattin, and Trost (1999) reported that trusting relationships between parents and their children are based on parental knowledge of and involvement in children's activities. The authors concluded that trusting relationships mediated the relation between poor parent-child relationships and children's delinquency, indicating that lack of maternal involvement came about as a result of distrust. Unfortunately, despite the importance of trusting relationships in the familial context, little scholarly attention has examined this dimension of parent-child relationships in African American families. A review of the literature on trust in African American parents yielded several studies concerning distrusting relationships within the health and medical field, but only limited discussion within a developmental context. The section that follows discusses the connection between race, gender and socialization practices of African American mothers.

Parental Socialization and the Intersection of Race and Gender

Several studies suggest that parenting practices in African American families are gender neutral (Peters, 1988; Scott, 1993). That is, African American boys and girls are socialized with traits of independence and nurturance as well as self-sufficiency and personal autonomy. For example, Lewis (1975, p. 230) argued that African American children are taught to "mother" and are instilled with "similar traits of assertiveness, willfulness, and independence" regardless of gender. However, other studies suggest that

African American mothers use different parenting practices with their sons as compared to those used with their daughters (Jackson, 1993; Rosser & Randolph, 1991). For example, several researchers have pointed to the unique relationship African American mothers have with their sons and how these bonds influence African American males' psychosocial development (Battle & Scott, 2000; Brown & Davis, 2000; Hill & Zimmerman, 1995; King & Mitchell, 1995; O'Reilly, 2001). In addition, because boys are more likely to develop problem behaviors than girls, some researchers have also argued boys may "elicit higher levels of parental involvement" (Hetherington, 1989; Hunter, Pearson, Ialongo, & Kellam, 1998).

Many African American boys are at developmental risk, and it has been suggested that parents utilize different childrearing practices with boys versus girls to mitigate that risk (Barbarin & Soler, 1993; Luster & McAdoo, 1994). Ardel and Eccles (2001) hypothesized that African American mothers would employ more supportive and involved parenting with boys since male children tend to be at higher developmental and social risk than girls. The authors found that African American mothers were more likely than European American mothers to engage in supportive parenting practices if the participating child was a son rather than a daughter. Gender-based caregiving patterns of chronically ill African American boys and girls were also explored by Hill and Zimmerman (1995). Child gender was found to be an important factor in explaining mothers' caregiving. Specifically, compared to mothers of daughters, mothers of sons were more protective and more likely to restrict their sons' involvement in extracurricular and sports activities.

Studies that examine African American mother-daughter relationships are rare but for African American mothers raising girls, however gender is an additional challenge because daughters are faced with not only racism, but sexism as well (Cauce, Hiraga, Graves, Gonzales, Ryan-Finn, & Grove, 1996). Socializing African American girls is further complicated by the negative societal images of the daughters' appearance, intellect, and potential which are viewed as not in line with "American" (i.e., white) feminine ideals (Richie, 1992). African American mothers must strive to teach their daughters positive self-concepts and identities and communicate to their daughters the social structure in which African American women are below both European American men and women and, furthermore, the ways it will be difficult for African American females to be heard and recognized in various social settings.

Several qualitative studies have been conducted to explore African American mothers' attitudes and ideals concerning the plight of Black males, particularly in relation to parenting sons. For example, using semi-structured interviews Bush (2000) studied African American mothers' perceptions of raising sons. Because mothers were highly conscious of the stereotypes their sons encountered, they purposefully played an integral role in their sons' lives. Another example of empirical research on African American mothers and sons was a qualitative study conducted by Battle and Scott (2000). The authors found that African American boys living in single mother homes performed better academically than boys living in single-father households. These findings were attributed to mothers displaying more supportive networks to assist in childrearing as well as being actively involved in traditional roles such as assisting with homework or

visiting with teachers. Hunter, et al. (1998) also found that the gender of the focal child was related to parenting arrangements in African American families such that more child management and discipline were displayed if the focal child is a boy.

As stated previously, some researchers have found that parental socialization practices in African American families are gender neutral and argue that age and child competency are more likely to define children's roles and responsibility (Peters, 1988; Reid & Trotter, 1993). On the other hand, childrearing strategies and parental socialization responds to "parental perceptions of the opportunities, risks and barriers their children will likely confront in the larger society (Hill, 2001, p. 504). Thus, parental expectations and practices may differ because African American girls are often viewed as having greater opportunities for success compared to African American boys (Cauce, et al. 1996). Although differential socialization practices are well documented for both African American and European American families, very little is known about how child gender may moderate associations between parenting behaviors and child outcomes in any family. The old adage in the African American community that "Black mothers raise their daughters and love their sons" may continue to influence parental socialization practices of African American mothers. If so, an important question is: how does this perception impact behavioral and developmental outcomes of African American boys and girls?

Study Aims and Purpose

In the current project, it is hypothesized that the link between African American mothers' promotive parenting behaviors (i.e., communication/reasoning, behavioral

control, and trust), and child resourcefulness will be moderated by child gender. That is, the strength of the association between parenting and resourcefulness will be moderated by child gender. Moderation implies that the causal relation between variables change as a function of the moderator variables. Baron and Kenny (1986) and Frazier, Tix, and Barron (2004) noted that an interaction term is obtained when the moderator is uncorrelated with the predictor or criterion. Specifically, in this study, it is anticipated that communication/reasoning, behavioral control, and or trust will be more strongly associated with child resourcefulness when the focal child is a boy. This hypothesis is based on the view that although promotive parenting behaviors of African American mothers may yield better psychosocial outcomes among African American children, differences in child gender may cause this relation to be greater for African American boys than African American girls. A great deal of the parent-child literature focuses on mean differences by child gender with limited attention given to how the gender of the child may strengthen or weaken this relation between parent-child relationships and developmental outcomes particularly within African American families. The current study is designed to examine the hypothesis that positive and promotive parenting behaviors are differentially related to levels of resourcefulness in African American boys and girls.

The present study utilized the cultural ecological model of development (Garcia Coll et al., 1996) as the larger conceptual framework to explore the processes in which promotive parenting behaviors and socialization strategies influence the competencies and well-being of African American boys and girls. The parent-child literature indicates

that supportive and involved parenting of African American mothers may serve as a buffer against negative societal barriers and stereotypes. Researchers argue that the buffering effect of parenting behaviors may also affect African American boys differently than African American girls. For example, African American mothers may perceive greater risks for sons than daughters concerning racial and social discrimination they encounter as children and adults and tend to socialize and protect their male children in a manner that is different for female children (Hill & Sprague, 1999). However, little is known about the moderating role of child gender on parenting and child well-being; particularly, within African American families. The purpose of the current study is to examine children's perceptions of African American mothers' parenting behaviors and if parental socialization practices are related to child resourcefulness. Also of interest is whether the association among parenting behaviors and resourcefulness will be moderated by child gender.

Research Aims and Hypotheses

The research aims for the current project are to (a) determine if child gender elicits different parenting behaviors from African American mothers, (b) to identify the relation between African American mothers parenting behaviors and child resourcefulness and (c) to determine if child gender moderates the relation between parenting behaviors and child resourcefulness. The following hypotheses will guide the present study:

Hypothesis 1: African American mothers' parenting practices (communication/reasoning, behavioral control, and trust) will be greater for African American boys than African American girls.

Hypothesis 1a: Communication/reasoning practices of African American mothers will be greater for African American boys than African American girls (Burke, Loeber, and Lahey, 2001).

Hypothesis 1b: Behavioral control parenting of African American mothers will be greater for African American boys than African American girls (Barber, 1996).

Hypothesis 1c: Trusting parent-child relationships will be greater for African American mothers of sons than African American mothers of daughters (Kerr et al., 1999).

Hypothesis 2: The relation between parenting behaviors and resourcefulness will be positive such that African American mothers who employ greater levels of promotive parenting behaviors will rear children with higher levels of resourcefulness (Brody et al., 1999; Kim et al., 2003).

Hypotheses 3: The relation between African American mothers' parenting behaviors and child resourcefulness will be stronger for African American boys than African American girls. When mothers are more positive, boys will be more resourceful, whereas mother positivity will not be related to higher levels of resourcefulness in girls (Ardelt & Eccles, 2001).

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Data used in the present study were gathered as part of a larger longitudinal project ($N = 404$) examining ways in which social relationships among parents are related to psychological and behavioral outcomes among children. The first wave of data was collected in the 2001-2002 academic year when the focal children were in the 3rd grade, and the second wave of data ($N = 371$) was collected in the 2002-2003 academic school year when the focal children were in the 4th grade. The attrition rate for the larger study from Year 1 to Year 2 was 8.4%. All participants resided in a single county in the southeastern portion of the United States.

Participants

Participants in the current study were the 136 African American mothers and children ($n = 76$ girls; 60 boys) who participated in the second wave of data collection and the focal children were in the 4th grade.

The Hollingshead Four Factor Index of Social Status (Hollingshead, 1975; See Appendix A) was used to calculate socioeconomic status (SES) for the families. Hollingshead scores for the sample ranged from 16.00 (unskilled laborers) to 63.50 (major business persons and professionals) (Mean = 37.20; skilled craftsmen, clerical, sales workers; SD = 10.72). Fifty-five percent of mothers were members of two-parent (biological or adoptive) families and 45% were single mothers.

Procedure

Home interviews were conducted by trained research teams that consisted of a graduate research assistant and an undergraduate research assistant. One member of each interviewing team was of the same race as the participating family, and at least one interviewer was female. Interviews were conducted in the families' homes or a place of their choosing and required approximately one hour and fifteen minutes to complete. Mothers gave permission for children's and themselves participation by signing consent forms. Children provided verbal assent to participate in home interviews. Mothers and children were interviewed separately. All questions were read aloud to children and to mothers only if they appeared to have difficulty completing the measures. Mothers were compensated \$35 and children received a school-related gift.

Measures

Demographics

Demographic information about family members was gathered during the home interviews. Mothers completed a family roster designed to identify all members of the household as well as each family member's race, age, sex, and relationship to the focal child. The mothers also provided information on their present occupation and highest level of education completed. Fathers' educational level and employer was only provided if the father had an active role in raising the focal child. The fathers' role was determined by mothers' acknowledgement of paternal participation in their child's lives.

Parenting Measures

Communication/reasoning

The communication subscale of the *Relationship with Mother Scale* (PQR) of the *Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment* (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987) was completed by children to assess their perceptions of mothers' communication and reasoning practices. The 10-item communication subscale asked children to respond to questions such as "My mother senses when I'm upset about something" and "If my mother knows something is bothering me, she asks me about it." (see Appendix B). The initial alpha for the communication/reasoning scale was low (.22). Item-total statistics were examined for each question to determine whether deleting individual items would improve the alpha. Four items were deleted from the communication/reasoning subscale leaving 6 items for analyses which yielded an alpha of .73. Response options are on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (*always true*) to 5 (*never true*). Responses are averaged to yield summary scores. The items were reverse coded so that higher scores on the PQR-communication/reasoning subscale described children who perceived effective levels of communication and reasoning with their mothers.

Behavioral control

The *Children's Report of Parent's Behavior Inventory* (CRPBI) was originally developed by Schaefer (1965) and revised by Schludermann and Schludermann (1970) to assess maternal child-rearing behaviors rated by children as well as mother's report of their own parenting behaviors (see Appendix C). For purposes of this study, the revised version of the CRPBI was used to rate children's perceptions of mothers' levels of

behavioral control on a 3-point scale anchored by 1 (*not like my mother*), 2 (*little like my mother*) and 3 (*a lot like my mother*). The CRPBI is an inventory, containing 18 subscales representing 3 dimensions of parental disciplinary practices: Acceptance/Rejection, Autonomy/Psychological Control and Firm/Lax Control (or behavioral control). The latter dimension was used in the present study to assess the extent to which parents regulate children's behavior. The Firm/Lax Control subscale (25 items) includes such questions as "My mother is a person who sees to it that I know exactly what I may or may not do", "Believes in having a lot of rules and sticking with them," and "Let's me go any place I please without asking.". The initial alpha for the Firm/Lax control subscale was relatively low (.64). Item-total statistics were examined for each question to determine whether deleting individual items would improve the alpha. Nine items were deleted from the behavioral control subscale leaving 16 items for analyses which yielded an alpha of .69. Higher scores on this subscale indicated higher levels of maternal behavioral control.

Trust

The trust subscale of the *Relationship with Mother Scale* (PQR) of the *Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment* (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987) was completed by the focal child to assess perceptions of trusting relationships with mother. The PQR-trust subscale is an 10-item subscale and asked children to respond to questions such as "My mother trusts my judgment" and "I can count on my mother when I need to get something off my chest" (see Appendix D). Response options are on a 5-point Likert scale ranged from 0 (*always true*) to 5 (*never true*). The initial alpha for the trust subscale was low

(.49). Item-total statistics were examined for each question to determine whether deleting individual items would improve the alpha. Two items were deleted from the trust subscale leaving 8 items for analyses which yielded an alpha of .69. Responses are averaged to yield summary scores. The items were reverse coded so that higher scores on the PQR-trust subscale described children who perceived effective levels of trusting relationships with their mothers.

Child Well-Being

Resourcefulness

The *Resourcefulness Scale* (Furstenburg, Cook, Eccles, & Sameroff, 1999) was used to measure children's resilient behavior as it relates to challenges they may encounter. The 9-item scale (alpha = .72) asked mothers to respond to questions such as "My child is very good at bouncing back quickly from bad experiences" and "My child is very good at figuring out problems and planning how to solve them" (see Appendix E). Response options are on a Likert scale with scores ranging from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 4 (*strongly disagree*). Responses are averaged to yield summary scores. The Resourcefulness scale was recoded so that higher scores described children who exhibited the ability to identify, acquire and utilize needs.

Plan of Analysis

Descriptive statistics were calculated to explore data and insure appropriateness for analyses. Analysis of variance techniques were used to examine sex differences observed in mothers' parenting behaviors. Hierarchical regression techniques examined the combined contribution of all the predictor parenting variables to child resourcefulness

controlling for socioeconomic status, child gender, and family structure (i.e., single-versus two parent families). Prior to regression analyses involving interaction terms, continuous variables of communication/reasoning, behavioral control, trust, and resourcefulness were centered to zero. For the first research question, a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted to analyze the effects of child gender (male and female) on the three parenting variables (communication/reasoning, behavioral control, and trust). For the second research question, analyses were conducted regarding the three parenting behaviors (communication/reasoning, behavioral control, and trust) as predictors of child resourcefulness. The independent variables were scores on the CRPBI and PQR while the dependent variable were scores on the Resourcefulness scale. Socioeconomic status, child gender and family structure were included as demographic controls. For the final research question, the interaction between each of the parenting behaviors and child gender was entered into the regression analyses as a separate block. Any significant interaction meant that gender moderates the association between communication/reasoning and child resourcefulness.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The present investigation examined the associations between mothers' promotive parenting behaviors and resourcefulness in African American children. Table 1 presents means, standard deviations, and ranges for all continuously measured variables, which included social class, communication/reasoning, behavioral control, trust, and child resourcefulness for the full sample ($N = 136$). Social class and two dichotomously coded variables (child gender and family structure) were control variables in this study.

Intercorrelations among Model Variables

Table 2 presents patterns of intercorrelations among communication/reasoning, behavioral control, trust, and resourcefulness for the full sample ($N = 136$). . Communication/reasoning was positively associated with trust indicating that African American children who experienced trusting relationships with mothers also realized higher levels of communicating and reasoning from their mothers, $r(136) = .56, p < .01$. The outcome variable, child resourcefulness, was significantly associated with communication/reasoning indicating that African American children who experienced higher levels of communication/reasoning from mothers were more likely to demonstrate higher levels of resourcefulness compared to children who did not realize communication/reasoning from mothers, $r(136) = .22, p < .05$.

Gender Differences in Parental use of Parenting Behaviors

A MANOVA based on Wilkes lambda was conducted testing for gender differences in mean levels of parenting variables. Analyses did not reveal any significant gender effects on communication/reasoning, behavioral control, and trusting relationships, *Wilkes lambda* = .97, $F(3,132) = 1.513$, $p = .21$.

Prediction of Child Resourcefulness from Parenting Behaviors

Table 3 shows the unstandardized regression coefficients, standard errors, standardized regression coefficients and change in R^2 for all steps of regression analyses predicting resourcefulness. Communication/reasoning, behavioral control, and trust were all centered prior to entry to equation and computation of interaction terms to reduce problems with multicollinearity (Frazier et al., 2004). Inspection of tolerance statistics and variance inflation factors indicated that collinearity was not a problem for these predictors.

In Step 1 of the regression, social class, child gender, and family structure were entered as predictors of child resourcefulness. No significant effects were found for any of these control variables. Taken together, all of these predictors accounted for just 1% of the variance in resourcefulness. In Step 2, communication/reasoning, behavioral control, and trust were added to the equation as predictors of child resourcefulness. When the parenting variables were entered, 6% of the variance in resourcefulness was explained by the combination of control variables and parenting variables. Only communication/reasoning practices of African American mothers predicted child resourcefulness, $t(132) = 2.58$, $p < .05$). This result indicates that African American

mothers who used higher levels of communication and reasoning had children who were more resourceful.

Gender as a Potential Moderator of Associations between Parenting Behaviors and Child Resourcefulness

To determine if differences existed using child gender in the strength of associations between parenting behaviors and child resourcefulness, the interaction of child gender and each of the parenting variables were entered in Step 3. Results indicated that in no case were interaction terms significant. Accordingly, child gender did not moderate associations between promotive parenting behaviors and child resourcefulness. Taken together, the combined effects of the control variables, parenting variables and the interaction of child gender accounted for 9% of the variance in child resourcefulness.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The purpose of the current study is to examine three promotive parenting behaviors (communication/reasoning, behavioral control, and trust) as predictors of resourcefulness among African American children. Child gender is also examined as a potential moderator of the relation between mothers' parenting behaviors and child well-being. Communication/reasoning is the only parenting behavior related to levels of resourcefulness among African American children with higher levels of communication/reasoning associated with more resourcefulness. African American mothers did not differ in their use of any of the three parenting strategies based on whether they were parenting boys or girls. In addition, gender did not moderate the relations between parenting behaviors and child resourcefulness. That is, the strength of associations between promotive parenting and child resourcefulness did not differ for boys versus girls.

It was hypothesized that mean levels of African American mothers' parenting strategies would differ for boys versus girls, although the expected direction of such differences was not specified within hypotheses. However, analysis of these data indicated that levels of communication/reasoning, behavioral control, and trust were similar for parents of boys versus girls. Although some researchers have reported that African American mothers practice comparable parenting with both boys and girls (Jager et al., 1996; Lewis, 1975), others have refuted this notion stating that parental

socialization practices for African American mothers differ for boys versus girls (Brody & Flor, 1998; Cauce et al., 1996). For example, Ardel and Eccles (2001) found African American mothers were more likely than European-American mothers to be more engaged and supportive of sons, whereas European-American mothers were more engaged with daughters. Such differences may be in response to greater behavioral and developmental risks encountered by African American boys as compared to African American girls (Barbarin & Soler, 1993). In addition, the cultural and contextual model proposed by Garcia Coll, et al. (1996) suggest that gender and ethnicity are important factors contributing to the psychosocial development of African American children, in that both gender and race determine the nature of socialization practices of African American parents. In the current study, the absence of gender of child differences in parenting suggests that African American boys and girls perceived parenting practices in similar ways.

Communication/reasoning was the only parenting variable associated with child resourcefulness in that African American mothers who used higher levels of communication and reasoning raised children who were perceived to be more resourceful. Communication/reasoning is an aspect of parenting rarely discussed in the literature on African American families. Instead, this literature has focused more on parental control and other strategies designed to prevent children from engaging in risky behavior. The current effort of this study has taken into consideration cultural values and beliefs of African American mothers and has identified communication/reasoning as a parenting behavior that is linked with positive child outcomes.

Surprisingly, no significant relation exists between behavioral control and child resourcefulness. This finding is inconsistent with previous research that has consistently reported the facilitative nature of behavioral control generally predicts better behavioral outcomes among children (Barber, 1996). It may be that some of the items on the behavioral control measure used in this study (the CRPBI) were invalid for use with African American children as they reflected upon their mothers' behaviors. African American children may not have perceived some aspects of parenting included in this measure as "controlling" or negative due to cultural expectations that African American mothers will demonstrate concern and attention through setting firm limits and boundaries.

In addition, trust was unrelated to resourcefulness among African American children. As stated previously, much of the literature on trust and trusting relationships has focused on its associations with lower levels of involvement in delinquent activities among non-minority adolescents (Kerr et al., 1999). Yet for African American families, research on trust has typically focused on levels of distrust with respect to interactions with health and medical personnel, but little research has considered trust as it applies to the parent-child relationship. However, parent-child trust and trusting relationships are highly valued in African American families and little evidence and reason to think that it would be developmentally unimportant for African American children. Existing research using this measure of trust has been conducted predominately with non-minority families. Possibly, this measure was inappropriate for use with African American families. Potential inappropriateness of this measure for use with African American families may

have accounted for the lower than expected reliability of this measure with the sample, resulting in several items having to be deleted to improve alphas. Given that items had to be deleted from the measure of trust in order to obtain reliability statistics that were at acceptable levels, it may be that the remaining items, although internally consistent, were not as pure a measure of trust as the full scale might have been. Similar issues may account for the lack of associations between parenting control and resourcefulness (see above) in that multiple items had to be deleted from this scale as well.

It was hypothesized that the relation between African American mothers' parenting strategies and levels of resourcefulness would be stronger for African American boys than girls. However, child gender did not moderate the associations between parenting behaviors and child resourcefulness. Although limited research is available on the potential moderating role of gender in relation to associations between parenting practices and child well being, it was anticipated that boys would benefit more than girls from these promotive parenting practices because African American mothers' parenting would buffer sons from societal risks encountered at a higher rate among sons than daughters (Hill & Zimmerman, 1991).

One possible explanation for the lack of moderation is that it may not be until adolescence that child gender impacts parenting and associations between parenting and positive developmental outcomes. School and community involvement as well as extracurricular activities allow adolescents more exposure to drugs and alcohol, sexual involvement and other risky behaviors (Capaldi, Crosby, & Stoolmiller, 1996; Luster & Small, Luster & Small, 1994; Rodgers & Antoinette, 2000). During adolescence,

teenagers spend less time with and thus are less influenced by parents, unlike preadolescents who rely and depend more on daily parental involvement and support. Thus, as children reach adolescence many may conform to peer pressure and societal challenges with little regard for parental socialization practices.

Limitations and Directions for Further Research

Interpretations of the current findings should be made in light of some limitations of this study. First, the data analyzed were cross-sectional. Although an association between communication/reasoning and resourcefulness is significant, cause and effect cannot be inferred. It is possible that child characteristics, such as resourcefulness, elicit higher levels of communication/reasoning from parents. Alternatively, third variables may account for the associations between African American mothers' use of communication/reasoning practices and child resourcefulness. Because only cross-sectional data were analyzed, it cannot be established with certainty which of these potential relations exist. Nevertheless, the primary aim of the present study is to examine African American mothers' parenting practices as socialization influences on children. This position is theoretically supported (Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990; Taylor et al., 1999; Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, & Allen, 1990) and consistent with longitudinal research examining the prediction of child well-being outcomes from parenting variables (Garcia Coll et al., 1996). Therefore it is likely that at least one aspect of promotive parenting (communication/reasoning) is causally linked with higher levels of resourcefulness among African American children. Such an argument notwithstanding, it is important to note that caution must be observed when interpreting the

results of this study given the cross-sectional nature of the data. To address issues related to directionality of effects, future research should utilize longitudinal data and analyses.

Also of concern was the marginal reliability on the parenting measures used in this study (communication/reasoning, behavioral control and trust). Although these measures were highly reliable for the larger sample from which this sub-sample was drawn, isolating African American participants for the current effort suggested that these measures were nowhere near as reliable for African American families as they were for European American families. Low reliability likely introduced more error into measurement and made it more difficult to find significant effects. Therefore, it is suggested that parenting researchers consider developing more reliable and culturally appropriate measures to assess parenting behaviors within African American families.

Third, the sample size for this study was relatively small, resulting in decreased power to detect associations between parenting and child resourcefulness. This limitation was further exacerbated within analyses designed to consider gender as a potential moderator of such associations. Perhaps a larger sample would have increased power to detect such effects. However, examination of standardized regression coefficients for the prediction of resourcefulness from parenting practices indicates that a larger sample size would likely not have resulted in significant effects for parenting control or trust. To consider whether increased power might have allowed detection of moderator effects, we examined correlations between each parenting practice and child resourcefulness separately for boys and girls. These analyses indicated the positive correlation between parental communication/reasoning and child resourcefulness was stronger (and

statistically significant) for girls, but not for boys. Thus, it is possible to suspect that low levels of statistical power may help to explain the lack of moderator effects for gender in the current study.

Despite its limitations, the current study possesses a number of strengths. Although reports from more individuals regarding parenting behaviors from different perspectives would have been beneficial, the use of child ratings of maternal behaviors can be considered a strength in that the importance of parenting with respect to child adjustment is only meaningful as parenting is perceived from the perspective of children themselves. Parental self reports tend to exaggerate parental acceptance and have been criticized as unreliable in that parents perceive themselves as having more information about adolescents' whereabouts than adolescents themselves report (Lamborn & Nguyen, 2004; Steinberg et al., 1992). Children's perceptions of parental behavior are critical determinants of their own actions and behaviors and are likely more predictive of their own adjustment than are parental perceptions of their own behaviors (Cottrell, Harris, Alessandri, Atkins, Richardson, & Stanton, 2003). Another strength of this study is that it builds on previous research on parental socialization and child development within African American families (Brody et al., 1998; 1999; 2002). Prior research on African American parenting has focused on adolescence with limited attention given to middle childhood.

Examining African American mothers' promotive parenting practices from a cultural and contextual approach recognizes the diversity and complexity in African American family life (Garcia Coll et al., 1996). More importantly, the utilization of a

strengths-based model acknowledges the resilient and competent behavior of African American children. Overall, findings linking communication/reasoning and child resourcefulness within African American families could be useful not only for developmental researchers, but also for parent and family life educators as they support the development of effective parenting practices within African American families.

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APPENDIX A.

Tables and Figures

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations and Ranges for Model Variables for Boys and Girls

	Mean	SD	Minimum	Maximum
Communication/reasoning	3.75	.52	2.00	5.00
Behavioral control	24.18	2.09	17.20	28.00
Trust	3.91	.40	2.30	4.70
Resourcefulness	2.95	.36	1.78	3.78

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations for Boys and Girls

	Boys		Girls	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Communication/reasoning	4.39	.71	4.32	.71
Behavioral control	24.55	2.03	23.88	2.09
Trust	4.51	.42	4.49	.51
Resourcefulness	2.97	.36	2.93	.36

Table 3

Intercorrelations between Model Variables

Variables	Communication/ Reasoning	Behavioral Control	Trust	Resourcefulness
Communication/ Reasoning	-			
Behavioral Control	.12	-		
Trust	.56**	.13	-	
Resourcefulness	.22*	.03	.06	-

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, $N = 136$

Table 4

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Child Resourcefulness

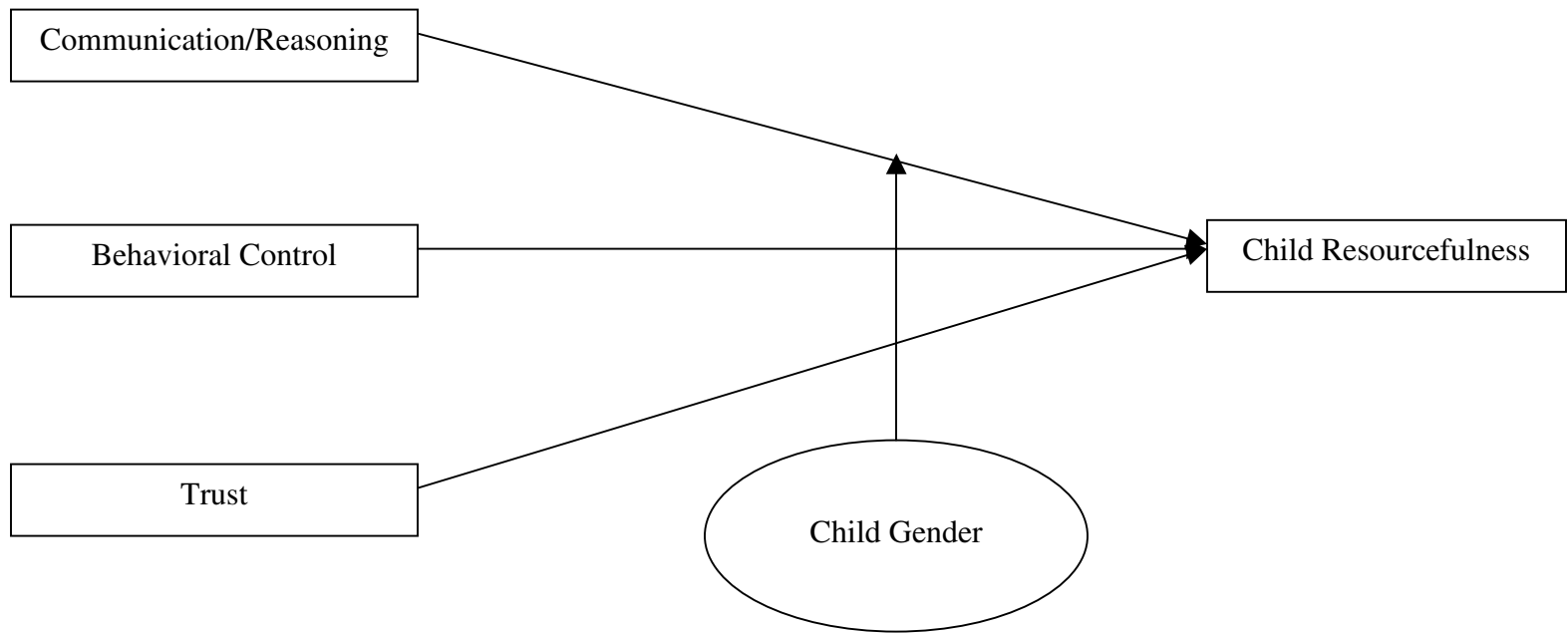
	Variable	B	SE	β	R^2	Adj R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1	Social Class	.00	.00	.04			
	Child Gender	.05	.06	.07			
	Family Structure	.05	.06	.07	.01	-.01	.01
Step 2	Social Class	.00	.00	.02			
	Child Gender	.05	.06	.06			
	Family Structure	.07	.06	.09			
	Communication/Reasoning	.14	.05	.27*			
	Behavioral Control	.00	.02	.00			
	Trust	-.07	.07	-.10	.06	.02	.05
Step 3	Social Class	.00	.00	.04			
	Child Gender	-.06	.10	-.09			
	Family Structure	.05	.07	.07			

Communication/Reasoning	.18	.08	.36*			
Behavioral Control	-.02	.03	-.10			
Trust	-.06	.10	-.08			
Communication/reasoning x Child Gender	-.08	.11	-.11			
Behavioral Control x Child Gender	.06	.04	.23			
Trust x Child Gender	-.08	.15	-.07	.09	.02	.02

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

Figure 1.

Path Diagram - Conceptual Model



Note: Parental socioeconomic status, family structure (single versus two-parent families) and child's gender are covariates in this conceptual model.

APPENDIX B

Hollingshead Four-Factor Index of Social Status

Education Level	Score
Less than seventh grade	1
Junior high school (9 th grade)	2
Partial high school (10 th or 11 th grade)	3
High school graduate or GED	4
Partial college (at least one year)	5
College or university graduation	6
Graduate degree	7

Occupational Scale	Score
Farm laborers/menial service workers	1
Unskilled workers	2
Machine operators and semiskilled workers	3
Smaller business owners, skilled manual workers, craftsmen, and tenant farmers	4
Clerical and sales workers, small farm and business owners	5
Technicians, semiprofessionals, small business owners	6
Smaller business owners, farm owners, minor professionals	7
Administrators, lesser professionals, proprietors of medium-sized businesses	8
Higher executives, proprietors or large businesses, and major professionals	9

Social Strata	Computed Scores
Unskilled laborers, menial service workers	9-19
Machine operators, semiskilled workers	20-29
Skilled craftsmen, clerical, sales workers	30-39
Medium business, minor professional, technical	40-54
Major business and professional	55-66

APPENDIX C

Perceived Quality of Relationship Scale

(Communication/Reasoning Subscale)

Each of the following statements asks about your feels about your relationship with your mother or with your friends. Tell me how true each statement is for you now.

Please respond: Almost always true, Often true, Sometimes true, Seldom true, or Almost never true

1. *I like to get my mother's point of view on things I'm concerned about.
2. My mother senses when I'm upset about something.
3. *Talking over my problems with my mother makes me feel ashamed or foolish.
4. *When we discuss things, my mothers consider my point of view.
5. My mother helps me to understand myself better.
6. I tell my mother about my problems and troubles.
7. My mother helps me to talk about my difficulties.
8. *When I am angry about something, my mother tries to be understanding.
9. I can count on my mother when I need to get something off my chest.
10. If my mother knows something is bothering me, she asks me about it.

Note: Asterisks (*) indicate items that were dropped and not included in the final analyses.

APPENDIX D

Children's Report of Parental Behavior

(Behavioral Control Subscale)

Parents have different ways of trying to raise their children. We would like you to describe some of the things your mother does in trying to raise you. Is your mother NOT LIKE, A LITTLE LIKE, or A LOT LIKE the following statements?

My mother is a person who...

1. ...sees to it that I know exactly what I may or may not do.
2. ...*is easy with me.
3. ...*is very strict with me.
4. ... usually does not find out about my misbehavior.
5. ...believes in having a lot of rules and sticking with them.
6. ...lets me off easy when I do something wrong.
7. ...sticks to a rule instead of allowing a lot of exceptions.
8. ...*does not pay much attention to my misbehavior.
9. ...does not tell me what time to be at home when I go out.
10. ...believes that all my bad behavior should be punished in some way.
11. ...*gives hard punishment.
12. ...*gives me as much freedom as I want.
13. ...excuses my bad conduct.
14. ...does not check up to see whether I have done what she told me.
15. ...lets me go any place I please without asking.
16. ...*seldom insists that I do anything.
17. ...insists that I must do exactly as I am told.
18. ...*does not insist I obey, if I complain and protest.
19. ...sees to it that I obey when she tells me something.
20. ...does not bother to enforce rules.
21. ...*tells me to go out any evening that I want
22. ...when I have certain jobs to do, does not allow me to do anything else until the job is done
23. ...can be talked into things easily.
24. ...*has more rules than I can remember.
25. ...lets me do anything I like to do.

Note: Asterisks (*) indicate items that were dropped and not included in the final analyses.

APPENDIX E

Perceived Quality of Relationship Scale

(Trust subscale)

Each of the following statements asks about your feels about your relationship with your mother or with your friends. Tell me how true each statement is for you now.

Please respond:

Almost always true, Often true, Sometimes true, Seldom true, or Almost never true

1. My mother respects my feelings.
2. I feel my mother is successful as a parent.
3. *I wish I had a different mother
4. My mother accepts me as I am.
5. *My mother expects too much from me.
6. When we discuss things, my mother considers my point of view.
7. My mother trusts my judgment.
8. My mother understands me.
9. When I'm angry about something, my mother tries to be understanding.
10. I trust my mother.

Note: Asterisks (*) indicate items that were dropped and not included in the final analyses.

APPENDIX F

Resourcefulness Scale

Directions to parents: Please darken the bubble that best describes your child.
My child ...Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, or Strongly disagree

1. Is very good at figuring out problems and planning how to solve them. (R)
2. Is very good at carrying out the plans he/she makes for solving problems. (R)
3. Is very good at getting other people to help when needed. (R)
4. Is very good at bouncing back quickly from bad experiences. (R)
5. Is good at learning from his/her mistakes. (R)
6. Has a hard time handling problems when he/she gets upset.
7. Is impulsive, or acts without thinking.
8. Demands a lot of attention.
9. Blames others, denies own mistakes.

Note: (R) indicates those items that were reverse coded.